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THE

WORKS

OF

JOHN JEWEL,

BISHOP OF SALISBURY.

EDITED FOR

The Parker Society,

BY THE

REV. JOHN AYRE, M.A.,

OF CONVILLE AND CAIUS COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE, MINISTER OF ST JOHN'S CHAPEL, HAMPSTEAD.

VOLUME THE SECOND.

Cambridge:

PRINTED AT

THE UNIVERSITY PRESS.

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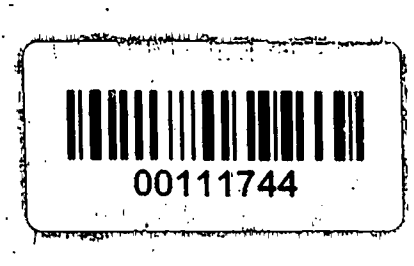

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Instituted A.D. M.DCCC.XL.

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BIOGRAPHICAL MEMOIR

OF

JOHN JEWEL,

SOMETIME BISHOP OF SALISBURY.

"If (says one of Jewel's earlier biographers in the quaint style of his times) rare and admirable qualities of our ancestors do deserve a thankful acknowledgement of posterity, then most deservedly ought the singular natural endowments and supernatural graces of this reverend prelate live and flourish in perpetual memory; by whom, as an especial means, the sincere religion we now profess received much vigour and strength after her long suppression in the time of superstition. For, although it hath been the singular felicity of the church of England above some others, that in it this sacred order of bishops hath brought forth some famous martyrs, many most worthy doctors and pastors, as instruments to purge and refine the gold of the sanctuary; yet such a jewel in all respects, such nature with such grace, so heavenly learning in so heavenly a life, such eminent gifts in such eminent place, so fruitfully distilling their wholesome and sweetest influence to the refreshing and cherishing of the church of God, have not been frequently found in these later times[1]."

This is high commendation; but few perhaps who are acquainted with the works of bishop Jewel will be disposed to think it undeserved, or will fail to see exhibited there a master mind stored with the richest treasure, natural and spiritual, of abundant learning. To trace the personal history of such a man cannot be uninteresting.

John Jewel was a native of Devonshire. He was descended of a good family, and was born May 24, 1522, at Buden, in the parish of Berinber, or Berryn-arbor, where his ancestors had been settled for almost two hundred years. His father John Jewel married a lady of the name of Bellamy, with whom he lived about fifty years in wedlock, and had by her ten children. To his mother the future prelate was peculiarly attached: her memory he so cherished as to bear always her maiden name upon his private seal. From her brother, John Bellamy, rector of Hampton, he received the rudiments of his education, being placed under his charge when seven years old. He was afterwards removed successively to Braunton, under Thomas Stotes, Southmolton, under Anthony Simons, and Barnstaple, under the charge at this last place of Walter Bowen, a man whose care was so gratefully acknowledged, that for his sake the very name of Bowen was always a sufficient recommendation to Jewel's favour for those that bore it.

Whilst at school he was attacked by the small-pox; and this was the most serious illness he had, till in more advanced life he injured his health by his severe application to study. But already in his youth his diligence was remarkable. To a natural quickness of parts he added a patient industry; and his forwardness was tempered with such simplicity and modesty as to win the affections of his tutors, and to inspire them with the highest expectations of his future career.

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[1] Life prefixed to editions of 1609, 1611.

At the age of thirteen, in the month of July 1535, he proceeded to Oxford, accompanied by another youth from his own neighbourhood, and commended to the care of Peter Burrey, then fellow of Merton, a man of but moderate attainments. Happily he was unable to receive both the lads as his pupils; and therefore he requested John Parkhurst, fellow of the same college, distinguished for his piety and attainments, to take Jewel, who obtained a postmastership under his new tutor. Parkhurst, who had been previously of Magdalen, was beginning at this time to be alive to the errors of Romanism; and he accordingly took care to instil his purer views of divine truth into the mind of his pupil, disputing, it would seem, in his presence with Burrey, who continued attached to the ancient superstition. And when the plague prevailing at Oxford dispersed the university, Parkhurst, who had retreated to Cuxham, employed Jewel in comparing with him the two translations then lately made of the new testament into English by Tyndale and Coverdale, giving him Tyndale's and retaining the other in his own hand. In this occupation Jewel was occasionally observed to smile; and Parkhurst, surprised that at his age he should evince such discrimination of barbarism in language and error in religion, could not help exclaiming, "Surely Paul's Cross will one day ring of this boy!"

Four years had passed, when by the interest of Parkhurst and Burrey Jewel was removed to Corpus; of which college he was admitted August 19, 1539. He pursued his studies here with his former zeal and industry, and was speedily distinguished above his class-fellows. Robert Morwent was then the president of this house, renowned not so much for learning himself, as for patronising it in others. His heart Jewel gained by some new-year's verses on a favourite dog. He was not, however, to escape the shafts of envy. Some of those whom Jewel had outstripped were mean enough to be jealous of his fame, and to endeavour to lessen it by suppressing some of his compositions.

Vexed as he naturally was at such unfair conduct, he did not relax in his pursuit of literature, and at length, October 20, 1540, he proceeded bachelor of arts with the highest credit. Nor did he think that his degree released him from the obligation of study. He was at liberty indeed, had he so chosen, to take his ease; but he seemed to consider himself on that account the more bound to exertion. He rose at four, and till ten at night was almost wholly occupied with his books. With the classics, Greek and Latin, he was conversant, with Horace and Cicero perfectly familiar. The historians he had diligently conned. In rhetoric, philosophy, and the mathematics he was a master. And he had begun, by tasting St Augustine, to lay in some of those stores of divinity which afterwards were so largely accumulated. His extraordinary memory enabled him readily to retain the knowledge he acquired. And, that he might acquire a facility in speaking, he was wont to resort to the woods of Shotover near Oxford, and there, like another Demosthenes, to declaim aloud, regulating and tempering his voice, his pronunciation, and his gesture. His conduct with all this was so blameless, and his temper so sweet, that the very enemies of his faith could not help admiring him. So fully, indeed, did he follow "whatsoever things are lovely and of good report," that Moren, the dean of his college, a severe man and strict Romanist, gave him this commendation, the more valuable as coming from such a quarter: "I should love thee, Jewel, (said he) if thou wert not a Zuinglian. In thy faith I hold thee a heretic; but surely in thy life thou art an angel: an excellent person, but a Lutheran."

Thus was this accomplished young man growing in wisdom, and preparing for future usefulness in dangerous times, during the reign of king Henry VIII. before the close of which, viz. Feb. 9, 1544-5, he had proceeded master of arts. But his

indefatigable labours had by this time injured his health. For, continually occupied in reading, and almost still more in writing—for he acted on the maxim, that men acquire more learning by the frequent use of the pen, than by reading many books—the better to condense his acquirements, he allowed himself scarcely the necessary time for meals, so that his body became emaciated and seemingly too weak to bear such exhausting studies: and while at Witney, whither it was the custom for those of his college to retire when the plague was in Oxford, altogether neglectful of himself, and being perhaps ill-lodged, he was attacked apparently by a rheumatic affection, which resulted in a lameness that never left him through the rest of his life.

Jewel was now qualified, having learned so well himself, to be the teacher of others; and many were the youths, some of distinguished families, who flocked to such a tutor, more indeed than he was able to receive. Some he instructed privately, and others publicly in his college. Among his pupils was Anthony Parkhurst, entrusted to him by his old preceptor, but ere long removed from him by the influence of one Robert Serls, the vicar of St Peter's in Oxford, so ignorant and bigoted that he feared Jewel would infect the youth with heresy—that was what he called the gospel—and would teach him Greek, which in his wisdom he deemed the very fountain of heretical doctrine. Jewel was also appointed by the authorities of his college their reader of humanity and rhetoric; and so great was speedily his reputation in this office, that the senior members of the university were anxious to hear his lectures. Among others came his ancient tutor Parkhurst, now settled in the rich living of Cleeve, who made a journey to Oxford for the purpose, and was so much gratified with what he heard, that when the lecturer had concluded he addressed him,

Olim discipulus mihi, care Juelle, fuisti:
Nunc ero discipulus, te renuente, tuus.

Though now removed from the university, Parkhurst abated not one whit in his affectionate regard for his former pupil. He invited him to Cleeve two or three times every year, and never let him return without some substantial proof of his good-will. A story is told, which well illustrates the character of the man. Jewel and a friend, Wilson, afterwards a distinguished person, had been staying at Cleeve, when, the morning they were to take their departure, Parkhurst came into their chamber, and laying hold of their purses, said with good-humoured raillery, "Have these beggarly Oxford scholars got any money, I wonder?" The purses were indeed almost empty, but were at once very liberally replenished by their bountiful host. Parkhurst also defrayed Jewel's expenses when he took his M.A. degree.

Other benefactors, too, there were who delighted to foster such rising talent. Curtop, a fellow of his own college, who afterwards obtained a canonry at Christ Church and other preferments, was one of these. He allowed Jewel forty shillings a year. Another was Richard Chambers, of whom mention is frequently made in Jewel's letters. He had considerable sums of money placed in his hands by various persons of rank and wealth, which he was accustomed to employ in pious and charitable uses, especially in helping poor scholars of promising parts at the universities. In the distribution he was assisted by several like-minded persons, especially his dear friend Thomas Sampson, and the excellent Thomas Horton. In order that this bounty might be directed to those who would promote the gospel truth, certain articles were drawn up, several of which Humfrey in his life of Jewel gives at length, which students were expected to subscribe as an indication of their doctrinal views. They recounted the chief errors of popery, which were to be renounced as contradictory to the scripture. Among

those who subscribed these articles, in order to partake of Chambers' bounty, was, as Humfrey states to the best of his belief, Thomas Harding, afterwards Jewel's great antagonist. Jewel himself received £6 a year from Chambers to buy books; a sum probably equal to £60 at present.

It was provided also by the same liberal benefactor, that a sermon or address should from time to time be delivered to the people by some competent person, and that the students especially should be admonished to the diligent discharge of their duty. This office was generally undertaken by Peter Martyr during his residence in Oxford; but once in his absence it devolved on Jewel. The heads of his discourse have been preserved by Humfrey, and may be read in the Appendix to this edition of bishop Jewel's works[1].

In January 1547, king Edward VI. ascended the throne; and the light of divine truth burst brightly from the clouds which had more or less hitherto obscured it. Several eminent foreign reformers were now invited to England; and among the rest Peter Martyr, who was placed in the professorship of divinity at Oxford. His lectures and sermons Jewel diligently attended and copied out: and when, in 1549, Martyr held a solemn disputation before the king's commissioners, with Chedsey, Tresham, Morgan and others, on the sacrament of the eucharist, Jewel, who had devised a kind of short-hand, by which he could almost perfectly follow a speaker, acted as his notary. The most affectionate friendship hence grew up between them: Jewel regarded Martyr as a father; and Martyr in return cherished him as a beloved son. Parkhurst was anxious to draw the two to Cleeve, and wrote many letters to that effect; but Martyr was too much occupied to accept the invitation. The substance of one of Jewel's letters at this time is preserved. It is dated Feb. 28, but the year is not named. He tells Parkhurst in his playful style that the night before he had no paper, and that now he had no subject to write upon; but that as there was the opportunity of a messenger, he felt he could not write nothing and be altogether silent; he would therefore write to say that he had nothing to write about. For, as to the perry for Martyr, he did not doubt that Parkhurst would, without being reminded, take sufficient care for that. It seems that Martyr had taken a fancy when heated to this well-known beverage.

The time and occasion of Jewel's ordination is not stated; but we find a notice that a licence for preaching was granted him in December, 1551[2]. It was not perhaps till he had obtained this that he accepted the cure of Sunningwell, a village not far from Abingdon. His motive for undertaking the charge was not the hope of remuneration, but the desire of feeding the Lord's flock; and hither he journeyed on foot, which his lameness must have rendered painful, at least every alternate week.

He was also an occasional preacher both before the university and in his own college. Humfrey has preserved the sermon which he delivered at St Mary's, on occasion of taking his degree of bachelor of divinity, which will be found printed in Latin and English in Vol. II. pages 950, &c. of this edition. There are extant also some fragments of a discourse which he was appointed by the president to make in English in his college, Dec. 23, 1552, in commemoration of the founder, bishop Fox. This will be found reprinted in the Appendix[3]. Neither of these discourses was intended for publication, nor had the copies which came into the hand of his biographer received the last touch of the author's hand. They may, however, serve to justify the opinion which was even then conceived of his powers as a preacher. His style was esteemed vigorous, pithy, and argumentative: his

[1] See Vol. IV. pages 1302, &c.

[2] Strype, Eccles. Mem. Vol. III. Book II. chap. xxxii.

[3] See pages 1304, 5.

matter was solid, and well chosen: his eloquence was extolled as not effeminate and decked with mere glittering ornament, but as exhibiting the full and firm proportions of manly strength.

That his reputation had by this time travelled beyond the precincts of the university is evidenced by the fact that, when the president Morwent, and two of the fellows, Welsh and Allen, were summoned before the council on a charge of using on Corpus Christi day other service than that appointed by the service-book, and were, on June 15, 1552, committed to the Fleet, Jewel received an order to govern the college during the president's imprisonment[4].

Hitherto Jewel's course had been amid the sunshine of prosperity; but now a dark and gloomy day arose. Queen Mary succeeded to the crown in July, 1553; and the papists were not long in recovering their former power. The authorities of Corpus Christi college seem to have been among the foremost in signalising their zeal. A man of Jewel's known devotion to the reformed doctrines they were too happy to be rid of. The charges made against him were, that he had been a diligent hearer of Peter Martyr, that he had preached heretical doctrine, that he had not been ordained according to the papal ritual, and that (so Fuller says) he had refused to attend the mass. This violent conduct, divorcing him from persons and places most dear to him, grieved him, as might be expected, very deeply. He was not denied the opportunity of addressing a sad farewell to those whom he had taught so faithfully. And, when with broken voice he uttered the affecting words, "Pardon me, good sirs, if it do grieve me to leave the place where I have been brought up, where I have lived hitherto, where I have been in some place and reckoning. But why do I stick to kill my heart with one word? Alas! that I must speak it, as with grief I must, farewell ye studies, farewell this roof, farewell thou seat most eminent of learning, farewell the very pleasant sight of you, farewell young men, farewell ye fellows, farewell my brethren, dear as my eyes are to me, farewell all, farewell[5]"—his auditors, even those to whom he was most obnoxious, could only answer him with their tears.

After a time the president and others began to see in some measure the folly of their conduct in ejecting so ignominiously one of the chief ornaments of their society; and indeed they were reproached for it even by men who were then siding with their party. It seems that this college had preserved through Edward's reign their church-ornaments and vestments in such abundance, that when they thought fit to produce them they were enough to supply all the rest of Oxford with the furniture of the mass. The president and Welsh were boasting of this before Brooks, afterwards bishop of Gloucester, Wright, archdeacon of Oxford, and some others—their college, they said, alone of the university had kept their treasury and ornaments entire. "You have done so indeed," replied Wright, "but you have wilfully lost one ornament and great treasure far more precious than any of them."

At Broadgates hall, now Pembroke college, of which his friend Randal or Randolph was principal, he found a temporary asylum when ejected from Corpus. Here, attracted by his high reputation, many scholars again flocked round him; most of his pupils leaving that college, where they could expect no better treatment than their tutor had received. And indeed one of them, Edward Year, having ventured to compose a copy of verses against the mass, was rewarded by Welsh with as many stripes as there were lines in his exercise. But the university was not so unjust to Jewel as his own society. He was named, whether before his expulsion or immediately after is not clear, public

[4] Strype, Eccles. Mem. Vol. II. Book II. chap. xviii.

[5] This address is reprinted, Vol. IV. page 1292.

orator, and in this capacity had to pen a letter of congratulation to queen Mary on her accession. This was a delicate task to perform; but Jewel appears to have discharged it with address, and without any sacrifice of principle. A brief abstract only has been preserved. The grief, it observed, which had lately been felt for the loss of king Edward, was succeeded by joy on account of the happy accession of the new sovereign. Deeply had they sorrowed, when that promising spirit was cut off in the flower of his age; more ardently did they rejoice, when they saw their present monarch delivered from still more imminent and fatal danger. They would contrast the alliances, the plots, the mighty preparations, the wealth on the one side, with the loyal voice of the people on the other. It was not by might or power, but by the assertion of a righteous cause, that the mind of the nation had been declared; *that* had broken armed opponents, that alone had enabled her majesty, in spite of banded foes and weapons, without effusion of blood to ascend the throne of her ancestors. It was hers by hereditary right, by general consent of England, by the approbation of God. He in mercy to his people had placed her at the head of affairs, and given the world a right to entertain the happiest expectations. Elsewhere her triumph was celebrated by the concourse of applauding multitudes, and by the display of magnificence and wealth; but the Oxonians, who possessed not the rich gifts of fortune, and who had always consecrated what alone they had, the treasures of literature and of their own minds, to her majesty, felt not the less joy at her success. And, though with less of clamour, yet with not less zeal and devotion, did they congratulate the state for her and her for the state, and earnestly pray God that, as it was his will that the beginning of her rule should be prosperous and without blood, so it might happily continue to the end of her reign.

There cannot be any reason to accuse Jewel of insincerity in penning such expressions. We have no record of the exact time when this congratulatory address was presented to the queen: it was most probably at the very beginning of her administration, when her promises to the Norfolk and Suffolk gentry had been freshly made, and when, as the great mass of the nation believed, there was little reason to doubt her intention of fulfilling them. But one incident which occurred in connexion with it must have struck ominously on Jewel's ear. He had to read his composition to the vice-chancellor for his approbation: the rest of the story shall be told in Fuller's words: "And, because every one was counted a truant in popery who did not outrun the law, Dr Tresham, an active papist and a van-courier before authority, repaired the great bell in Christ Church, which he new-named and baptized Mary; and, whilst Mr Jewel was reading the letter he had penned to Dr Tresham for his approbation thereof, presently that bell tolled to mass (a parenthesis which was not in the letter); and Tresham, breaking off his attention to what was written, exclaimed in a zealous extasy, 'O sweet Mary, how musically, how melodiously doth she sound!' This bell then rung the knell for that time to the truth in Oxford, henceforward filled with protestant tears and popish triumphs[1]."

Jewel, however, though deprived of his ancient home, did not soon quit the university: for his own peace of mind it would have been better for him to depart. But the laws yet unrepealed would, he supposed, protect the reformed party; and, besides, it was difficult to find in that emergency any who was competent faithfully to advise. Peter Martyr was gone; and Jewel's mind turned naturally to his ancient friend and benefactor Parkhurst. To him, though scarcely knowing where to find him, he addressed some brief hurried notes in the month of

[1] Fuller, Church Hist. Book VIII. Sect. i. 7.

October, and afterwards made a journey to Cleeve, in hopes of a personal interview[2]. These hopes were disappointed. Parkhurst, on the first news of the mass being restored in those parts, had gone, in company with Guy Eton, archdeacon of Gloucester, to London, and shortly after proceeded to the continent. It was a time of frost and snow, and Jewel had travelled to Cleeve on foot: disappointed and half dead with fatigue, he retraced his steps to Oxford.

For some time, it would seem, Jewel continued at Oxford free from immediate danger. Nor does it exactly appear at what particular time the toils began to thicken round him, in which he was near being fatally snared. In April 1554 we find him acting as notary to Cranmer and Ridley in their disputation[3] (it would seem at Cranmer's choice) in all apparent security. It must therefore have been at a subsequent period that, while he was probably deliberating upon the necessity of flight, the commissioners of heretical pravity, as they were called, pounced suddenly upon him, and required his consent to Romish articles[4] under pain of the worst punishment. Bewildered and helpless, Jewel, alas! complied. Good men, recollecting the frailty of the flesh, will pity at least as much as they condemn him. Taking hastily the pen that was offered him, he said with a smile—it must have been a bitter one—"Must I too write? Do you wish to see my hand, and try what fair letters I can make?" Reluctantly he signed his name, and was from that moment a heart-stricken man. He knew that what he had done would not satisfy the persecutors, and he must have sadly feared lest God, whose truth he had denied, would give him up.

He was just in time to escape apprehension. Marshall, the dean of Christ Church, an unprincipled person, who complied with every change of religion, had more than once laid snares for him. It was by his means, it would seem, that the articles which he signed were urged on him; and now, had Jewel remained a single night longer in Oxford, he would have been seized and delivered into the hands of the pitiless Bonner. Had he gone, too, the straight road to London, the blood-hounds of Marshall would have caught him. And in fact he well-nigh perished. Lame as he was, he had to travel on till he could go no farther, when exhausted in body and sick in soul he cast himself upon the ground, as he thought, to die. But, by God's good providence, help was now at hand. He was lighted on by Augustine Bernher, Latimer's faithful attendant, afterwards an honoured minister of the word, who placed him, like the good Samaritan, upon a horse, and conducted him to the manor-house of English, in the parish of Nuffield, near Nettlebed, then occupied by the well-known Mrs Warcup, a pious widow, the friend of many of the reformed clergy. She refreshed and cherished him, and sent him safely on to London. Here he was secreted, first in a house in Thames-street: he next stayed a few days with a worthy man named Francis Goldsmith, till by the interference of Sir Nicholas Throgmorton, and through the instrumentality of Giles Laurence, who afterwards preached his funeral sermon, and was then tutor to the sons of Mr Arthur Darcy near the Tower, he was supplied with means and a passage to the continent. He arrived at Frankfort March 13, 1555.

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[2] See Vol. IV. pages 1190, 1. This journey must have been in the winter of 1553-4. It has been thought by some that it was at a later period, and but little prior to Jewel's own flight to the continent. But it must be recollected that Parkhurst was gone long before that, as we find him (Troubles at Frankfort) settled at Zurich in October, 1554. Jewel's note describing his disappointment was evidently written just after Parkhurst's departure.

[3] Strype, Cranmer, Book III. chap. x.

[4] There was a visitation at Oxford about October, 1554, when many were deprived. See Strype, Eccles. Mem. Vol. III. chap. xvi. It is not unlikely that this was the time of Jewel's yielding. Harding, in his "Rejoindre to M. Jewel's Replie," fol. [illegible] i. 2, says that it was after the disputation, and that he signed publicly in St Mary's church. See also Vol. IV. Append. page 1309.

It seems probable that, before his departure from Oxford, Jewel held some communication with archbishop Cranmer, then in custody there. The last letter which Cranmer wrote to Peter Martyr was sent by an individual, whom he describes, without naming him, in such terms as would admirably befit Jewel. A copy of the letter, which is printed in the works of Cranmer, Park. Soc. Edit. and also in Orig. Lett. Lett. XVIII. is here subjoined[1].

The exiles at Frankfort were in a state of contention when Jewel reached that place. He appears to have been among the company of Dr Cox, afterwards bishop of Ely, whose arrival was not very agreeable to the dominant party, headed by Knox and Whittingham, who had disused the English service-book, and substituted that of Geneva. These were unwilling to admit the new-comers into their church, and reproached them for that some of their company—Jewel is particularly pointed at—had signed wicked articles before leaving England.

Jewel was anxious as soon as possible to make open confession of his fault; and this he purposed in his own mind to do[2]. Before, however, opportunity offered, two friends, Richard Chambers and Thomas Sampson, came to him and suggested the propriety of such a step. This he mentioned the same night to Dr Sandys, afterwards archbishop of York, his chamber-fellow in the house of Mr Isaac, a Kentish gentleman, also an exile in the same city. Sandys earnestly advised him frankly and fully to make his open acknowledgement. "I am fully resolved upon it," said Jewel, "and, if no one had suggested it, I was intending to do it of my own accord; for sacred things are not to be played with; neither can God, the searcher of the heart and reins, be mocked." Accordingly, the next Sunday having entered the pulpit, he "made (they are Featley's words) an excellent sermon, and in the end of it openly confessed his fall in these words: 'It was my abject and cowardly mind and faint heart that made my weak hand to commit this wickedness.' Which when he had brought forth with a gale of sighs from the bottom of the anguish of his soul, and had made humble supplication for pardon, first to Almighty God whom he had offended, and afterwards to his church which he had scandalized, no man was found in that great congregation who was not pricked with compunction and wounded with compassion, or who embraced him not ever after that sermon as a most dear brother, nay, as an angel of God. So far was this saint of God from accounting sophistry any part of the science of salvation, or justifying any equivocating shifts, which are daily hatched in the school of antichrist[3]." So deeply impressed, it may be

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[1] Post plurimam in Christo Servatore nostro salutem. Quando tum demum necessariæ sunt literæ, quum aut non satis prudens est nuncius, aut rerum quas significare volumus ignarus, aut non fidus cui arcana credas; quumque mihi Dei benignitate sese obtulisset hic tabellarius, vir et prudentia (ut nosti) insigni, et qui rebus in credendis fidissimus sit, et nostrum utriusque amantissimus, et rerum nostratium scientissimus, e cujus ore quæ hic acta fuerint intelligas omnia; non necessarium existimavi ut prolixius ad te scriberem, præsertim quum scripturæ tot pericula damnaque afferre soleant. Illud tamen unum prætermittendum non censui, quod expertus didici, nunquam Deum splendidius illucescere, et clementiæ suæ, consolationis, aut roboris ac fortitudinis animi radios suorum mentibus clarius aut pressius infundere, quam in summis animi corporisque angoribus atque pressuris; ut tum vel maxime sese declaret suorum esse Deum, quum illos deseruisse prorsus videtur; tum erigere quum dejicere atque prosternere, tum glorificare quum confundere, tum denique vivificare quum occidere putetur. Ut cum Paulo dicere liceat, 'Quando infirmor tunc fortior sum, et si gloriari oportet, in infirmitatibus meis gloriabor, in carceribus, in contumeliis, in necessitatibus, in persecutionibus, in angustiis pro Christo.' Faxit obsecro Deus, ut in finem perseveremus. Hodie nihil magis animum angit meum, quam quod hactenus M.A. nihil est responsum, ad cujus astutias, præstigias, et insanias jamdudum non defuisset responsum, nisi mihi defuissent et libri et libertas. Præterquam tibi scripsi nemini, nec scire velim quenquam quod ad te scripserim: proinde nomine meo salutabis neminem.

THOMAS CRAMMERUS.

Hæc in manu archiepiscopi Cantuariensis.

Scripsit hæc ex carcere ad D. Pet. Martyrem. M.A. significat Marc. Antonium, nimirum Vuintoniensem. 1555.

The signature is in another hand; the subjoined note in that of Bullinger.

[2] See Vol. I. page 61.

[3] Life prefixed to editions of 1609, 1611.

added, was Chambers with all this, that from that time he made Jewel an allowance of money for his support.

By the firmness of Dr Cox the innovations which had been made at Frankfort were stopped, and the English service-book was restored. That Jewel thoroughly agreed with, and seconded him in his efforts, is evident from the part he took in the representation made to the authorities of the city against Knox. It was the fate of that most zealous reformer to be unable to act in any thing with moderation. In a book, entitled the "Admonition of Christians concerning the present troubles of England," he had used language in regard to queen Mary, Philip, and the emperor, which, little squeamish as were the minds of men in that age, thoroughly disgusted the more sober protestants. They were anxious therefore that so violent a man should be removed from any control over the exiles' church; and hence they complained—Jewel's name[4] is mentioned as one of them that joined in the complaint—to the magistrates. Knox was accordingly required to depart.

Neither did Jewel remain long in Frankfort. For he speedily received pressing invitations from Peter Martyr to join him at Strasburgh, into whose house there he was received and treated as a beloved son. Many of the exiles were collected in this city: among them were Grindal, afterwards archbishop of Canterbury, Sandys, Ponet, the deprived bishop of Winchester, Nowel, afterwards dean of St Paul's, Sir John Cheke, Sir Anthony Cook, Sir Thomas Wroth, and a host of other scarcely less distinguished persons. Here they formed a kind of college, converting their place of exile into a seminary of learning and a school of piety. Peter Martyr lectured on the Ethics of Aristotle and the book of Judges; and here, as at Oxford, Jewel was one of his most diligent auditors. He took down the substance of what was said, before dinner conned it over with Martyr, and after dinner made a fair copy, in almost exactly the words in which the commentary upon Judges was afterwards printed.

In the following year Conrad Pellican, the venerable professor of Hebrew at Zurich, died at a very advanced age; and Martyr was invited to succeed him. He complied with the invitation, and removed to Zurich in July 1556. Hither Jewel accompanied him, and, as before, was lodged in his house. Several English exiles were settled in that city, and among them were Pilkington, afterwards bishop of Durham, Thomas Lever, Laurence Humfrey, Jewel's biographer, and Parkhurst, his old tutor. The meeting of these friends must have been a joyful one. The hospitality of the Zurichers to the banished Englishmen deserves to be mentioned with all honour. Funds had been at first transmitted from England through some London merchants, Springham, Abel, and Eton; and by the wise distribution of Chambers they had had enough. But bishop Gardiner getting notice of this took means to stop it, vowing that he would make the exiles eat their finger-nails. And most of their friends were soon either imprisoned or impoverished, so that the supplies from home began to fail: but God has many modes of providing for his people; and the senate of Zurich, on the instance of Bullinger, and Christopher, prince of Wurtemberg, stepped forward with the necessary help.

For almost all the remainder of his exile Jewel continued at Zurich. But it seems probable that he visited Padua from thence, and formed the acquaintance of Scipio, the person to whom he addressed his epistle respecting the council of Trent. No early biographer indeed mentions such a journey; and the fact of it has been therefore doubted. But, when it is recollected that nearly two years

[4] Strype, Eccles. Mem. Vol. III. chap. xxxi.

and a half elapsed between his going to Zurich and his return to England, and that all the accounts we have of his proceedings during that time are compressed into a few sentences, we may easily allow the possibility of a sojourn at Padua, a place which many protestants visited, and where it is certain that some of Jewel's friends were.

His course of life at Zurich was similar to what it had been at Strasburgh. He diligently pursued his private studies, and was always ready for Martyr's public lectures; while in the afternoons he used to read the fathers aloud to his elder friend, especially the works of St Augustine, in which they both greatly delighted. He kept up a constant correspondence too with various friends, cheering them with the example of those who, like Munson, (possibly his fellow-notary in Cranmer's disputation) had died blessedly in the faith; endeavouring to reconcile those that were at variance by representing how great offence the strifes of such as should be brethren must cause to the minds of all good men; and, if he heard of any that were sinking under the weight of their troubles, or overwhelmed with the misery of their exile, and were seeking relief by restless change, with judicious tenderness he would remind them of the necessity of patience, and of the folly of rushing from the smoke into the flame. They were able, he told them, to bear that affliction, which God had put upon them that it might be borne. Their brethren in England were suffering far worse extremities; it was not fitting therefore that they should live at ease; but rather they should humbly bear some part of the cross of Christ, by whomsoever instrumentally it might be laid upon them. And he used to add, as if impressed with the conviction that a time of refreshment was at hand, "these present miseries shall not last an age."

Happier times did come. On the 17th of November, 1558, Mary died; and Elizabeth succeeded to the throne. On the 1st of December the news reached Zurich; and the exiles there prepared to return. Jewel's journey was slow: in fact, he was fifty-seven days in reaching London. He arrived however before Parkhurst, who, having taken what he thought a safer route, was robbed on his journey. Jewel had the satisfaction of being able to assist him in his destitute condition, as he had done before in his exile at Zurich. On his return he was entertained at first for almost six months in the house of Nicholas Culverwell, a worthy citizen of London, till he was sent for by the Lord Williams of Thame, who was sick, to visit him.

Jewel's history was now the history of the church; and his personal share is best told in the letters which he addressed to his friends at Zurich. As events proceeded, he was full alternately of hope and of fear, now grieving at the slow progress made, and then thankful that the queen was acting so wisely. He was too prominent a character to be left out of any arrangements which were made for the settlement of religion; and accordingly we find his name among those of the protestants who were to engage the papal divines in solemn disputation at Westminster. Of that disputation he has given an account in a letter, dated April 6, to Martyr. Soon after, it was understood that he would be one of the persons selected to fill the vacant sees. He himself speaks of this in one of his letters, expressing at the same time his resolution to decline, if it were possible, the weighty burden.

There was, however, a more immediate occupation found for him. He had preached at Paul's Cross June 18, and now he was appointed one of the commissioners in the general visitation of the dioceses. The commission bore date

[1] Strype, Annals, Vol. I. chap. xi.

July 19, 1559[2]; and Jewel's route, in which he was associated with William, earl of Pembroke, Henry Parry, and William Lovelace, was to the west through the counties of Berks, Gloucester, Somerset, Devon, Cornwall, Dorset, and Wilts. He wrote to Martyr August 1; and again November 2, just after his return. Jewel must have visited Salisbury with peculiar feelings as the place of his future labours; and it seems probable that he and his company were the bearers of the *congé d'élire*, dated July 27. For on the very day, August 10, on which the queen's injunctions were delivered to the dean and chapter under the hands of John Cheyne, John Jewel, William Lovelace, Henry Parry, the queen's majesty's commissioners, the chapter, it is noted, Parry as chancellor presiding, received the letters of *congé d'élire*, and decreed to meet on the 11th to fix a day for the election of a new bishop. On this occasion, too, Jewel appears to have come into contact with his future opponent Harding. Harding was of the same county, and had been bred at the same school, Barnstaple, though, as he was ten years his senior, it is not likely that the two were actual school-fellows. Harding was of New College, Oxford, and graduated B.A. in 1537, and B.D. 1552, the year after Jewel. In Edward VI.'s reign he was an earnest protestant, and was made chaplain to the lady Jane Gray's father, the duke of Suffolk. On Mary's accession he was as zealous a papist, became confessor to bishop Gardiner, and was by him preferred in the cathedral of Winchester. He was afterwards canon-residentiary and treasurer of Salisbury, having obtained the treasurership July 17, 1555, and the canonry Oct. 13, 1558. At the visitation, according to Jewel's account, he refused to subscribe, and it would seem that he lost his treasurership; into which dignity Thomas Lancaster was afterwards installed. From this time, doubtless, Jewel was regarded by him with evil eye.

Jewel, it may here be mentioned, was elected by the chapter Aug. 21; and, the mandate for the confirmation and consecration having been issued Dec. 27, he was confirmed by the archbishop of Canterbury's commissaries at the church of St Mary-le-bow, Jan. 18, 1560; and consecrated in Lambeth palace chapel, Jan. 21, by the archbishop, Parker, the bishops of London, Grindal, Ely, Cox, and the suffragan of Bedford, Hodgkin, assisting: he was enthroned by proxy, (his proxy being the new treasurer of the cathedral, Lancaster,) March 6, and had the temporalities restored April 6. It was his own belief, that in the chapter at Sarum Harding had attended and voted in the election for him. This, however, Harding denied; and it would seem that Jewel was here mistaken[3].

He had had some scruples upon the vexed question of the vestments, and we find traces of his thoughts in the letters which he penned to his friends abroad. But, though personally he would have chosen that these "relics of the Amorites," as he termed them, should be entirely removed, he easily perceived the folly and sin there would be in deserting the work to which he was called, on these indifferent grounds. And, when afterwards the controversy began to assume a more serious aspect, and he saw that an impatience of all rule rather than an enlightened conscience was manifesting itself, he was alive to the evils which might result, and determinately set himself to check the vain contention of even those whom, as friends, he honoured and loved. A more serious scruple there was in his own mind respecting the use of the crucifix, to which he was on principle opposed; and on account of which, even after he was consecrated, he seems to have at one time imagined that he should not be allowed to execute the episcopal office. In such times, and under such circumstances, we may readily believe that it was with personal reluctance that he accepted that foremost post, to which, in

[2] Ibid. chap. xii.

[3] See Vol. III. page 334.

the providence of God, he now was summoned. And it was with a deep se of the weight laid upon him that he frequently repeated that sentence of t apostle, "If a man desire the office of a bishop, he desireth a work."

Before proceeding to his see, Jewel appeared before the world as a polemi writer. Up to this time he had, as he declares in one of his letters to Dr Co "never set abroad in print twenty lines[1]." He had, however, before his con cration been appointed to preach at Paul's Cross, Nov. 26, 1559, when he utte that remarkable challenge, that if, with respect to certain specified artic "any learned man alive were able to prove any... by any one clear or pl clause or sentence, either of the scriptures, or of the old doctors, or of any o general council, or by any example of the primitive church," "for the spa of six hundred years after Christ," he would "give over and subscribe un him." It is probable that the Romanists regarded this challenge as a va glorious boast, and that some even of the reformed side were fearful that t preacher had ventured too far and too boldly. That the balance of antiqui was against the papal church was believed by those who had investigated t works of early writers; but that *no one* clear or plain clause or sentence of approved author could be produced was a perilous assertion. Jewel howev well knew the ground he had taken, and repeated his challenge, after he w consecrated, at court, March 17, 1560, and at Paul's Cross, March 31, with t addition of several fresh articles. The notorious Dr Cole first entered the lis and several letters passed between him and the bishop; nor was the corr spondence finally closed till the 22nd of July, after Jewel had gone into h diocese. The whole, together with the sermon, was published in the same year

It was on or about the 24th of May, 1560, that Jewel left London for h diocese. A short time previously the steeple of the cathedral was injured b lightning. The bishop thought it well that this occurred before his coming; el evil-disposed and superstitious persons would have set it down as a mark of th divine displeasure.

There must have been abundance of labour for the new prelate; and he ha himself, with characteristic modesty, sometime before in a letter to Gualte expressed his own sense of his unfitness as an unpractised man to take th guidance of the church. But he entered on his work with full purpose to d what he could. The see had been some time vacant; and his predecessor, Capon by name, an unprincipled man, who, after conforming under Edward VI became one of the bloody actors in the Marian persecution, had so impoverishe it, that there was scarcely a living left to it sufficient for the maintenance of learned man. Jewel therefore, in order to supply the want of able minister visited and preached himself in all parts of his diocese. In this he was almo unassisted; and it was evident that his strength was unequal to such incessar labours. But when his friends, Humfrey in particular, entreated him to remi this care to others, he replied that he would willingly do so, but that unlearne men would be of no service, and that he could not expect to obtain the help o learned men, since he had no suitable benefices for their support. The Capo he added, had devoured all. It must not be inferred from this that the actua revenues of the see were inadequate suitably to maintain the bishop. Th account given by Herman Folkerzheimer[2] of Jewel's mode of life sufficientl proves the contrary; and Jewel himself, while admitting a certain degree of im poverishment, declares that the poorest see in England—and his was not th poorest—was still as rich as some three of the popish bishopricks in Naples[3].

[1] Vol. I. page 52. [2] Zur. Lett. Sec. Series, Lett. xxxix. pp. 84, &c. [3] See Vol. IV. page 971.

His diligence in preaching did not withdraw his attention from other duties. In order more effectually to reform abuses, he sat very often with his chancellor, and was president in his consistory court. His behaviour here may be judged of from his hints to his old tutor Parkhurst, now in the see of Norwich: "Let your chancellor be harder, but you easier: let him wound, but do you heal: let him lance, do you plaster: wise clemency will do more good than rigid severity: one man may move more with an engine than six with the force of their hands." Thus to act we may be sure was a delight to him. He had always been of a sweet and gentle temper; and, though some found or fancied that in his later years he was more easily ruffled than he had been, yet all were obliged to allow that the cloud easily passed away. He was besides employed as a justice of the peace. This indeed was not an office that he desired; for he would rather have been exclusively engaged with matters ecclesiastical. Nevertheless there were cases in which some religious question was involved; and, if he could give his fellows on the bench information or counsel, or could assist in clearing up any doubt or difficulty, he was ready at his post.

His earnestness in charging those who were about to be ordained is particularly noticed, as well as his care in repelling those on whom he could not conscientiously lay his hands. Neither was he less earnest in defending the church from that spoliation and misapplication of benefices, then unfortunately too common. On this subject he spoke in the plainest terms in a sermon at court, addressing the queen herself with respectful boldness[4]. And in his own conduct he proved how unwilling he was to yield to any interference against the rights of the church: for, when a courtier and layman had obtained a prebend, and was desirous of letting it out for his advantage, "What your lawyers may answer, or what your lessee may do or desire," said the bishop, "I know not; but this I know, that I will with all my power take care that my church shall suffer no loss so long as I live[5]."

It was into a place so difficult properly to maintain, so full of labour to a zealous man, that Jewel proceeded in the spring, as already noted, of 1560. The diocese must have needed episcopal visitation: it was, however, thought expedient that first of all the visitations should be made by the authority of the metropolitan. To Jewel was entrusted by commission from the archbishop, dated Sept. 8[6], the authority of visiting the cities and dioceses of Salisbury and Bristol; though, in order to prevent any occasion of contest betwixt the bishop and the dean and chapter, the commission to visit the cathedral of Sarum was granted to Dr John Cottrell. It would seem that it was in reference to this visitation that Jewel observed in a letter to Peter Martyr, dated Nov. 6, that he was just entering upon it, and that he expected it would occupy two months.

In 1561 we find him again in London, and that he preached April 13th at Paul's Cross. The greater part of the year was, however, in all probability spent in his diocese. It is from Sarum that the letter is dated which discusses the lawfulness of a man's marrying the sister of a former wife[7]. This was probably on occasion of the earl of Westmoreland's case. Jewel's views were decidedly

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[4] See Vol. II. pages 1011, &c.

[5] The pithy words of Featley are worth quoting: "And surely, if ever to any, then unto him his bishoprick was a continual work of ruling and governing, not only by the pastoral staff of his jurisdiction in his consistory, but also in the court of men's consciences, by the golden sceptre of God's word preached. The memory of his assiduity in preaching, carefulness in providing pastors, resoluteness in reforming abuses, bounty in relieving the poor, wisdom in composing litigious strifes, equity in judging spiritual causes, faithfulness in keeping and sincerity in bestowing church-goods, is as an ointment poured out and blown abroad through the diocese of Sarum by the breath of every man's commendation."—Life prefixed to editions of 1609, 1611.

[6] Strype, Parker, Book II. chap. iii.

[7] See Lett. xxviii. pages 1243, &c.

adverse to such a step. But, when such was his opinion, it is curious to find him expressing himself as he did on the same subject to archbishop Parker sometime afterwards[1].

In 1562 came forth the *Apologia Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ*. Of this remarkable work it is sufficient here to say, that it was received with the warmest commendation by the reformed, and speedily translated into various languages; while it was so far accredited at home, as to be "approved by the allowance and authority of the queen, and published by the consent of the bishops and others[2]." An English translation was printed the same year, in which archbishop Parker is said to have had a considerable share. A more perfect version was, however, afterwards made by lady Bacon, one of the five daughters of sir Anthony Cook, wife of sir Nicholas Bacon, lord keeper of the great seal, and mother of the renowned lord Bacon. This when completed she sent to the primate and to bishop Jewel with a letter in Greek, which the bishop, it is said, answered in the same language. The translation was examined by the two prelates and approved; and Parker, as the highest proof of his commendation, returned to lady Bacon in print the book which he had received from her in manuscript. It was published in 1564, with a prefatory letter by Parker, and with a tract appended containing a brief sketch of the church of England, with lists of the bishopricks, and an account of the universities[3]. That appendix is, with great probability, attributed to the archbishop himself. In the same year the epistle to Scipio appears to have been written, if we may judge by certain incidental expressions found in it. This piece was not printed in the bishop's life-time, nor is it at all stated by Brent, in whose translation of Father Paul's History of the Council of Trent it first appeared, from what source he obtained it: but the internal evidence is most strong for attributing it to Jewel. We find the same line of argument as in his acknowledged works, the same citations, the same illustrations, the same misnomers. It appears to end abruptly, and perhaps, as unfinished, was never dispatched to Scipio. The person so designated has been supposed, it may be added, to be Scipione Biondi, son of Michel Angiolo Biondi.

In the years 1563 and 1564 we have little particular account of Jewel's employments. The affairs of his diocese doubtless pressed upon him; and there were also other events occurring which largely demanded his attention. At the beginning of 1563, if not at the close of 1562, he had received the intelligence of the decease of his revered friend Peter Martyr: his feelings upon that event may be seen expressed in the letter he wrote to Bullinger, and also in that to Simler acknowledging the receipt of a silver image or medal of Martyr, and of Simler's oration of his life[4].

Jewel is supposed by some modern writers to have had a large hand in the preparation of the second book of homilies: it is more likely that he was called on merely to revise them[5]. Even this however would require much diligent attention. By this time, too, he must have been aware that a reply was preparing to his sermon of the Challenge. Between himself as bishop and Harding as canon of Sarum little cordiality could exist; and the latter makes accordingly complaint of the rigour with which he was treated. He was, it would seem, ordered to keep his house[6], and he soon after thought proper to retire to Louvain. Here, urged on by his party, who believed him a champion able to grapple with the bishop,

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[1] See Lett. xxxviii. page 1262.
[2] Strype, Annals, Vol. I. chap. xxv.
[3] See Vol. III. pages 109, &c.
[4] See Lett. xxxv. xxxvii. pages 1257, &c. 1260, 1.
[5] It is not improbable that Jewel introduced some additional authorities; but nothing certain has been ascertained.
[6] See Mason, Vindication of the Church of England, by Lindsay, Lond. 1728. Book III. chap. xviii. p. 356.

and quickened, doubtless, by private pique, he was labouring diligently upon his Answer, which, according to the date in the title-page of the first edition, appeared in 1564—early, it is probable, in that year. An answer, of course, was required from Jewel; and of this, as we find by his letter to Cecil, Jan. 30, 1565, much must have been completed in 1564.

The earlier part of 1565 was also employed upon the same task; and in order to have time to finish it Jewel was anxious to be spared the necessity of preaching that Lent before the queen. If this request was granted[7], it was probably on condition that he should preach at a somewhat later date, when the Reply was passing through the press; for we find him at Paul's Cross on May 27, and taking occasion to animadvert on some of the authorities which Harding had alleged, and which he denounced as spurious. This produced an angry letter from Harding, dated Antwerp, June 12[8]. In the autumn Jewel's Reply was published: but scarcely was it abroad before Harding had produced a Confutation of the Apology; and Jewel had therefore a fresh labour before him. It is a little amusing to find him complaining of this in a letter of a somewhat later date to Bullinger, and almost innocently marvelling why *he* should be specially selected as the object of the Romish attacks[9].

The university of Oxford conferred a high honour on Jewel this year. May 26, 1565, the venerable congregation decreed, as we learn from the *Fasti Oxonienses*, that though absent he should be absolutely created doctor of divinity by a certain graduate to be assigned by the commissary. This was accordingly done in London. A few months after we find him actually at Oxford[10], on occasion of a visit of the queen to the university, August 31, when he bore the part of a moderator in the disputations which were held, and acquitted himself in a manner worthy his splendid reputation.

In the latter part of the same year the bishop was at issue with his friend and future biographer Dr Humfrey, who had obstinate scruples in regard to the habits. This divine had been presented by Horne, bishop of Winchester, to a benefice in the diocese of Sarum, and had, it would seem, the archbishop's favour thereto. Jewel's personal feelings would be enlisted on Humfrey's side. He had also himself once entertained similar scruples; and even now he could have wished, as we find him acknowledging to Bullinger, that every such relic were taken away. Nevertheless, with the high principle and masculine sense which he ever evinced, he could not allow disorder to be brought into the church. To existing rules obedience must be paid. Humfrey wrote an earnest letter of entreaty from Oxford, Dec. 20, appealing to his friendship, and promising that while within his diocese he would not transgress. This, however, did not satisfy Jewel, who, two days later, when Humfrey's letter had probably been received, wrote to the archbishop that, without his grace's special directions, or good assurance of his conformity, he was determined not to receive him[11]. The final result does not appear. But it is delightful to know that the friendship of the two was not broken. Humfrey was the man pitched upon to preach Jewel's funeral sermon, and it was only because he was not in residence at Oxford, that the charge devolved upon another. Humfrey was the man whom Parker and Sandys selected for Jewel's biographer; and that duty he performed gladly and zealously as a labour of love.

In 1566 the bishop was engaged upon the Defence of the Apology; and we

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[7] In Parker's list of Lent preachers this year, Jewel's name does not appear. Strype, Parker, Append. No. 44.

[8] See Vol. I. page 85, and Strype, Annals, Vol. I. chap. xlv., also Appendix, No. 30.

[9] See Lett. xlii. page 1266.

[10] Conf. Vol. III. page 166.

[11] Strype, Parker, Book III. chap. i. and Lett. xli. page 1265.

find him soliciting in the course of it information upon certain points from Bullinger[1]. In this year another book was produced by Harding, entitled "A Rejoindre to M. Jewel's Replie;" and in 1567, another "Rejoindre to M. Jewel's Replie against the Sacrifice of the Masse;" while in the last-named year appeared the unanswerable "Defence of the Apology," which may well be called "a storehouse of authorities" against popish pretension and popish doctrine. Harding attacked it in his "Detection of sundry foul Errors uttered by M. Jewel, in his Defence of the Apologie." This book was published in 1568; and in 1569 Jewel had completed a second and much enlarged edition of the Defence; which appeared in 1570, was reprinted in 1571, and may be considered to have virtually closed the controversy. It may not be improper to add that there were various other writers on both sides who took part in it, such as Dorman, Harpsfield, Sanders, Stapleton, Rastal, and Heskins, of the Romanists, and Nowell, Dering, and Fulke, of the protestants: these, however, need not further be adverted to.

Of Jewel's more personal proceedings during these years we have few particulars. A little may be gleaned from his letters to archbishop Parker and Cecil[2]; which refer to a visitation, to his sending a Saxon book to the primate, and to a purposed new impression of the Apology. In 1570 he delivered his "View of a seditious Bull," which was not printed till after his decease. At this time, exhausted probably by his incessant labours, he seemed to be persuaded that he was approaching the term of his earthly pilgrimage. Friends were falling round him; and, when he had written to Parkhurst of the decease of Whitehead, and of Cole, archdeacon of Essex, and of Alley, bishop of Exeter, July 7, 1570, he added, "I must soon follow him; the lean bishop the fat." In another letter, "I would to God we might meet and talk together; but now it is too late. It makes not much matter: I hope we shall see one the other in heaven. *Flux, flux* (*i. e.* in German, quick, quick), make haste; else, if you delay, I shall be before you." And again Feb. 3, 1571, he wrote, "There is a rumour, though vague and uncertain, of the meeting of parliament: if it be so, perhaps I shall again embrace you before my death—mine, I say, not yours; for you shall still sing 'Ο Θεὸς ἰσχυρὸς ἀθάνατος,' that is, God is strong and immortal. To Bullinger a month later he says that parliament was to meet April 2; and he rejoices in the expectation of seeing his beloved tutor, whom he had now not met for full seven years.

He attended that parliament, and the convocation in which the articles were again revised; and it was determined, May 4, that, "when the book of articles touching doctrine should be fully agreed upon, then the same should be put in print by the order and direction of the bishop of Sarum[3]." This accordingly was done; so that he may justly be said to have set the finishing hand to our present articles.

The controversy with the puritans was now beginning to thicken; and deeply must the heart of Jewel have grieved at the gloomy prospect. Peace he earnestly desired; and to a certain extent he would have been willing to concede. But he found that the controversy was with men who would have no peace. He therefore took determinately his stand upon the principles of the church. His last sermon at Paul's Cross contained a touching expostulation with the misguided opponents of established rule; his last production was a paper against some of their assertions[4]. And by a letter from the queen, dated August 28, he was required, with the archbishop and bishop of London, before the month of October ensuing, to take means for the reformation of abuses.

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[1] See Lett. xliii. pages 1269, 70.
[2] See Lett. xlv. &c., pages 1273, &c.
[3] Strype, Parker, Book iv. chap. v.
[4] See pages 1299, 1300.

Now the end of his days was approaching. But of him it may truly be said, that his last works were more than his first. On returning "from a conference at London, he began a new and more severe visitation through his whole diocese than ever before, correcting the vices of clergy and laity more sharply, enjoining them, in some places, tasks of holy tracts to be learned by heart, conferring orders more circumspectly, and preaching oftener[5]."

It is said it was in this visitation that, preaching at Abingdon, he quoted a passage from St Gregory, *Sacerdotum præparatur exercitus*[6], betokening the approach of antichrist. The Romanists exclaimed that he had falsified the text; and indeed his friends, consulting the printed editions which had *exitus*, were afraid that he had fallen into error, till one bethought him of examining a manuscript, where *exercitus* was seen to be the word—a reading which is now universally received[7]. The bishop's accuracy and judgment were thus satisfactorily vindicated.

This last visitation he did not live to finish. But the closing scene shall be narrated in Featley's words: By his "restless labours and watchful cares he brought his feeble body so low that, as he rode to preach at Laycock in Wiltshire, a gentleman friendly admonished him to return home for his health's sake, saying that such straining his body in riding and preaching, being so exceeding weak and ill affected, might bring him in danger of his life; assuring him that it was better the people should want one sermon, than be altogether deprived of such a preacher. To whom he replieth, 'It becometh best a bishop to die preaching in the pulpit;' alluding peradventure to the apophthegm of Vespasian, *Oportet imperatorem stantem mori;* and seriously thinking upon the comfortable euloge of his Master, 'Happy art thou, my servant, if when I come I find thee so doing.' Wherefore, that he might not deceive the people's expectation, he ascendeth the pulpit, and, now nothing but spirit (his flesh being pined away and exhausted), reads his text out of the fifth to the Galatians, 'Walk in the Spirit;' and with much pain makes an end of it.

"Presently after sermon his disease growing more upon him forced him to take his bed, and to think of his dissolution now not far off. In the beginning of his extreme fits he made his will, considering therein his brother J. Jewel and his friends with some kind remembrances, but bestowing the rest[8] more liberally upon his servants, scholars, and the poor of Sarum. The Saturday following, nature with all her forces (being able no longer to hold fight with the disease) shrinking and failing, he calleth all his household about him, and, after an exposition of the Lord's prayer, *cantator cygnus funeris ipse sui*, thus beginneth his sweet song:

"'I see I am now to go the way of all flesh, and I feel the arrows of death already fastened in my body: wherefore I am desirous, in few words, while yet my most merciful God vouchsafeth me the use of my tongue, to speak unto you all. It was my prayer always unto Almighty God, since I had any understanding, that I might honour his name with the sacrifice of my flesh, and confirm his truth with the oblation of this my body unto death in the defence thereof; which seeing he hath not granted me in this, yet I somewhat rejoice and solace myself, that it is worn away and exhausted in the labours of my holy calling. For, while I visit the people of God, God, my God, hath visited me with M. Harding, who provoked me first. I have contended in my writings not to detract from his credit and estimation, nor to patronize any error to my knowledge, nor to gain the vain applause of the world, but according to my poor ability to do my best service to

[5] Life prefixed to editions of 1609, 1611.
[6] See Vol. I. page 345, note 7.
[7] James, Corruption of Fathers, &c. Lond. 1688. Part II. pp. 231, &c.
[8] Most, 1609.

God and his church. My last sermon at Paul's Cross[1], and conference about the ceremonies and state of our church, were not to please any man living, nor to grieve any of my brethren who are of a contrary opinion; but only to this end, that neither part might prejudice the other, and that the love of God might be shed in the hearts of all the brethren through the Spirit that is given us. And I beseech Almighty God of his infinite mercy to convert or confound the head of all these evils, and ringleader of all rebellions, disorders[2], and schisms, the bishop of Rome, who wheresoever he setteth foot soweth seeds of strife and contentions. I beseech him also long to preserve the queen's majesty, to direct and protect her council, to maintain and increase godly pastors, and to grant to his whole church unity and godly peace. Also I beseech you all that are about me, and all other whom I ever offended, to forgive me. And now that my hour is at hand, and all my moisture dried up, I most earnestly desire of you all this last duty of love, to pray for me, and help me with the ardency of your affection, when you perceive me, through the infirmity of my flesh, to languish and wax cold in my prayers. Hitherto I have taught you and many other; now the time is come wherein I may and desire to be taught and strengthened by every one of you.'

"Having thus spoken, and something more to the like purpose, with much pain and interruption, he desired them to sing the seventy-first psalm (which begins thus, 'In thee, O Lord, I put my trust; let me never be confounded'), himself joining as well as he could with them; and, when they recited those words, 'Thou art my hope, O Lord God, my trust even from my youth,' he added, 'Thou only wast my whole hope:' and, as they went forward, saying, 'Cast me not off in the time of age, forsake me not when my strength faileth me; yea, even to mine old age and grey head, forsake me not, O God,' he made this application to himself, 'He is an old man, he is truly grey-headed, and his strength faileth him, who lieth on his death-bed.' To which he added other thick and short prayers, as it were pulses, so moved by the power of God's Spirit, saying, 'Lord, take from me my spirit: Lord, now let thy servant depart in peace: Break off all delays: Suffer thy servant to come unto thee: Command him to be with thee: Lord, receive my spirit.'

"Here, when one of those that stood by prayed with tears, that (if it might stand with God's good pleasure) he would restore him to former health, Jewel, overhearing him, turned his eyes, as it were, offended, and spake to him in the words of St Ambrose: 'I have not lived so that I am ashamed to live longer; neither do I fear to die, because we have a merciful Lord. A crown of righteousness is laid up for me. Christ is my righteousness. Father, let thy will be done; thy will, I say, and not my will, which is imperfect and depraved. O Lord, confound me not. This is my To-day: This day quickly let me come unto thee: This day let me see the Lord Jesus.' With these words the door was shut by the base sound of the grinding, and the daughters of singing were abased, the silver cord lengthened no more, the golden ewer was cracked, and the pitcher broken at the well; yet the keepers, though with much trembling, stood erect, and they that looked out of the windows, though dark, yet were fixed toward heaven, till, after a few fervent inward prayers of devotion, and sighs of longing desire, the soul returned to God that gave it. M. Riley[3], the steward of his house, shut his eyes in the year of our Lord 1571, Sept. 22 [23], about three of the clock in the afternoon. *Ann. æt.* almost 50."

The character of bishop Jewel may be considered to be sufficiently illustrated

[1] Probably Serm. xiii. See Vol. II. pages 1090, &c.

[2] Discords, 1609.

[3] The folios have *Ridley*, which is a mistake.

in his writings, and especially in the familiar letters in which he unbosomed himself to his friends. A few general remarks may, however, be here added. His life was so pure that even his opponents were forced to confess it. His natural disposition was kind and indulgent, his demeanour cheerful, his conversation instructive, and occasionally jocose. He was ready in the practice of hospitality, and liberal in dispensing the resources he possessed. His doors he never closed against the poor: to prisoners he was charitably attentive; and young students especially he delighted to encourage. Six or seven of these he had ordinarily domesticated with him, and used to take pleasure in hearing them dispute, during his meal, on some literary subject. Others he allowed some annual stipend for their support at school or at the university. And it will always be regarded as a blessed incident in Jewel's history, that he was in this way the early patron of Richard Hooker, whose uncle had become known to him in his progress as one of the queen's ecclesiastical commissioners into the west. The narrative of the lad's being carried to the bishop, and being approved by him, of his being placed at Corpus Christi college, Oxford, under Dr. Cole, of his last visit to his benefactor at Salisbury, and being supplied, after a momentary forgetfulness, with money, and with the bishop's "horse" (his walking-staff), of his being commended by him to Sandys, and finally the grateful testimony yielded by Hooker himself to "the worthiest divine that Christendom had bred for some hundreds of years," must be read in Hooker's own immortal pages and those of his biographer, Isaac Walton. What would have been, it has well been asked, the holy "exultation of the champion of our church against the Romanists, if he could have known that by all these kind offices he was fostering and preparing an equally renowned defender of the same church against the assaults of her own rebellious children?"

The account we have of Jewel's private life is peculiarly interesting. He rose early, and spent the first hours of the day in study and devotion, taking a slight repast at eight o'clock; and so necessary did he feel it to secure the morning for privacy, that while he continued in his library he was unwilling to allow any access to him. His table was plain but plentifully served. He was personally very abstemious, so that, as Humfrey says, he helped every one but himself. His meals were sanctified by the reading of holy scripture, and rendered cheerful by his pleasant conversation, or by the literary disputations already referred to of young students. The afternoon was spent in the dispatch of business, the hearing and determining of causes, and often while seated at his table he would admit litigants, and by his fatherly counsel reconcile them. At nine in the evening he summoned his household to prayers, and was accustomed then to inquire into their conduct, and administer the commendation or reproof which each deserved. This diligent supervision must have had its wholesome fruit. And indeed a story is related of one of his domestics who, having after his death entered into another service, declined into evil courses, and had to suffer capital punishment. "Wretch that I am," said the culprit at the gallows, "for not having better profited by the admonitions of my good master Jewel. Had he lived, I should never have come to this shameful death." The duties of the day being over, the bishop retired again to his study, and soon afterwards to bed, an attendant first reading somewhat aloud to him. Thus commending himself to the Saviour, he took his rest.

Bishop Jewel appears to have been in face and person spare and emaciated; and with this Harding, with the meanness of a coarse mind, did not hesitate to taunt him[4]. It was his abstemiousness however and his exhausting studies

[4] See Vol. IV. pages 694, 7.

that so enfeebled him. The ardent spirit wore out its frail tabernacle. His mental powers were indeed remarkable, and his attainments such as to place him without dispute among the most distinguished scholars of his age. His stores were readily available. His memory was most retentive, and he had invented an artificial method of strengthening it, which he taught to Parkhurst and other friends. Several instances of his capabilities in this respect have been recorded. As for example, being once at Gloucester, bishop Hooper, afterwards martyred, gave him a list of forty Welsh, Irish, and other strange words. Jewel read them twice over, and then immediately repeated them without hesitation or mistake. Again, dining with Parkhurst bishop of Norwich, during a session of parliament, at the table of lord keeper Bacon, the conversation turned on a person celebrated for his powers of memory. Parkhurst thereupon observed that there was one present who could equal him. Bacon, finding that he meant the bishop of Salisbury, took the English paraphrase of Erasmus, and read the last ten lines in a most confused and broken order. The bishop covered his face with his hand for a few moments in deep rumination, and then repeated the lines backwards and forwards. A sermon also which he preached at St Mary's, Oxford, he is said to have learned by heart while the bell was sounding for church. Generally speaking, he appears not to have written the whole of his discourses. He first carefully studied his subject, next he drew out the heads, and arranged them upon paper, and committed them to memory. Then what he had to say was delivered in very appropriate words, with a sweet and well-modulated voice, and with so much self-possession that he was accustomed to say the noise of ten thousand men in uproar would not confuse him. His mode of study in general was of a similar character. He was in the habit of making vast collections in his common-place books, to which he had contrived well-digested indices, intelligible, however, only to himself. He was also accustomed to note in a diary whatever he met with which he thought worth preserving. And, when he was conducting his controversy with Harding, he first read the work of his antagonist, and then marked the parts that required reply. Afterwards he noted down the chief parts of his answer, and fixed upon the authorities he intended to cite. Then he had these passages transcribed, and proceeded deliberately to revise the whole. Such was his care in the production of his works.

It might readily be supposed that those against whom he had so convincingly written would be ready to take what exception they could against bishop Jewel; and accordingly it was insinuated that his prodigious learning was inspired by an evil genius. A foolish story was also circulated by some of the Romanists respecting his death. Because in his last hours he ejaculated, adopting the language of a seraphic hymn of the church, "O Lord, in thee have I trusted; let me never be confounded," it was reported that he had expired in agonies of remorse, and declared that the Lord had confounded him. The pathetic preamble of his last will might alone refute such a slander; as the will is dated Sept. 22, 1571, the day before the bishop's death. It runs, "In the name of God, Amen. I John Jewel, by God's sufferance bishop of Sarum, being sick in body but of perfite mind and understanding, praise be unto the eternal God for the same, do make and ordain this my last will and testament, the two and twentieth of September, A. D. 1571, in manner and form following. First and before all things I commend and bequeathe my soul into the most merciful hands of Almighty God, by whom in Christ Jesus I trust to have remission of all my manifold sins and offences, so many and sundry ways committed against his divine Majesty, whose poor servant I have

been, whose gospel I have truly preached, my conscience bearing me witness thereunto, and I trust to some comfort of his people. *Item*, I commit my weary body, broken and consumed in his weary labours, to be interred and laid in the grave, in our Lady's church of Sarum, in seemly and decent order, in such place there as shall seem good to my executors. *Item*, as touching such worldly goods as it hath pleased God to bestow upon me being now in my hands or any ways due unto me, I give and bequeathe unto my loving brother, John Jewel, of Northcote in Devon, gent., one hundred pounds of lawful money to be equally divided to the bestowing of his five daughters in marriage, to be paid by him or his executors to every of them at the days of their several marriages. *Item*, I give unto my said loving brother my new satin gown faced with velvet, and my best standing cup, to be taken at his choice, and my great signet, being a ring of gold."

Then follow a variety of bequests, to five sisters, friends, students, and servants, of money, rings, &c., and various directions; the most worthy of note being:

"To Anthony Robinson four and twenty pounds, desiring my successors to have consideration of his long and true service done unto me, and to retain him for my sake the like place."

"To mistress Pickeringe, wife of Richard Pickeringe, gent., £6. 13*s*. 4*d*. for the occupying of her napery in the time of my sickness."

"I do charge my executors of this my last will and testament before the living God, that they make a just and perfite reckoning unto the most reverend father in God, Thomass archbishop of Armagh, of all such sums of money of his as have come to my hands, which sum of money with the right reckoning and accompt of the same is in a place of my study known to my executors."

"Unto Mr. John Garbrand all my notes and papers of sermons, &c., and a ring of gold."

"Unto my very good lord the bishop of Bath and Wells[1] a walking-staff trimmed with silver."

To the poor of Salisbury he gave one hundred marks, to his cathedral church for repairs £20. Mention is also made of "the great box whereupon I was wont to write;" and Hugh Reyley and William Chambers, servants and executors, are constituted residuary legatees. This will was proved Nov. 10, 1571. The sums devised therein amounted to about £600. equivalent in all probability to £6000 at present. Of the bishop's library no special mention is made. According to Humfrey it was well furnished with fathers, schoolmen, and theological works in general. One of the instances of liberality exhibited by the bishop in his life-time was the erection of a library attached to the cathedral, which was replenished with books by his successor. The memory of each was honoured by the following inscription: *Hæc bibliotheca extructa est sumptibus R. P. ac D. D. Johannis Jewelli, quondam Sarum episcopi; instructa vero libris a R. in Christo P. D. Edmundo Gheast, olim ejusdam ecclesiæ episcopo; quorum memoria in benedictione erit. A. D.* 1578. It is probable that some of Jewel's books were preserved in this library; but a large portion appears, from the MS. account-books of Magdalene College, Oxford, to have been purchased by that society, through Humfrey, then president. There does not, however, remain any note to distinguish the books so purchased.

The bishop's funeral sermon was preached by Giles Laurence, archdeacon of Wilts, in the absence of Humfrey, and a second in the afternoon by William Holcot, a man, it is noted, of independent means.

[1] Gilbert Berkeley.

With respect to bishop Jewel's works, the following is the account given by Tanner.

Jewellus [Johannes] Budenæ in parochia de Berinarber comit. Devon. 24 May A. MDXXII natus, literis grammaticalibus apud Branton, Southmoulton, et Barnstapliam institutus sub auspiciis Walteri Bowen; Oxoniamque missus mense Julio A. MDXXXV inter Mertonenses admissus fuit. Ibi favore præceptoris sui Johannis Parkhurst, postea episcopi Norwicensis, factus est portionista; A. MDXXXIX scholaris collegii Corporis Christi electus; et anno sequenti baccalaureus artium, mox rhetoricæ in eodem collegio prælector; et A. MDL. S. theol. baccalaureus creatus prædicatoris officio apud Sunningwell juxta Abendoniam functus est. Regnum auspicante Maria e Collegio Corp. Christi pulsus, ad aulam Lateportensem abiit (juxta Fuller, *Eccl. Hist.* loco ut infra) et ibi religionem pontificiam professus esse dicitur. Postea autem in Germaniam migrare coactus est, ubi primo Francofurti, deinde Argentorati sedem fixit. Mortua regina A. MDLVIII in patriam rediit, et anno sequenti ab Elizabetha ad episcopatum Sarisburiensem evectus erat. A. MDLXV renunciatus est S. theol. doctor Oxon. Extruxit bibliothecam ecclesiæ cathedrali Sarum contiguam. Scripsit *Exhortationem ad Oxonienses.* Extat summa ejus in *Vita* per Laur. Humfredum impr. MDLXXIII. p. 35. *Exhortationem in Collegio Corp. Christi, sive concionem in fundatoris Foxi commemorationem.* Pr. "In memoria æterna erit justus." Ibid. p. 45, seqq. (1) *Concionem in templo B. Mariæ virginis,* Oxon. A. MDL. *in* 1 *Petr.* iv. 11. Ibid. Lat. p. 49. Pr. "Si quis loquitur, &c. Dilectissimi in Christo fratres." Et Anglice Lond. MDLXXXVI. 8vo. *Orationem in aula Collegii Corp. Christi quando expulsus erat.* A. MDLIV. Pr. "Sæpissime." MS. C. C. C. Oxon. Twin. iv. *Epistolam ad Scipionem patritium Venetum de causis cur episcopi Angliæ ad concilium Tridentinum non convenirent.* Extat in *App. Hist. Trident.* per Nath. Brent. Lond. MDCXXIX. fol. Summa ejus apud Fuller, *Eccl. Hist.* xvi. 70. (2) *Letters between him and doct. Henry Cole upon occasion of a sermon.* Pr. "I perceive by your letters." Lond. MDLX. 8vo. (3) *Sermon at Paul's Cross.* A. MDLX. (Strype in *Vita Grindall.* p. 27, eam concionem habitam esse vult 26 Nov. MDLIX.) *on* 1 *Cor.* ii. 23. Pr. "S. Paul after he was once appointed." Lond. MDLX. 8vo. *Apologiam ecclesiæ Anglicanæ.* Pr. "Vetus illa est querela a primis." Lond. MDLXII. 8vo. et postea sæpius impressam, et in varias linguas, Anglicanam sc. (Lond. MDLXII. 4to. et a domina Anna Bacon translat. ac ab autore revisam MDLXIV. et MDC. 12mo.) Germanicam, Hispanicam, Italicam, Gallicam, Græcam (a Joh. Smith, e collegio Magdalen. Oxon. MDCXIV. MDCXXXIX. 12mo.) et Wallicam [a M. Kyffin. Oxon. MDLXXI. 8vo.] versam. (4) *A defence of the apology of the church of England against Hardyng.* Pr. "It had been greatly." Lond. MDLXIV. MDLXVII. MDLXX. MDLXXI. Latine per Tho. Braddock Cantabrigiensem, MDC. fol. *An answer to Mr Hardyng's book entit.* "A detection of certain errors." Lond. MDLXV. Lov. MDLXVIII. Hoc responsum dicitur in titulo Latinæ editionis . . . MDC. post finem prioris libri sc. *Antapologiæ* extare ex interpretatione ejusdem Bradoci, sed non invenitur. (5) *A reply to Mr Harding's answer, &c.* in XXVII. articles. Pr. "Perusing a certain book." Lond. MDLXVI. fol. Latine per Gul. Whitaker. Lond. MDLXXVIII. 4to. Genev. MDLXXXV. fol. . . . MDC. fol. (6) *A view of a seditious bull sent into England from Pius* V. *bishop of Rome.* A. MDLXIX. *delivered in certain sermons in the cathedr. church of Sarum* MDLXX. Pr. "Whiles I opened unto you the wordes." Lond. MDLXXXII. 8vo. (7) *A treatise of the Holy Scriptures, gathered out of his sermons at Salisbury,* A. MDLXX. Pr. "Among all his creatures." Lond. MDLXXXII. 8vo. (8) *Exposition on the two epistles of St Paul to the Thessalonians.* Pr. "The apostle Paul preach'd." Lond. MDXCIV. 8vo. (9) *Certain sermons,* Lond. MDXXXIII. MDCIII. 8vo. (10) *A treatise of the sacraments gathered out of his sermons.* Pr. "I have opened unto you the contentis." London. MDLXXXIII. MDCIII. 8vo. Opera hæc omnia (exceptis primis 5) simul impressa sunt in uno volumine Lond. MDCIX. fol. Cui præfigitur ejus *Vitæ* epitome per Dan. Featly. Opera hæc Anglicana secundum ordinem figurarum edita sunt cura Joh. Overalli. Lond. MDCXI. fol. *Epistolam Anglicanam in laudem libri doct. Thomæ Wilson de usura* præfixam dicto libro. *Epistolas quinque Latinas ad J. Parkhurst* episc. Norwicen. MS. Norwic. More. 125. *A letter:* "That it is not lawfull for a man to marry two sisters successively." Dat. Sarum cal. Nov. MDLXI. MS. C. C. C. Cantabr. Miscell. B. p. 195. Strype in *Vita Parker.* n. xix. *Three Letters to M. Parker.* MS. C. C. C. Cantabr. Miscell. i. et Strype in *Vita Parker.* p. 264. *A letter to H. Bullinger,* MDLXV. Strype, *Elizab.* 457. *Epistolam Simlero,* editam per P. Colomesium. Lond. MDCXCIV. f. 291. *A brief and lamentable consideration of the apparel now used by the clergy, &c.* MDLXVI. quod Strype in *Vita Parker.* p. 220. vel Juello nostro vel Coxio adscribit. *Adversus Th. Hardingum de privata missa.* Lond. MDLXXVIII. 4to. *Against Mr Rastel's return of untruths. An answer to certain*

frivolous objections against the government of the Church of England. Lond. MDCXLI. 4to. *Sermon on Psal.* lxix.—MDCXLI. 4to. Manuscriptos codices reliquit *A paraphrastical exposition of the epistles and gospels throughout the whole year. A continuate exposition on the creed, the Lord's prayer, and the ten commandments. Commentary on the epistle to the Galatians. Commentary on the epistle of St Peter. MS. Carmen hujus autoris in obitum regis Edw.* vi. Pr. "O fortunatos nimium, te rege, Britannos." xii. vers. MS. Bale Glyn. xiii. 82. *Oratio J. J. Hum. prælect. collegii Corp. Chr. Oxon. contra rhetoricam habita* in aula ejusdem collegii. Pr. "Scio quam male audire." MS. C. C. C. Oxon. Twin. iv. Apud Monkton Farley diem obiit ultimum 23 Sept. MDLXXI, et in Chori Sarisburiensis meditullio humatus jacet. *Athen. Oxon.* i. 168. seqq. Godwin. p. 408. Blunt. p. 497. Hen. Holland. Herool. p. 169. Fuller's *Eccl. Hist.* lib. ix. 8. 70. 101. seq.

There are some errors in Tanner's statement; and indeed in consequence of the two controversies with Harding proceeding at the same time much confusion has arisen in the minds of many who have professed to give an account of Jewel's writings. The following tabular arrangement therefore may be useful:

Challenge Controversy.	Apology, and Controversy thereupon.
Jewel's Sermon was first delivered Nov. 26, 1559, and repeated at Court March 17, 1560, at the Cross March 31.	
Cole's first Letter was dated March 18, 1560.	
The Sermon and the Correspondence were printed, 1560.	
	Apologia Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ, 1562.
	First English translation, attributed mainly to Parker, 1562.
Harding's "Answer to M. Juelles Challenge," 1564, *reprinted* 1565.	Lady Bacon's translation, 1564.
Jewel's "Replie to Harding's Answere," 1565.	*Harding's "Confvtation of a Booke intitvled an Apologie,"* 1565.
Harding's "Rejoindre to M. Jewel's Replie," 1566.	
"A Rejoindre to M. Jewel's Replie against the Sacrifice of the Masse," 1567.	Defence of the Apology, 1567.
	Harding's "Detection of sundry foul errors uttered by M. Jewel in his Defence of the Apologie," 1568.
	Defence of the Apology, enlarged edition, including an Answer to the Detection, 1570, and again 1571.

Three volumes were put forth by Garbrand after the bishop's death, viz. "A View of a Seditious Bull," together with a "Treatise of the Holy Scriptures," 1582, two editions in one year; "Certain Sermons preached before the Queen's Majestie, and at Paul's Crosse," together with a "Short Treatise of the Sacraments," 1583, reprinted 1603; and "An Exposition upon the two Epistles of St Paul to the Thessalonians," 1583, reprinted 1584, 1594. The Sermon preached at St Mary's, Oxford, appeared in English 1586, and the "Seven Godly Sermons" in 1607. The whole of these, together with the Controversies with Cole and Harding, were collected into a folio volume in 1609, reprinted 1611[1]. This folio was issued under the direction of archbishop Bancroft, Fuller being the editor, the Dedication being written by Overal, the Life by Featley, and the Appendix by bishop

[1] Lowndes mentions an edition of 1631.

Morton. Of the rest of Jewel's works, the *Exhortatio ad Oxonienses*, the *Exhortatio in Collegio Corporis Christi, sive Concio in Fundatoris Foxi Commemorationem*, together with the *Concio in Templo Beatæ Mariæ Virginis*, the *Oratio in Aula Coll. C. C.*, and the Tract *De Usura*, were included (the first two imperfectly) in Humfrey's Juelli Vita, Lond. 1573. The *Epistola ad Scipionem* originally appeared in Brent's Translation of Father Paul's History of the Council of Trent, 1629; the Answer to Certain Frivolous Objections against the Church of England was put forth by archbishop Whitgift in his Answer to a Certain Libel, 1573; the *Oratio contra Rhetoricam* was first printed in the Oxford edition of 1848; while the various letters have appeared severally at different times, some being printed by Burnet, some by Strype, some in the Zurich collection by the Parker Society, and some are published in the present edition for the first time. It would not be easy to form an accurate list of the various editions of the Apology, so widely has it been circulated, and into so many various languages has it been translated: let it suffice to say that it penetrated to the fathers at Trent, by whom two divines, a Spaniard and an Italian, were appointed to answer it. It does not, however, seem that their labours, if indeed they ever began an answer, at any time saw the light[1]. It may be added, that the Reply to Harding's Answer was translated into Latin by William Whitaker, and published, London 1578, and that a Latin version of the Defence of the Apology, by Thomas Bradock, appeared at Geneva, 1600. It should also be noted, that archbishop Parker took pains to have the Defence of the Apology placed in parish-churches. Bishop Parkhurst, highly as he honoured and loved Jewel, felt some difficulty in complying with the primate's desire, because he thought that, Harding's work being contained there, evil-disposed or curious persons might suck thence the poison without the antidote; but he afterwards yielded[2]. And archbishop Bancroft prescribed that copies of the whole works (editions of 1609, 1611) of Jewel should similarly be placed in the churches together with the Paraphrase of Erasmus[3].

Little need be said of the merits of these works. Profoundly versed as Jewel was in the remains of ecclesiastical antiquity, he easily overthrew the specious but little solid arguments of his opponent Harding. And we may see his superiority growing, till in the latest struggle the Romish champion appears but as a child in a giant's grasp. The stores which the bishop of Sarum was able to pour forth seem almost inexhaustible; and there is an honesty of purpose, a kindliness of temper, and a willingness to acknowledge an error if he fell into one, contrasting very remarkably with Harding's subtlety, and heat, and obstinacy. Jewel's style, too, is easy and perspicuous, while Harding's is involved and obscure. To expect that in so vast a range of discussion there would be no mistakes, or to assert that *all* Jewel's positions are unexceptionably proved, would be to imagine him placed above human fallibility. He himself, in language calculated one might think to disarm a foe of whatever virulence, was the first to confess imperfection[4]; and in his private letters to his friends written during the controversy he expresses unaffectedly his low sense of his own attainments[5]. Fair allowance too should be made for the circumstances under which a writer at that time laboured. Jewel was dependent for books mainly upon his own library and his own collections. And though, as already observed, that library was well stored, yet there were volumes which he sometimes sought in vain, and for reference to which he had to be indebted to labourers in the same field with himself[6].

[1] See Vol. III. pages 186, 7.
[2] Strype, Parker, Book IV. chap. xiii.
[3] Cardwell's Docum. Annals, Oxf. 1839. Vol. II. No. cxxvi. pp. 126, 7.
[4] See Vol. III. pages 147, 8.
[5] See Lett. xxvii. xlii. pages 1242, 66.
[6] See a remarkable instance, Vol. IV. page 1010.

In drawing from his own common-place books, in the absence of the books from which he had transcribed, occasional confusion would readily occur, and the observations which introduced a citation be mixed up with the citation itself. It is to be added, that the writers of Jewel's age were all of them less verbally accurate in quoting than is thought necessary at present. They used also of course the editions of their day, differing very frequently from the emended text of those more modern. If the words of an author as cited by Jewel do not agree with the passage as printed by the Benedictines, the reason will not, generally speaking, be found in Jewel's inaccuracy.

He was, we have abundant proof, pains-taking in ascertaining the true text of an author; for we find him well acquainted with MSS., and thus anticipating the corrections of following critics[7]. He also shewed much discernment in detecting the forgeries by which writings were untruly fathered upon ancient writers. Thus he was aware of the spuriousness of the decretal epistles which bear the names of the earlier bishops of Rome[8]; and on various occasions we find him expressing doubts which later researches have confirmed. It has been thought an inconsistency that he sometimes quotes (apparently as if they were genuine) pieces which he had previously denounced as spurious. But it is fair to consider that he might think it well to turn against his adversaries the very weapons which they employed; and also that, whereas a forged authority is valueless as a positive witness, it may be most forcible as a negative one: for if by silence it seems to shew that such and such a practice or doctrine was not known when it was composed, if it be of later date than it professes to be, it is presumptive proof that the practice or doctrine is of yet more modern invention. That Jewel is occasionally incautious in expression cannot be denied. But, while engaged with one foe, it was impossible for him to have his eye upon all the attacks which might be made from other quarters. All the evils which, then but in the bud, were afterwards to yield so sad a harvest, he did not foresee. Yet he was as ready to repress insubordination when it appeared within, as opposition from without. He never deserts the sound principles on which the church was grounded; and therefore it may be truly said that he deserves to be ranked among the most faithful sons of the catholic church of England. A word must be said to shew that it is not forgotten that he sometimes wrote too lightly upon solemn topics[9]; but, after these blemishes, slight and few indeed compared with his high excellencies, are touched on, it may be said of bishop Jewel in words which it is a gratification to quote, that he was "a man like other men, of sins and weaknesses, but withal a mighty prelate of the church of Christ, a humble penitent, a saint, who in the midst of all his troubles had joy in the Holy Ghost."

Infinitely greater need does the editor of the present edition feel he has of indulgence. When the task was first proposed to him, he shrunk from it as too great for him. And now that he has arrived at its conclusion, while he deems it a privilege indeed to have his name, though in humble wise, appended to that of Jewel, he is sensible of many and great imperfections. Serious errors, however, he trusts he has avoided; and those mistakes which he detected in the earlier volumes as they severally appeared have been acknowledged and corrected.

The text of the various treatises has been carefully collated, and the readings of the early editions noted. The ancient spelling has been modernized;

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[7] See before, page xxi. [8] See Vol. I. pages 173, 341, &c. [9] See Vol. IV. pages 913, 4.

but care has been taken to retain ancient words. Sometimes, however, a difficulty has been felt in determining whether a variation was *only* that of spelling: the editor has endeavoured in such cases to act to the best of his judgment. The exceedingly numerous references have been as far as possible verified, and passages not given in the text have been added in the notes. Some of the authors cited have not been found; and the copies of others used at one time have not been accessible to the editor at another. An erroneous statement has generally been noticed; and occasionally brief explanations have been appended; but the editor has felt it his duty to let his author speak as much as possible for himself, and to avoid introducing any opinions, which might interfere with the impartiality which it is the rule of the Parker Society to observe. If a spurious work has been cited, it has usually been noted; though it has not been thought necessary to repeat the notice every time the work was referred to.

Those pieces of which merely imperfect records existed, together with some lines not certainly known to be Jewel's, the dedication to the folios of 1609, 1611, and one or two other pieces, have been placed in an Appendix. And for the facts narrated in the preceding memoir reference has been made to Humfrey, Featley, A. Wood, Strype, and some more modern accounts. It may be added that no trace has been found of the expositions of scripture, said to be among bishop Jewel's papers.

An index to the whole works of the Bishop has been prepared under the general superintendence of the editor.

To many friends the editor has been indebted. He would particularly specify the rev. J. Allport, of Birmingham, the rev. J. Mendham, Sutton Coldfield, the rev. R. Gibbings, rector of Raymunterdoney, the rev. professor Corrie, master of Jesus College and vice-chancellor of Cambridge, the rev. Dr Bandinel, librarian of the Bodleian, Oxford, for his kindness in allowing access to the rich stores there accumulated, the rev. H. O. Coxe, sub-librarian of the same library, the rev. W. Hayward Cox, late vice-principal of St Mary Hall, Oxford, and the rev. W. K. Hamilton, canon of Sarum, who obligingly allowed the editor to inspect the records of that cathedral, and communicated some interesting information. To all these gentlemen the sincerest thanks are respectfully offered.

April, 1851.

LIST OF AUTHORS AND EDITIONS.

LIST OF AUTHORS AND EDITIONS,

USED IN VERIFYING THE REFERENCES[1].

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*Abraham, Rabbi Hispanus.

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Abstract of Chronicles, perhaps Booke of the Cronicles of England, West. 1480. [Camb. Univ.]

Adagiorum Erasmi &c. Epitome. 1593. [Bodl.]

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. . . . . Col. 1584. [Br. Mus.]

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Alcherus, ap. August. Op.

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. . . De Verb. Signif. Lugd. 1530. [Sion Coll.]

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Alexander ab Alexandro, Genialium Dierum Libri, 8vo. 2 Tomm. L. Bat. 1673. [Camb. Univ.]

Alfons. de Castro adv. Omnes Hæreses. fol. Col. 1539. [Br. Mus.]

Alexandrinæ Ecclesiæ Epist. Synod. ap. Concil. Stud. Labb. et Cossart.

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Alyaco, Pet. de (fl. 1396), Quæst. in i. iii. iv. Sentent. s. a. [Camb. Univ.]

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*Andreas, Jacobus adv. Hosium.

Andreas, Johan. (fl. 1336), Comment. in Decretal. fol. 6 Tomm. Venet. 1581. [Bodl.]

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Angelus de Clavasio (fl. 1480), Summa Angelica de Casibus Conscientiæ, Hagen. 1509, et Argent. 1513. [Br. Mus.]

*Angelus, Johannes or Parisiensis. See Vol. III. page 560, note 3.

Anglicarum Rerum Scriptores post Bedam. Lond. 1596. [Br. Mus.]

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. . . . . August. Vind. 1610. [Br. Mus.]

[1] The asterisk is prefixed to the authors' names whose works have not been found. As many of the works are scarce, it is thought desirable to name the libraries where they may be found.

[2] Jewel appears to have used this edition. The passages cited Vol. II. p. 783, are found here: Et dicunt quod ubicunque ponantur species sive in loco mundo sive immundo sive in ventrem muris: ibi est corpus Christi. et in hoc non derogatur corpori nec sacramento.—Quart. Pars, Quæst. xlv. Membr. i. Art. 2. foll. CCCC 2, 3. Si enim canis &c.—Ibid. Quæst. lxxix. Membr. iii. Art. 1. foll. TTTT 8, VVVV.

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Ansegisus (fl. 828), Caroli Magni et Ludovici Capitula, Paris. 1603. [Br. Mus.]
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Arnoldus Carnotensis, ad calc. Cypriani Op.
Arnulphus, Orat. in Synod. Rem. ap. Catalog. Test.
Arrianus, Exped. Alexandri.
Asterius, in Concil. Nic. II. ap. Concil. Stud. Labb. et Cossart. Tom. VII.
Athanasius (fl. 330), Opera, Stud. Monach. Ord. S. Benedicti, fol. 2 Tomm. Par. 1698.
Athenæus, Deipnosophist. Libb. Lugd. 1657.
Athenagoras (fl. 177), ad calc. Just. Mart. Op.
Augustinus (fl. 398), Opera, Stud. Monach. Ord. S. Benedicti, fol. 10 Tomm. Par. 1679-1700.
. . . . Opera, fol. 10 Tomm. Basil. 1543. [Sion Coll.]
Augustinus, De Civitate Dei, cum Comm. Thom. Valois et Nic. Triveth, Basil. 1479. [Br. Mus.]
. . . . . per Joan. Lud. Vivem, Basil. 1522. [Sion Coll.]
Augustinus Steuchus, Opera, fol. 3 Tomm. Venet. 1591. [Br. Mus.]
Aurelius Victor. Epit. ap. Hist. Rom. Script. Var. Paris. 1544. [Br. Mus.]
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Authentica, ap. Corp. Jur. Civil.
Aventinus, Annal. Boiorum Libri Septem, Ingolst. 1554. [Br. Mus.]
. . . . . Basil. 1580. [Br. Mus.]

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Baronius, Annal. Eccles. fol. Romæ, 1602, &c.
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Bartolus, In Jus Civile, fol. Basil. 1562. [Bodl.]
Basilius, Magnus (fl. 370), Opera, Stud. Monach. Ord. S. Benedict. fol. 3 Tomm. Paris. 1721-30.
. . . . . Opera, Lat. Basil. 1540. [Br. Mus.]
. . . . . Opera, Lat. 1520. [Sion Coll.]
Beatus Rhenanus, v. *Tertullian*.
Becket, Thomas a (fl. 1162), Epistt. et Vita, Bruxell. 1682. [Bodl.]
Beda, Venerab. (fl. 701), Opera, fol. Col. Agrip. 1612. [Camb. Univ., Sion Coll.]
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. . . An Oration made by Master Theodore de Beze, Lond. [Br. Mus.]

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Calvinus, J. Opera, fol. 9 Tomm. Amst. 1667-71. [Sion Coll.]

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. . . . . Opera, Stud. Savil. fol. 8 Tomm. Eton. 612. [Camb. Univ.]

. . . . . Opera, Lat. fol. 5 Tomm. Basil. 1547. [Br. Mus.]

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*Cornelius Cornepolita.

Cornelius, Papa, Epistt. ap. Crabb. Concil. Tom. I.

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Crabbe, *Concilia*, q. v.

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Curtius, Quintus, De Reb. Gest. Alex. Magn.

Cusanus, cardinalis (Nic. de Cusa) (fl. 1448), Opera, fol. 3 Tomm. Basil. 1565. [Sion Coll.]

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[1] For the verification of the passages Vol. III. pages 451, 558, the editor is indebted to the Rev. Joseph Mendham, in whose possession the volume containing the treatises referred to is. In regard to the former at col. 181, 2, is Quæstio, quibusnam verbis Christus confecit divinum eucharistiæ sacramentum. And then occur the words ascribed by St Thomas to Innocent III.: Quod [Christus] non observavit formam nobis traditam. For the latter, it would seem that Jewel has condensed into his own words the verbose statements of the writer: At col. 161. 2, ideas nearly similar are found.

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Cyrillus, Hierosolymitanus (fl. 350), Opera, Stud. Monach. Ord. S. Benedict. fol. Par. 1720.

Damascenus, Johannes (fl. 730), Opera, Paris. 1712. [Sion Coll.]
Damasus (fl. 366), ap. Crabb. Concil. Tom. I. et ap. Gratian.
Dante (fl. 1301), L'Inferno, &c. Venet. 1568. [Br. Mus.]
Decretales Epistolæ[1] Summ. Pont. fol. 3 Tomm. Rom. 1591. [Sion Coll.] et ap. Crabb. Concil.
Decretales Gregorii IX. v. *Juris Canonici* Corpus.
Decretum Gratiani, v. *Juris Canonici* Corpus.
De Sainctes, F. Claud. *Liturgicæ* Veteres, q. v.
Digestum, v. *Juris Civilis* Corpus.
Dio Cassius, Rom. Hist. Libb. xlvi. fol. Hanov. 1606. [Br. Mus.]
Diodorus Siculus, Biblioth. Hist. Hannov. 1604.
Dionysius Areopagita (fl. 362), Opera, fol. 2 Tomm. Antv. 1634. [Editor.]
Dionysius Carthusianus (fl. 1450), in Nov. Test. fol. 2 Tomm. Col. 1532. [Br. Mus.]
Doring, Matthias (fl. 1440), ap. *Lyræ* Expos. q. v.
Dorman, Proufe of Certeyne Articles denied by M. Jvell. Ant. 1564. [Bodl.]
Driedo, a Turnhout, J., De Eccles. Script. et Dogmat. Lovan. 1533.
Druthmar, Christian. (fl. 840), Expositio in Matt. Argent. 1514. [Br. Mus.]
Dudithius, And., Orationes in Concil. Trident. habit. &c. Offenb. 1610. [Bodl.]
Duns Scotus, Johannes (fl. 1301), Opera, fol. 12 Tomm. Lugd. 1639. [Sion Coll.]
Durandus, Gulielm., Mimat. Episc. (fl. 1286), Rationale Divinorum Officiorum, Lugd. 1565. [Br. Mus.]
. . . . . Venet. 1568. [Editor.]
Durandus, Gulielm. (fl. 1310), Tractat. de Mod. Gen. Concil. Celebr. Lugd. 1531. [Bodl.], et ap. Tractat. ex Var. Jur. Civil. Interpr. Tom. II. fol. Lugd. 1549. [Camb. Univ.]
Ecclesiasticæ Historiæ Scriptores, cura Vales. fol. 3 Tomm. Amst. 1695-1700. [Editor.]
. . . . . Basil. 1549. [Bodl.]
Eckius, Joannes, Enchiridion Locorum Communium, Col. 1532. [Editor.]
. . . . . Paris. 1541. [Editor.]
. . . . . Apolog. pro Princip. Cathol. adv. Calum. Buceri, Antv. 1542. [Editor.]
Edwardi I., Confessoris Leges ap. Wilkins Leges Anglo-Saxon.
Egesippus (fl. 374), De Excidio Hierosolymitano. fol. Col. 1525. [Editor.]
. . . . ap. Abd. De Hist. Cert. Apost.
Egnatius, J. Baptista, Venet. De Princ. Rom. Venet. 1516. [Bodl.]
. . . . . Paris. 1544. [Br. Mus.]
Eleutherius, Epist. ad Lucium ap. Wilkins. Leges Anglo-Saxon.
Emissenus, *Eusebius*, q. v.
Ennodius, M. F. (fl. 511), Episc. Ticin. Opera, 8vo. Paris. 1611. [Br. Mus.]
Epiphanius, Constant. Episc. in Cypro (fl. 368), Opera, fol. 2 Tomm. Paris. 1622. [Sion Coll.]
. . . . Scholasticus, ap. Hist. Tripartit.
Erasmus, Desiderius, Opera, fol. Lugd. Bat. 1703-6. [Sion Coll.]
Eusebius, papa, ap. Crabb. Concil. Tom. I.
Eusebius Emissenus, sive Emesenus (fl. 340), Homil. in Evangel. Paris. 1554, et 1575. [Camb. Univ.]
Eusebius Pamphilus, Historia Ecclesiastica, ap. Ecclesiasticæ Historiæ Scriptores.
. . . . Demonstratio Evangelica, fol. Paris. 1628. [Sion Coll.]
. . . . Præparatio Evangelica, fol. Paris. 1628. [Sion Coll.]
. . . . Chronicon, Hieron. Presb. Interp. fol. Basil. 1536. [Lamb., Br. Mus.]
Euthymius Zigabenus (fl. 1116), Comm. in Quat. Evangelia. Lips. 1792. [Br. Mus.]
Eutropius, Tractat. de Jur. et Priv. Imp. ap. Goldast. Mon. Rom. Imp. Tom. II.
Eutychianus, papa, Epist. ap. Crabb. Concil. Tom. I.
Evagrius (fl. 594), ap. Ecclesiasticæ Historiæ Scriptores.
. . . . Muscul. Interp. Basil. 1549 [Bodl.].
Examen Bullæ Papalis Innoc. X., &c. a Joh. Hoornbeeck. Ultraj. 1653. [Bodl.]
Extravagantes, v. *Juris Canonici* Corpus.

Faber, Guido, Orat. in Concil. Trident. ap. Concil. Stud. Labb. et Cossart. Tom. XIV.
Fabianus, ap. Concil. Stud. Labb. et Cossart.
Fabricius, Joannes Montanus, Oratio, qua

[1] Most of the decretal epistles of the early bishops of Rome are spurious. For an enumeration of them see Oudin. Comm. de Script. Eccles. Lips. 1722. Tom. II. cols. 46, &c.

docetur Concil. Trident. a Christian. frequentari non posse. 4to. Basil. 1562. [Bodl.]
Fabricius, Joannes Montanus, Oration agaynste the Councell of Trente, Lond. 1562. [Br. Mus.]
Fabyan, The Chronicle of, Lond. 1542. [Camb. Univ.] See Vol. III. page 395.
Fagius, v. *Phagius*.
Fasciculus Temporum, fol. Venet. 1479. [Editor.]
Fasciculus Rerum Expetendarum et Fugiendarum, ab Orthuino Gratio, Stud. E. Brown, fol. 2 Tomm. Lond. 1690. [Editor.]
Felinus, Sandeus (fl. 1494), Comm. sup. Decretal. fol. Lugd. 1587. [Bodl.]
Felix IV., papa, Epist. ap. Crabb. Concil. Tom. I.
Fisher, Johannes, Roffens. Episc. Assert. Luther. Confut. Antv. 1523. [Camb. Univ.]
. . . . . Opera, fol. Wirceb. 1597. [Sion Coll.]
Flacius, M. Illyricus, Catalogus Testium, 8vo. Basil, 1556. [Br. Mus.]
. . . . . Argent. 1562. [Camb. Univ.]
. . . . . Genev. 1608. [Editor.]
. . . . . Franc. 1666. [Bodl.]
. . . . . Franc. 1672. [Camb. Univ.]
. . . . . Protestatio concionatorum aliquot Augustan. Confess. adv. Convent. Trident.; Norma et Praxis Concil. 4to. 1563. [Bodl.]
Flacius, M. Illyricus, De Sectis Scriptorum et Doctorum Pontificiorum, 1565. [Camb. Univ.]
Flavianus (fl. 447), ad Leon. Epist. ap. Leon. Magni Opera.
Florentinus Archidiaconus, ap. Felin. Sand.
Floretus Liber, Lugd. 1499. [Br. Mus.]
Fortalitium Fidei, contr. Jud. &c. 4to. Nuremb. 1494. [Br. Mus.]
Franciscus, Lit. ad Sacerdotes Ordinis sui, ap. Mag. Biblioth. Vet. Patr. Tom. XIII.
Franciscus de Mayro (fl. 1315), sup. Libb. Sentent. fol. Venet. 1507. [Sion Coll.]
Franciscus *Petrarcha*, q. v.
Franciscus *Zephyrus*, q. v.
Frisingensis, *Otho*, q. v.
Fulgentius (fl. 507), Episc. Ruspin. Opera, fol. Paris. 1623. [Edit.]
Fulgosus, B. Fact. et Dict. Memor. Libb. Antv. 1565. [Br. Mus.]
Furius, Fr. Cæriolanus, Bononia, Basil. 1556. [Camb. Univ.]

Gaguinus, Rob. De Orig. et Gest. Franc. fol. Lugd. 1497. [Br. Mus.]
Galenus, v. *Adagiorum* Epitome.
Galfridus, Monumetensis (fl. 1151), Britan. Orig. Par. 1517. [Br. Mus.]
Gallus, Nicolaus, ap. Norm. Concil.
. . . Robertus, ap. Catalog. Testium.
Gardiner, Steph., Episc. Wint. De Vera Obedientia, una cum præf. E. Boneri, 4to. Hamb. 1536. [Br. Mus.]
. . . . . A Detection of the Devils Sophistrie, 12mo. Lond. 1546. [Camb. Univ.]
Gelasius (fl. 492), adv. Eutych. et Nestor. ap. Mag. Biblioth. Vet. Patr.
. . . . Cyzicenus, Hist. Concil. Nic. ap. Concil. Stud. Labb. et Cossart. Tom. II.
Gemblacensis, *Sigebertus*, q. v.
Gennadius, Epist. Synod. ap. Concil. Stud. Labb. et Cossart. Tom. IV.
Gentianus Hervetus, ad Calc. Liturg. Sanct. Patr.
Georgius Patriarch, De Vit. Chrysost. ap. Op. Stud. Savil. Tom. VIII.
Geraldus *Lilius*, q. v.
Gerardus *Lorichius*, q. v.
*Gerbellius, Nic. Phorcensis.
Germanus (fl. 1250), Constant. Rer. Eccles. Theoria, ap. Biblioth. Vet. Patr. Stud. Galland.
Gerson, Joannes (fl. 1404), Opera, fol. Antw. 1706. [Sion Coll.]
Ghesnerus, or Gesnerus, C. Bibliotheca Universalis, Tig. 1545. [Bodl.]
. . . . . Epitome Biblioth. Tig. 1555. [Camb. Univ.]
Gigas, *Hermannus*, q. v.
Gildas Sap. (fl. 820), De Excid. Brit. ap. Biblioth. Vet. Patr. Stud. Galland.
Godfrid. Viterb. Chron. ap. Pistor. Vet. Script. Germ.
Goldast. Mon. Rom. Imp. Hanov. et Franc. 1612—14. fol. 3 Tomm. [Sion Coll.]
. . . Polit. Imper. Franc. 1614. [Sion Coll.]
Granger, J., Biographical History of England, 8vo. 6 voll. Lond. 1824. [Br. Mus.]
Gratianus, Decretum. v. *Juris Canonici* Corpus.
. . . . . Basil. 1500. [Bodl.]
Gratius, Orthuinus, *Fasciculus*, q. v.
Gray, T., Scala Chronica. MS. [Corp. Christi Coll. Camb.]
Gregorius Magnus (fl. 590), Papa I. Opera. Stud. Monach. Ord. S. Benedict. fol. 4 Tomm. Paris. 1705.
Gregorius Haimburgensis (fl. 1460), Appellatio pro parte Sigism. &c. ap. Fascic. Rer. Expet. et Fug.
Gregorius Nazianzenus (fl. 370), Opera, Stud. Monach. Ord. S. Benedicti, fol. 2 Tomm. Paris. 1778—1840.

Gregorius Neocæsariensis Thaumat. (fl. 254), Opera, fol. Paris. 1621. [Sion Coll.]
Gregorius Nyssenus (fl. 370), Opera, fol. 3 Tomm. Paris. 1638. [Sion Coll.]
Gregorius Presbyter, Nazianzeni Vita ap. Greg. Nazianzeni Opera.
Gropper, De Præst. Altar. Sacram. Antv. 1559. [Camb. Univ.]
Guido, de Perpin. Summa de Hæres. Paris. 1528. [Camb. Univ.]
Guillelmus Abbas S. Theodoric. ap. Bernard. Op. Vol. II.
*Gulielmus Affliginensis, sive Haffliginensis Serm. de Advent. See page 797, note 10.
Gulielmus Neubrigensis (fl. 1195), Rer. Anglic. Libri Quinque, 8vo. Antv. 1567. [Camb. Univ.]

Haddon and Fox against Jerome Osorius, Lond. 1581. [Editor].
. . . . . Contra Hieron. Osor. Resp. Apolog. Lond. 1577. [Camb. Univ.]
Haffliginensis, v. *Gulielmus Affliginensis.*
Haimburgensis, *Gregorius*, q. v.
Haimo or Haymo (fl. 841), in Paul. Epist. Interp. 12mo. 1528. [Br. Mus.]
Hales, sive Ales, *Alexander*, q. v.
Haloander, v. *Justinian.*
Helmoldus (fl. 1165), Chronica Slavorum. 4to. Fran. 1556. [Bodl.]
Henricus Hertfordiensis, sive de Hervordia, Chronicon Generale. See page 191, note 18.
Hermannus Contractus (fl. 1040), ap. Pistor. Vet. Script. Germ.
Hermannus Gigas, Flores Temporum, 4to. Lugd. Bat. 1750. [Br. Mus.]
Hermas Pastor, in Coteler. Patr. Apostol. Vol. I. Amst. 1724.
Hervæus Natalis (fl. 1312), De Potestate Eccles. et Papal. Paris. 1506. [Camb. Univ.]
Hesychius, sive *Isychius*, q. v.
Hieronymus, Stridonensis (fl. 378), Opera, Stud. Monach. Ord. S. Benedict. fol. 5 Tom. Par. 1693—1706.
. . . . . per D. Erasmum, fol. 6 Tomm. Basil. 1516. [Br. Mus.]
Higdenus Ranulphus (fl. 1357), Polychronicon, fol. Southwerke, 1527. [Br. Mus.]
Hilarius (fl. 354), Pictavensis Episc. Opera Stud. Monach. Ord. S. Benedict. fol. Paris. 1693.
Hincmarus, Remensis Episc. Opera, fol. 2 Tomm. Lut. Par. 1645. [Sion Coll.]
Hippolytus, De Consummatione Mundi, Paris. 1556. [Br. Mus.] et ap. Biblioth. Patr. Gr. Lat. Tom. II.
Hody, H., De Bibliorum Text. Orig. fol. Oxon. 1705. [Br. Mus.]
Holkot, Rob. (fl. 1340), Super Libros Sapientiæ, fol. 1586. [Sion Coll.]
Holkot, Rob., Super Quat. Libr. Sentent. Lugd. 1497. [Br. Mus.]
Honorius I. Imp. *Rescriptum*, q. v.
Hormisdas (fl. 514), Epist. ap. Crabb. Concil. Tom. I.
Horne, R., An Answeare made by Rob. Bishoppe of Wynchester to a Booke, &c. by M. Iohn Fekenham, Lond. 1566. [Bodl.]
Hosius, Stanislaus, Opera, fol. 2 Tomm. Col. 1584. [Sion Coll.]
Hostiensis, Henricus de Segusio, card. (fl. 1262), Sup. Decretal. Comm. fol. 2 Tomm. Paris. 1512. [Camb. Univ.]
Hoveden, Roger (fl. 1198), Annal. in Rer. Anglic. Script.
Hugo sive Vgo, de Sancto Charo (fl. 1245), Opera, fol. Col. Agrip. 1621. [Sion Coll.]
. . . Expos. Miss. Hug. Card. Nuremb. 1507. [Br. Mus.]
Hugo de Sancto Victore (fl. 1120), Mogunt. 1617. [Sion Coll.]
Hulderichus (fl. 860), ad Nicol. Pap. Epist. ap. Rer. Memorab. Paraleipomena.
Humbertus, contra Nicet. Libell. ap. Mag. Biblioth. Vet. Patr. Tom. XI.

Ignatius (fl. 101), Opera, Edit. Voss. Lond. 1680, et ap. *Patres. Apostol.* q. v.
Illyricus, *Flacius*, q. v.
Infortiatum, v. *Juris Civilis* Corpus.
Innocentius I. (fl. 402), Epist. ap. Crabb. Concil. Tom. I.
Innocentius III. (fl. 1198), Opera, fol. 2 Tomm. Col. 1575. [Br. Mus.]
Irenæus (fl. 167), Lugd. Episc. Opera, Stud. Monach. Ord. S. Benedict. fol. Paris. 1710.
Isidorus Mercator, sive Peccator. Præf. in Concil. ap. Crabb. Concil. Tom. I.
Isidorus Clarius, v. *Biblia.*
Isidorus Hispalensis (fl. 595), Opera, fol. Col. Agrip. 1617. [Sion Coll.]
Isychius (fl. 601), In Leviticum Libri Septem. Basil. 1527. [Editor.]
Ivo (fl. 1092), de Divinis Officiis ap. Cassandr. Opera.

Jacobus S. Liturgia, v. *Liturg.* Vet. Patr.
Jacobus *Andreas*, q. v.
Jacobus de *Valentia*, q. v.
Jacobus *Naclantus*, q. v.
Jacobus *Payva*, q. v.
Joachimus Abbas (fl. 1201), ap. Roger Hoveden. Annal.
Johannes *Angelus*, q. v.
Johannes *Andreas*, q. v.
Johannes *Brentius*, q. v.
Johannes *Major*, q. v.
Johannes de Parisiis (fl. 1290), De Potestate Reg. et Papal. ap. Goldast. Mon. Rom. Imp. Tom. II.

Johannes *Sarisburiensis*, q. v.
Johannes *Duns* Scotus, q. v.
Johannes *Stella*, q. v.
Johannes *Vitalis*, q. v.
Josephus (fl. 67), Opera, Amst. 1726; Oxon. 1720.
Joverius, Sanction. Eccles. Par. 1555. [Sion Coll.]
Jovius, Paulus. Episc. Nuc. Opera, fol. Basil. 1578. [Br. Mus.]
Judochus *Clichtoveus*, q. v.
Julianus, *Postilla* Major, q. v.
Julianus, Episc. Toletan. Ἀντικειμένων[1], Libri duo in Mag. Biblioth. Col. Agrip.
Julius Papa I. ap. Crabb. Concil. Tom. I.
Julius Capitolinus, in Hist. August. Script. Lat. Min. fol. Hanov. 1611. [Sion Coll.]
Juris Canonici Corpus, fol. 3 Tomm. Lugd. 1624. [Editor.]
The contents are as follows:
Tom. I. Decretum Gratiani.
Tom. II. Decretales Gregorii IX.
Tom. III. Sextus Decretalium.
Clementinæ.
Extravagantes Joannis XXII.
Extravagantes Communes.
Juris Civilis Corpus (Dion. Gothofredus) fol. 2 Tomm. Amst. 1663. [Br. Mus.].
The contents are these:
Tom. I. Institutiones.
Digest. *i. e.* Vetus, Infortiatum, Novum.
Tom. II. Codex.
Authenticæ, seu Novellæ Constitutiones; Edicta, &c.
. . . Lugd. 1569. [Br. Mus.]
Justinianus (fl. 527), Princ. Novell. Constit. Lat. ex Greg. Haloand. Interp. Basil. 1561. [Br. Mus.]
Justinianus, Petr. Rer. Venetor. Historia, fol. Venet. 1560. [Br. Mus.]
Justinus Martyr (fl. 140), Opera, Stud. Monach. Ord. S. Benedict. fol. Par. 1742.

Kemnitius, sive *Chemnitius*, q. v.
Krantz, Albert. Rer. Germ. Hist. Saxon. Franc. 1575. [Br. Mus.]

Labeo ap. Juris Civilis Corpus.
Lactantius (fl. 303), Opera, 4to. 2 Tomm. Paris. 1748. [Sion Coll.]
Lambertus Schaffnaburgensis, De Rebus Germ. in Pistor. Vet. Script. Germ.
Lampridius, Ælius, ap. Hist. August. Script. Lat. Min.
Lanfrancus (fl. 1070), De Eucharistiæ Sacram. ap. Biblioth. Patr. per M. de la Bigne, Tom. VI.
Latomus, B. adv. M. Bucer. Defens. Col. 1545. [Bodl.]
. . . . J., Opera, Lovan. 1550 [Sion Coll.]
Laurentius *Valla*, q. v.
Lavaterus, Ludovicus, In Libr. Proverb. Tigur. 1562. [Camb. Univ.]
Legatio, v. *Adrianus*, Papa VI.
Legatinæ Constitutiones, ap. Lyndewood, Provinciale.
Legenda Aurea, Opus Aureum, et Legend. Insign. cum Hyst. Lombard. Lugd. 1526 [Br. Mus.]
Leo I., Magnus (fl. 440), Opera, fol. Lut. 1623. [Editor.]
Leo IX. Epistt. ap. Concil. Stud. Labb. et Cossart. Tom. IX.
Leo X. (fl. 1513), Bulla adv. Luther. ap. Concil. Stud. Labb. et Cossart. Tom. XIV.
Leod. Cler. Epist. in Crabb. Concil. Tom. II.
Leo Ostiensis, Chronic. Monast. Casin. Lut. Par. 1668. [Sion Coll.]
Leonicus, Nicolaus Thom. (fl. 1468), De Var. Hist. Basil. 1531. [Br. Mus.]
Liberatus (fl. 553), Breviarium, Paris. 1675. [Camb. Univ.] et ap. Crabb. Concil.
Liberius (fl. 352), ap. Crabb. Concil.
Lilius[2], Greg. Gyraldus, Ferrar. Opera, fol. 2 Tomm. Basil. 1580. [Bodl.]
Linwood, v. *Lyndewood.*
Lipomanus, Aloysius, Sanctorum Historia, fol. Lovan. 1565. [Br. Mus.]
Liturgiæ Veteres Sanct. Patr. ed. Claud. de Sainctes, Paris. 1560. [Camb. Univ.]
. . . . . 12mo. Antv. 1560. [Camb. Univ.]
Lombardus, Petrus (fl. 1141), Libri Sententiarum, Col. Agrip. 1576. [Editor.]
Longobardica Historia, v. *Legenda* Aurea.
Lorichius, Gerardus, De Missa Publica Proroganda, 1536. [Camb. Univ.]
Ludovicus, ap. Norm. Concil. v. *Flacius.*
Ludovicus, Rom. Patritius, Nav. ap. Novum Orbem.
Ludovicus *Vives*, q. v.
Ludulphus, De Saxon. (fl. 1330), Vit. J. Christi Lugd. 1510. [Camb. Univ.]
Luitprandus, Ticinensis (fl. 946), Rer. Gestar.

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[1] Angelomus was wrongly cited by Jewel for this author, Vol. II. page 724. The passage intended may be found Lib. II. Interr. xliv. in Mag. Biblioth. Vet. Patr. Col. Agrip. 1618-22. Tom. XV. p. 235; where *sed idem ipsum.*

[2] The following is the passage referred to in Vol. II. page 679: Sed enim et Græcos vetustissimos accentibus non usos esse manifestis rationibus compertum habemus. accentus, inquam, longo post tempore a Græcis superadditi fuerunt, &c.—De Poet. Hist. Dial. I. Tom. II. p. 11.

per Europam Libb. fol. Paris. 1514. [Br. Mus.]

Lupoldus de Bebenburg (fl. 1340), De Jure et Transl. Imp. Argent. 1508. [Br. Mus.], et ap. Schard. De Jurisd. &c.

Lutherus, M. Opera, fol. Witeb. 1552-80. [Sion Coll.]

Lyndewood, Gul. (fl. 1422), Provinciale, seu Constitutiones Angliæ, Antw. 1525. [Sion Coll.]

. . . . . fol. Oxon. 1679. [Br. Mus.]

Lyra (fl. 1320), Biblia cum Gloss. Ord. et Expos. N. de Lyra, fol. 6 Tomm. Basil. 1502. [Sion Coll.]

Machiavel, Nic. Hist. Florent. Argent. 1610.

Macrobius, Aurel. Opera.

Magistris, Mart. (fl. 1473), De Temperant. Lib. Paris. 1511. [Bodl.]

Major, Joannes, super Libb. Sententiarum, Paris. 1509-17. [Camb. Univ.]

. . . . . in Quartum Sententiarum Quæstiones, Paris. 1516, 1519, et 21. [Camb. Univ.]

Malmesburiensis, Will. (fl. 1130), De Gest. Reg. Angl. in Rer. Angl. Script. post Bed.

Mammotrectum, sive Mammotrepton, Venet. 1479 et 1506. [Camb. Univ.]

Manardinus, *Marsilius*, q. v.

Manipulus Curatorum, 12mo. Pynson. [Br. Mus.]

Mantuanus, *Baptista*, q. v.

Manuale, ad Usum Eccles. Sarisb. 4to. Rothom. 1555. [Br. Mus.]

Marcellinus *Ammianus*, q. v.

Marcellus, Epist. ap. Crabb. Concil. Tom. I.

Marchesinus, Joannes, author of *Mammotrectum*, q. v.

Marcus Antonius *Constantius*, q. v.

Marcus Ephesius, (fl. 1436), ap. Liturg. Vet. Sanct. Patr.

Margarita, ap. Gratiani Decretum.

Mariale, *Bernardini de Busti*, q. v.

Marianus Scotus (fl. 1059), Chronic. Basil. 1559. [Br. Mus.]

Marinarius Antonius, Orat. habit. in Concil. Trident. ap. Concil. Stud. Labb. et Cossart. Tom. XIV.

Marius *Victorinus*, q. v.

Maron or de Mayro, *Franciscus*, q. v.

Marsilius Manardinus Patavinus (fl. 1324), De Translat. Imp. in Goldast. Mon. Rom. Imp. Tom. II.

Martialis, Epist. ad Burdegalenses, in Biblioth. Patr. per M. De la Bigne. Tom. III.

Martyr, *Petrus*, q. v.

Martinus Polonus Chronicon, 8vo. Ant. 1574. [Br. Mus.]

Mason, F., Of the Consecration of Bishops, by J. Lindsay, fol. Lond. 1728. [Br. Mus.]

Massæus, Christian. Chronic. Libri. Antv. 1540. [Br. Mus.]

Matthæus, Blastar (fl. 1335), Hieromonachus, v. *Constantinus*.

Matthæus a Michovia, De Duob. Sarmat. ap. *Novus* Orbis, q. v.

Matthæus Paris (fl. 1240), Hist. Major. Lond. 1571. [Bodl.]

. . . . . 2 Tomm. Lond. 1640. [Br. Mus.]

Matthæus Palmer. Florent. (fl. 1449), Chronic. ap. Euseb. Chronic.

Matthæus Westmonasteriensis (fl. 1377), Flor. Hist. Lond. 1570.

Matthias, S., Gesta ad calc. Abd. De Hist. Cert. Apost.

Maxentius, Resp. ad Epist. Hormisd. ap. Mag. Biblioth. Vet. Patr. Tom. VI. Pars I.

Maximus, Scholia in *Dionys.* Areop. q. v.

Maximus Taurinens. Episc. Homil. Lut. 1623. [Editor.]

Meltiades, sive Melciades, papa, ap. Crabb. Concil. Tom. I.

Memoriale Historiarum, MS.

Mercurius Trismegistus, Pœmand. Paris. 1554. [Br. Mus.]

Methonensis, Nic. Episc. De Corp. et Sang. Christi ap. Mag. Biblioth. Vet. Patr. Tom. XII. et Liturg. Sanct. Patr.

Michael Væhe, sive *Vehe*, q. v.

Micrologus (fl. 1080), De Eccles. Observat. ap. Cassand. Op.

Mirandola, *Picus*, q. v.

Missale ad Us. et Consuetud. Sarum, Paris. 1527. [Sion Coll.]

More, Sir Thomas, The Workes of, Lond. 1557. [Br. Mus.]

Moyne, Steph. le, Varia Sacra, 2 Tomm. Lugd. Bat. 1685. [Camb. Univ.]

Musculus, Wolfg., Comm. in Evang. Joan. Basil. 1545. [Bodl.]

Naclantus, Jacob., Episc. Clugiens. Enarr. in Epist. ad Rom. Venet. 1557. [Salisb. Cath.]

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[1] The account of the Greek emperor's being refused christian burial for agreeing with the Latin church, see Vol. IV. page 740, note 4, may be found p. 103. Jewel appears to have confused the two councils of Lyons and Florence, and the Greek emperors who respectively attended them. Conf. Vol. I. page 404.

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[1] For the citation under this name, Vol. I. p. 310, see Fascic. Tempor. fol. 32. 2.

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ADDENDA ET CORRIGENDA.

Vol. I. p. 69. The marginal references should be transposed.
p. 96, note 6. The reference should be Epist. xii. Tom. II. col. 940.
p. 384, note 3, *for* p. 167 *read* p. 107.
p. 430, note 6, *for* note 11 *read* note 10.

Vol. II. p. 1058, line 6 from bottom. Perhaps instead of Jeremy, Jerome was intended. See Hieron. Op. Par. 1693-1706. Ad Eustoch. Epist. lxxxvi. Tom. IV. Pars II. col. 686.

Vol. IV. p. 698, note 5, *omit* Chron. p.
p. 745, note 14, *for* note 5 *read* note 6.
p. 912, note 7, *for* Ludg. *read* Lugd.
p. 1196, note 7, *for* Vol. III. *read* Vol. II.

THE FOURTH PART.

The Apology, Chap. i. Division 1.

But will these men, I pray you, think nothing at all of themselves, whiles[1] they so maliciously accuse us[2]? And, having leisure[3] to behold so far off, and to see what is done both in[4] Germany and in England, have they either forgotten, or can they not see what is done at Rome? Or will they accuse us, their own life being such as no man is able to make mention thereof but with shame[5]? Our purpose here is, not to take in hand at this present to bring to light and open to the world those things which were meet rather to be hid and buried with the workers of them. It beseemeth neither our religion, nor our modesty, nor shamefacedness[6]. But yet he, which giveth commandment that he should be called the vicar of Christ and the head of the church, who also heareth that such things be done in[7] Rome, who seeth them, who suffereth them (for we will go no further), may easily[8] consider with himself what manner of things they be. Let him, in[9] God's name, call to mind, and[10] let him remember, that they be of his own canonists and school-doctors[11], which have taught the people that fornication between single folk is no[12] sin; as though they had fet that doctrine from Mitio, in Terence, whose words be: "It is no sin, believe me, for a young man to haunt harlots[13]." Let him remember they be of his own, which have decreed that a priest ought not to be put out of his cure for fornication. Let him remember also, how cardinal Campegius, Albertus Pighius[14], and others many more of his own, have taught that the priest which keepeth a concubine doth live more holily and chastely than he which hath a wife in matrimony. I trust he hath not yet forgotten, that there be many thousands of common harlots in Rome; and that he himself[15] doth gather yearly of the same harlots above[16] thirty[17] thousand ducats, by the way of an annual pension. Neither can he forget that he himself[18] doth maintain openly brothel[19] houses, and by a most filthy lucre doth filthily and lewdly[20] serve his own lust. Were all things then pure and holy in Rome, when Joan, a woman rather of perfect[21] age than of perfect[22] life, was pope there, and bare herself as the head of the church; and, after that for two whole years in that holy see she had played the naughty pack, at last, going in procession

[1] Whilst, 1609.]
[2] Accuse us so maliciously, Conf. and Def. 1567.]
[3] And whiles they have leisure, Conf.]
[4] And see both what is done in, Conf.]
[5] Or be they our accusers whose life is such as no man is able to make mention thereof but with shame and uncomeliness, Conf.]
[6] Nor our shamefacedness, Conf. and Def. 1567, 1570, 1609.]
[7] At, Conf.]
[8] He can easily, Conf.]
[9] On, Conf.]
[10] Conf. omits *and*.]
[11] Conf. and Def. 1567 omit *and school-doctors*.]
[12] Not, Conf.]
[13] Terent. Adelph. i. ii. 21, 2.]
[14] See below, page 640, notes 2, 5.]
[15] That himself, Conf.]
[16] About, Def. 1567.]
[17] Harlots upon a thirty, Conf.]
[18] Forget how himself, Conf.]
[19] Brothels, Conf.]
[20] Lowdlye, Conf.]
[21] Parfeite, Conf.; perfite, Def. 1567, 1570.]
[22] Perfite, Def. 1567, 1570.]

about the city in the sight of all her[1] cardinals and bishops, fell in travail openly in the streets?

M. HARDING.

* By the answer it will appear that this lie is plain truth.

.... *First, who seeth not *what a notorious lie they make in the preface and entry to the matter? Say they not, they take not upon them "at this time to bring to light and to the shew of the world those doings which ought rather together with the authors of them to be buried?" And that so to do, their religion, their shamefacedness, their blushing doth not bear it? What is a lie, if this be not? Do they not in deed that they deny in word? Yea, say they not that thing which they affirm they say not?...*

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

I doubt not, good reader, but, perusing these few following, thou shalt plainly see that the authors of this Apology spake not all that they might well have spoken. But if thou happen to read Dantes, Petrarcha, Boccace, Mantuan, Valla, and others like, the pope's own dearlings[2], thou wilt certainly say that even now, being thus challenged and called forth, and required to speak, yet we have rather given an inkling thereof[3] than opened the particular secrets of the matter. For thereof St Bernard saith thus: *Quæ... in occulto fiunt ab episcopis, turpe est [vel] dicere:* "It is shame to utter the things that bishops do in their secrets." And therefore he saith further, even as did the writer of the Apology: *Melius itaque arbitror super hoc dissimulare*[4]: "Touching such matters, I think it better to dissemble." Franciscus Petrarcha calleth Rome the whore of Babylon, the mother of all idolatry and fornication[5]; and saith that all shame and reverence is quite departed thence[6]. Baptista Mantuanus saith:

Bernard. ad Cler. in Synod. Rhem. Eodem loco.

Franc. Petrarch. Epist. 20. Franc. Petrarch. Cant. 92. Ond'è fugita ogni vergogna.

Bapt. Mant.

Vivere qui sancte cupitis, discedite Roma:
Omnia cum liceant, non licet esse bonum[7]:

"All ye that would live godly, be packing from Rome; for there all things else are lawful; but to be good it is not lawful." And again, as it is alleged once before:

Sanctus ager scurris, venerabilis ara cynedis
Servit, honorandæ divum Ganymedibus ædes[8].

Hereby, M. Harding, ye may easily see that we of purpose dissembled and covered your shame, and spake much less and far otherwise of you than we might have spoken.

Erasmus, writing of St Augustine's dealing against the Manichees, saith thus: *Obscœna mysteria Manichæorum protraxit in lucem. Nam hæc prodidisse erat vicisse*[9]: "He opened and published the filthy mysteries of the Manichees. For the very opening thereof was sufficient to overthrow them." But happy are they that live in such sort, that no man may well reveal their life without blushing.

Erasm. in Vit. August.

Here, M. Harding, ye charge us plentifully with fables and slanders and heaps of lies, great, foul, lewd and shameful, in one company all together: wherein it was no great mastery for you to be so liberal; for that hereof ye want no store.

But if we shall be able clearly and plainly to avouch and justify each thing that we have spoken, then we doubt not but ye will take all these lies home again, and bestow them freely among yourselves.

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[1] The, Conf.]

[2] These four words are not in 1567.]

[3] Hereof, 1567, 1570.]

[4] Bernard. Op. Par. 1690. In Concil. Remens. Serm. 7. Vol. II. Tom. v. col. 738.]

[5] Et certe quod sequitur, tibi uni convenit, non alii Babylon, mater fornicationum et abominationum terræ. Mater impia, partuum pessimorum, &c.—F. Petrarch. Op. Basil. 1581. Epist. sine Tit. Lib. Ad Amic. Epist. xvi. Tom. II. p. 729. It is Avignon, then the residence of the papal court, that Petrarch is here describing.]

[6] Id. Sonnett. xcii. Tom. IV. p. 142.]

[7] Bapt. Mant. Op. Par. 1513. Sylvar. Lib. I. Tom. III. fol. 168; where *discedite: Romæ.*]

[8] Id. de Calam. Temp. Lib. III. Tom. II. fol. 61. 2.]

[9] Traduxit Manichæorum prodigiosas fabulas, et obscœna mysteria protraxit &c.—Erasm. Epist. ad archiep. Tolet. præfix. August. Op. Basil. 1543. Tom. I. fol. A 3.]

M. HARDING.

Crimes laid to the pope's charge by the defenders.

They be the pope's canonists (say they), that have taught the people that simple fornication is no sin. A grievous offence, and worthy to be punished. And verily, if any pope ever knew that his learned men in the canon law have taught the people such heathenish and devilish doctrine; [a]though no man in earth be his judge, yet he may be thought unworthy the room of so great charge. But if the pope never knew such doctrine preached by the canonists, and if at no time there have been any such, then is he clear, and ye are proved slanderers and false backbiters. We deny it utterly. How prove ye it? Marry, sir, say ye, look in the margin[10] of our Apology, and there ye shall[11] find one John de Magistris noted for an offender in that behalf. Well, if it were so, he was but one man; ye speak of canonists, which word signifieth a number. And how prove ye that he, the said John de Magistris (for now I will spare you, and will not say "they"), taught the people that simple fornication was no sin? &c...

[a] Untruth. For the canonists themselves confess, that the council may judge and depose the pope.

Joannes de Magistris blamed by the defenders for Martinus de Magistris.

Now we tell you, that we cannot find where ever Johannes de Magistris wrote so impiously as ye report. Is it not Martinus de Magistris that ye mean? It is a great rashness, if ye have not read yourselves[12], to believe such [b]pelting writers that be of your sects, as ye do, by whom ye seem to be most shamefully and most dangerously deceived, &c.... What will be thought and said of you, if we shew plainly that ye have forged a foul lie and a most false slander upon Martinus de Magistris? For so will we call him until ye prove it of Johannes.

[b] This pelting writer is Alphonsus de Castro, one of M. Harding's greatest doctors.

A foul slanderous lie made by the defenders.

This Martinus de Magistris was no canonist, as ye say, but a doctor of divinity, well learned for his time and order of study as a schoolman. In a treatise that he made, De Temperantia et de Luxuria, *he disputeth after such manner as the scholastical doctors commonly use. Wherefore he, that saith that he taught the people, sought by untruth how to make the matter most[13] detestable: [c]for disputing in schools, and teaching the people, be far asunder. Saith this doctor Martin, after the guise of schools:* Quæritur utrum simplex fornicatio sit peccatum mortale: *that is to say: "It is a question whether simple fornication be mortal sin." [d]This defender knew what he did, when he[15] left out the word "mortal:" for, being disposed to lie, he thought best to lie for a vantage.*

[c] He that teacheth in schools is teacher[14] of teachers.

[d] Note by the way, that, by M. Harding's secret conclusion, fornication is not a mortal, but a venial sin.

The manner of the school-doctors.

Now this is to be understanded, how the manner of the scholastical doctors is, first, to propound a question; next, to argue, object, and reason against the truth of the question; then, to avouch and prove the truth; after that, to soil[16] the objections brought against the truth; lastly, to bring conclusions for confirmation of the truth. Then, in prosecuting of[17] his question, Arguitur quod non, *"I reason against it," saith he, "and argue it is not so." And there, after the school manner, he maketh an argument against the truth: which argument, whosoever taketh for his purpose and alloweth it, admitteth that the doctor goeth against and disproveth. After this he cometh to prove the truth. And there it followeth:* In oppositum. Simplex fornicatio excludit, &c.: *"To the contrary," saith he. "Simple fornication excludeth from the kingdom of God;* ergo, *it is mortal sin." Then he saith further: "It is to be noted, that the [e]opinion of Thomas is, that simple fornication undoubtedly is mortal sin." Whosoever readeth further in Martinus, he shall find, after he hath well disputed* pro *and* con, *as they term it in schools, that is to say, for and against the truth, that he putteth six conclusions, of which the fourth beginneth thus:* Ideo, &c.: *"Therefore simple fornication is mortal sin, because it is forbidden by God's law," &c. And in the end of the sixth he saith: "Hereof the falsehood[18] of their opinion is made evident, who say that simple fornication is not mortal sin: which opinion is condemned in the articles of them of Paris,* errore CLXXXVI. *" Then he saith further: "Guido the Carmelite saith, in a chapter* contra Errores Græco-

Martinus de Magistris cleared of the crime by the defenders objected.

[e] *Ergo*, by likelihood the opinion of others was otherwise.

[10] Margent, Conf. and Def. 1567, 1570.]
[11] Shall ye, Conf. and Def. 1567.]
[12] Read it yourselves, Conf. and Def. 1567, 1570, 1609.]
[13] More, Conf. and Def. 1567, 1570, 1609.]
[14] Is a teacher, Def. 1567.]
[15] Def. 1570 omits *he.*]
[16] Soile: solve.]
[17] Conf. and Def. 1567 omit *of.*]
[18] Falshead, Conf. and Def. 1567, 1570.]

Simple Fornication.

rum, *that the error of the Greeks, saying simple fornication between a single man and a single woman not to be mortal sin, openly containeth heresy against the holy scripture, and that he proveth by four reasons*[1]," &c.

For trial of this conclusion, see the answer.

By this, and much more there expressed, it is sufficiently proved that Martinus de Magistris, in his scholastical disputations in the said treatise, saith not that simple fornication is no sin; much less can it be reasonably or with any colour of honesty said, that so he taught the people. And therefore it is falsely and slanderously imputed unto him....

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

Here ye say we lie, we backbite, we slander, &c. For answer hereunto[2], first we say it is no new device to make light and simple account of your "simple fornication." For Aetius, the old heretic, used thus to say: *Dormire cum muliere extra conjugium non magis est peccatum quam aurem scalpere*[3]: "To have the company of a woman out of marriage is no more a sin than it is for a man to claw his ear." Likewise the heretic Prodicus said: *Licet palam et aperte fornicari*[4]: "It is lawful to commit open fornication." Likewise not long sithence wrote Laurentius Valla, in earnest or in game I cannot tell, but thus he wrote; and he wrote it in Rome, being himself one of the canons there: *Omnino nihil interest, utrum cum marito coeat mulier, an cum amatore*[5]: "Undoubtedly there is no difference, whether a woman keep company with her husband or with her lover." Richardus de Sancto Victore saith: [*Paulus*] *prævidebat multos fore... qui fornicationis malum non adeo damnabile putarent*[6]: "St Paul foresaw there should be many that would think the ill of fornication not to be so damnable a matter." To like purpose Socrates writeth of the corrupt judgment of sundry of his time: *Scortationem indifferentem esse putant; de festis vero diebus perinde atque pro animabus suis dimicant; invertentes mandata Dei, &c.*[7]: "They take fornication or whoredom to be a thing indifferent (that is to say, neither good nor ill, but left at liberty); but they fight for the keeping of their holy-days as for their souls." From these fathers, as it appeareth, issued out the pope and his Roman clergy, who have learned so readily to swallow a camel, and so nicely and solemnly to strain a gnat.

Epiph. Lib. iii. Hær. 76.

Clement. Strom. Lib. iii.

Laur. Vall. de Volupt. Lib. i. cap. xxxviii.

Rich. de Sanct. Vict. Part. ii. fol. 73.

Socr. Lib. v. cap. xxii.

But ye will say, All this hitherto pertaineth nothing unto the canonists, specially in the plural number.

Let us therefore see the practice of the church of Rome, which is the life and soul of the[8] canonists. Thus therefore it is noted in the decrees: *Qui non habet uxorem loco illius concubinam debet habere*[9]: "He that hath not a wife instead of her must have a concubine." Ye will say there is error in the print. Be it so. Yet thus it is[10] extant in many copies, and it is well agreeable to your

Dist. 34. Is qui. Paris. An. 1505.

[1 Quæritur tertio utrum &c. mortale. Arguitur quod non &c. In oppositum simplex fornicatio excludit a regno Dei; ergo est peccatum mortale. Notandum quod opinio Thomæ est quod simplex fornicatio indubitanter est peccatum mortale &c. Quarta conclusio. Ideo simplex fornicatio est peccatum mortale, quia jure divino prohibita est. &c. Ex hiis patet falsitas opinionis illorum qui dicunt quod simplex fornicatio non est peccatum. Quæ opinio tanquam erronea in articulis Parisiensibus damnata est, error. clxxxvi. est fornicatio simplex...non est peccatum. Guido vero Carmelita dicit. xxi. cap. contra errores Græcorum. quod error Græcorum dicentium simplicem fornicationem inter solutum et solutam non esse peccatum mortale patenter continet hæresim contra sacram scripturam. quod probat quattuor rationibus.—Mart. Magist. De Temp. Lib. Par. 1511. De Lux. Quæst. iii. foll. 48-50. Jewel had made his quotation from Alphonsus de Castro. See below, pages 635, 6.]

[2 Whereunto, 1567, 1570.]

[3 ...ὁ δὲ οὐδὲ περὶ τούτων χαλεπῶς ἔφερεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ μάτην ἐχλεύαζε, φάσκων, μηδὲν εἶναι τὸ τοιοῦτον. σωματικὴ γάρ ἐστιν ἡ χρεία, καὶ ἡ ὑπηρεσία. ὥσπερ γάρ, φησί, περὶ τὸ οὖς κνηθώμεθα.—Epiph. Op. Par. 1622. Adv. Hær. Lib. III. Hær. lxxvi. 4. Tom. I. p. 917.]

[4 ...ζῶσιν ὡς βούλονται· βούλονται δὲ φιληδόνως... λάθρα ... μοιχεύουσιν, τὸ ἁλῶναι δεδιότες, καὶ τὸ καταγνωσθῆναι ἐκκλίνοντες, καὶ φοβούμενοι κολασθῆναι.—Clement. Alex. Op. Oxon. 1715. Strom. Lib. III. 4. Tom. I. p. 525.]

[5 Laur. Vall. Op. Basil. 1540. De Volupt. Lib. I. cap. xxxviii. p. 922.]

[6 R. de Sanct. Vict. Op. Col. Agrip. 1621. Pars II. Decis. Aliq. Dub. Apost. p. 298. Conf. Op. Par. 1518. Pars II. fol. 73. 2.]

[7 Socr. in Hist. Eccles. Script. Amst. 1695-1700. Lib. V. cap. xxii. p. 237.]

[8 Of all the, 1567.]

[9 Corp. Jur. Canon. Lugd. 1624. Decret. Gratian. Decr. Prim. Pars, Dist. xxxiv. can. 4. col. 169. In this edition the reading as given by Jewel does not appear. But see Decret. Gratian. Basil. 1500. Dist. xxxiv. can. 4. Rubr.; where *debeat*.]

[10 Is it, 1567, 1570, 1609.]

common practice. For the best that you can make of the same place is this: *Is qui non habet uxorem, et pro uxore concubinam habet, a communione non repellatur*[11]: "He that hath no wife, and instead of a wife hath a concubine, let him not be removed from the communion." Simple Fornication. Concil. Tolet. I. cap. xvii.

Addition. "Here is good gear, M. Jewel, for you to juggle withal. And how can it be but that yourself do know that you do impudently? You pervert the text; you misconstrue[12] it; you leave out that goeth before, and that followeth immediately after; you dissemble the circumstance of the place, and omit the chapter that in Gratian goeth immediately before; in which chapter he declareth what in that place, and certain other there by him alleged, is meant by a concubine, saying: *Concubina ... hic ... intelligitur, quæ, cessantibus legalibus instrumentis, unita est et conjugali affectu asciscitur. Hanc conjugem facit affectus; concubinam vero lex nominat, &c.*[13] Yea, the canons also do name such a woman a concubine sometimes, and not a wife until the marriage be solemnized, &c. In this sentence, therefore, he expoundeth how the word "concubine" is to be taken in those canons, as much to say, for a wife privately taken without public solemnization, &c. As soon as that writing was made and public solemnity was performed, the children born before were accounted lawfully born, and the concubine to have been a wife from the beginning. And this woman the law nameth in the meantime a concubine, and not a whore," &c. "She may be called a concubine, which indeed is a true wife before God, and so shall you find *concubina* used in the scripture[14]." *The answer.* O what ado have you made us here, M. Harding, in defence of your concubines! If the matter had been good, I doubt not but you would have maintained it a great deal better. "A concubine," you say, "the solemnization only excepted, is taken for a very lawful wife:" and for proof hereof you have brought us scriptures, doctors, glosses, and canons; and all this, as it may be thought, in defence of your priests' concubines. "A concubine," you say, "is a wife in affection, a wife before God, and a very wife indeed." I marvel much at your strange commentaries, M. Harding: for your text is directly to the contrary. And here I bid you not overmuch to trouble your eyes, and to espy either what goeth before or what followeth after. In the very self-same words that I have alleged you may easily find difference between a wife and a concubine. For thus it is written: *Is qui uxorem non habet, et pro uxore habet concubinam, a communione non repellatur*[15]: "He that hath not a wife, but instead of a wife hath a concubine, let him not be put from the communion." You say, A wife and concubine[16] are both one thing. But your book saith: Neither a concubine is a wife, nor a wife is a concubine. Mark well the words. Thus they stand: "He that hath not a wife, but instead of a wife hath a concubine." It were a very strange kind of speech to say: He that hath not a wife, but instead of a wife hath a wife. Yet thus must you needs say, if a wife and a concubine be both one thing. But all this is easily answered. For you say that "a woman is a concubine that is taken privately, and not married solemnly in the face of the church." Fie, M. Harding! why should you thus vainly abuse your friends? Is this your meaning, that a concubine is married, although not solemnly and openly in the church? Who ever told you of such a marriage? Or how can you so suddenly forget yourself? Be not these your own words in this very same place, "A concubine is a woman kept at bed and at board, as a wife with intent of wedlock?" If she be wedded already, how is she kept "with intent of wedlock?" If she be not a wife indeed, how is she kept in bed and at board, as or[17] instead of a wife? Verily, M. Harding, a concubine, while she was a concubine, was never married, neither openly nor privately, as it shall appear; but afterward, being once married, she was no longer called a concubine.

M. Hard. fol. 396. a. [Detect.] 397. a. This is as much as no wife at all. Then before the solemnization of marriage she was no wife. 398. b. Dist. 34. Is qui. With intent of wedlock.

And, that you may the better understand how substantially ye have dealt in

[11] Concil. Tolet. I. cap. 17. in Crabb. Concil. Col. Agrip. 1551. Tom. I. p. 449.]

[12] Misconster, 1570.]

[13] Corp. Jur. Canon. Decret. Gratian. Decr. Prim. Pars, Dist. xxxiv. can. 3. col. 168.]

[14] Scriptures, 1570.]

[15] Ibid. can. 4. col. 169.]

[16] And a concubine, 1570, 1609.]

[17] Or as, 1611.]

this case, it may please you to know that the law saith: *Concubinatus est inter solutum et solutam:* "*Concubinatus* is (not between man and wife, but) between a single man and a single woman." And he that keepeth a concubine is not in the law called *maritus*, but *amasius*, that is to say, not "a husband," but "a lover;" and the same lover might either refuse his concubine, or be refused of her, when either of them would, without any divorce or other solemnity, at their pleasures[1]. The children between them begotten, unless matrimony follow, are not legitimate, but live in bastardy. It is written: *Concubina æquiparatur uxori affectu, non honore matrimonii*[1]: "A concubine is compared with a wife in affection of love, but not in honour of matrimony." A concubine may be received as a witness for her lover; but a wife may not be received as a witness for her husband. The very state wherein they live is called in the law *crimen concubinatus*, that is, "the sin" of that trade of life. For the law presumeth they cannot live honestly: and, if any man defile another man's concubine, he is not thought in law to commit adultery; neither can he that keepeth a concubine enter an action against him that hath defiled her, unless he that keepeth her be his patron or his lord. I dare not to note these places severally in the margin; for then, M. Harding, you would rebuke me, as your manner is, for shewing my great skill in canon law.

Single.
Amasius.
Forsake.
ff. De Concubinis.
Bastardy.
Affection.
Witness.
Sin.
No adultery.
Nisi sit concubina patroni.

But now, I beseech you, what kind of marriage can you imagine to be *inter solutum et solutam*, that is to say, "between a single man and a single woman?" If they be both single, how be they married? If they be married, how be they single? Or will you say that a woman that never was married, that may lawfully refuse her paramour when she will, and be lawfully refused of him at his pleasure, that liveth without the honour of marriage, that by presumption of law cannot live honestly, whose life is infamous, whose children are all in state of bastardy, that may be defiled by any other wicked man without committing adultery; all these things notwithstanding, will you say that such a woman is a good and a lawful wife? Or will you bring us scriptures and doctors to prove the same? If your mother had been such a wife, M. Harding, ye wis you could not have been made a priest without a special dispensation. Verily, as you say a concubine is a lawful wife, so may you likewise say a lawful wife is a concubine. To be short, if a wife and a concubine be both one thing, why doth the pope so easily allow a priest to keep a concubine, and so straitly forbid him to have a wife?

But you say I have foully corrupted mine author, and have purposely left out both that went before, and also that followed after in the same distinction. Therefore let us better consider these words, both backward and forward and of every side. First, Gratian, in the chapter going immediately before, as you yourself have alleged him, saith thus: *Concubina ... hic ... intelligitur, quæ, cessantibus legalibus instrumentis, unita est et conjugali affectu asciscitur*[2]: "Here a concubine is such a woman as is coupled unto a man without lawful instruments or solemnization of matrimony, and is taken with intent and affection of marriage." Mark well these words, M. Harding: "A woman that is taken with intent and affection of marriage." These be your own words, although untruly and guilefully Englished. Notwithstanding, we will take them as they be. If a concubine be taken with intent of marriage, then, I trow, as yet she is not married; for no wise man intendeth to do that thing that is done already. Now, if a concubine be not married, but only kept with "intent to be married," I pray you, M. Harding, what may we call her? Certainly your doctors say: *Secundum canones semper præsumitur adulterium, nisi appareant legales solemnitates*[3]: "Unless the solemnities of the law may appear, by the canon law it is ever presumed to be adultery," and therefore no marriage. Thus much for the chapter that went before.

With intent of marriage.
Dist 34. Is qui, in Gloss.

In the chapter immediately following it is written thus: *Christiano non nisi unam tantum habere licet, aut uxorem, aut certe loco uxoris, si conjunx deest, concu-*

Dist. 34. Christiano.

[1] Quæ in concubinatu est, ab invito patrono poterit discedere.—Ulp. in Corp. Jur. Civil. Amst. 1663. Digest. Lib. xxv. Tit. vii. 1. Tom. I. p. 359. Conf. Not. ibid.; Imp. Leon. Const. xci. Rubr. in eod. Tom. II. p. 268. See also the canons mentioned in the two following notes.]

[2] Corp. Jur. Canon. Lugd. 1624. Decret. Gratian. Decr. Prim. Pars, Dist. xxxiv. can. 3. col. 168.]

[3] Ibid. Gloss. in can. 4. col. 169.]

binam[4]: "It is lawful for a christian man to have only one woman, either his wife, or, instead of a wife, his concubine." Here a concubine is not a wife, but a woman taken instead of a wife. That your gloss here telleth us of mutual consent is but a toy. For, notwithstanding any manner consent that may be between them, a concubine, while she is a concubine, is not married; and, being not married, she is no wife. Therefore St Augustine saith, even as you have alleged him: *Etsi non habetis uxores, [tamen] non licet vobis habere concubinas, quas postea dimittatis*[5]: "Although you have no wives, yet it is[6] not lawful for you to have concubines, whom ye may afterward put from you." If concubines be nothing else but wives, why is it not lawful for men to have them? Is it not lawful for christian men to have wives? Yet your rubric upon the same distinction saith thus: *Qui non habet uxorem, loco illius concubinam habere licet*[7]. Give hereto the best English ye can devise: the words be plain: "It is lawful for him that hath no wife instead of her to have a concubine."

Instead of a wife.

August. Lib. 1. Homil. Hom. 49.

Dist. 34. Is qui.

But St Augustine saith: *Dicet aliquis, Meretrix non est quam habeo; concubina mea est:* "Some man will say, The woman that I keep is not my harlot; she is my concubine." Hereto St Augustine answereth thus: *Bene, velis, nolis, illa quæ præter uxorem tecum dormit, ... est meretrix*[8]: "Well, well: whether thou wilt, or wilt not, she that sleepeth with thee besides thy wife is thy harlot." St Hierome saith: *Unde sine nuptiis aliud nomen uxorum? Imo, unde novum concubinarum genus? Plus inferam: Unde meretrices univiræ? Eadem domo, uno cubiculo, sæpe uno tenentur et lectulo, &c.*[9]: "From whence have we another kind of wives without marriage? Nay, from whence have we this new kind of concubines? I will say more: From whence have we whores betaken to one man? They live together in one house, in one chamber, and oftentimes in one bed."

August. de Temp. Serm. 164.

Thy harlot.

Hieron. ad Eustoch. de Custod. Virgin. Tom. I.

Now, M. Harding, you tell us that *concubina* is not a whore. But St Augustine telleth you, *Velis, nolis, est meretrix*, "Whether ye will, or nill, shè is a whore." And St Hierome telleth you that *concubina est meretrix univira*, that "a concubine is a whore betaken to one man." If *meretrix* be a whore, it is easy to English *concubina*.

A Concubine. A Whore.

These be foul matters, M. Harding: you cannot maintain them without some blemish of your credit. ☞

Likewise it is noted in the gloss upon the constitutions of Otho[10]: *Videtur quod hoc crimen*[12] *meretricii ecclesia sub dissimulatione transire debeat*[13]: "It seemeth that the church ought to pass over the crime of whoredom under dissimulation" (and not to see it). In which gloss ye shall find these words: *Si non caste, tamen caute*[14]: "If you[15] do it not chastely, yet do it charily."

Const. Othon.[11] de Conc. Cler. Rem. Licet ad profugandum, in Gloss. In ead. Gloss.

Addition. ☞ M. Harding: "As for those words, *Si non caste, tamen caute*, they are there rehearsed as a common saying, not as a rule or precept of the canon law; neither pertain they to clerks more than to the lay sort. The circumstance of the place considered and weighed, all things may seem there to be well and discreetly said. Of two that commit fornication, he doth less evil that doth it secretly, than the other that doth it openly, &c. How shall not that vulgar saying seem to give good counsel, *Si non caste, tamen caute?* whereby a man is not animated at all to do ill, but (if he hap to do his unclean lust, or will not be stayed from it) is admonished to do it charily, though not chastely." *The answer.* "These words (ye say) pertain no more to clerks than to the lay sort." Here, M. Harding, ye much forget yourself. The very bare title of that constitution will soon reprove you. Thus it is written: *De concubinis clericorum removendis:* "Of removing priests' concubines;" not the concubines of others of the lay sort, as you have imagined: for of lay-men and their concubines there is not one

Addition.

☞ M. Hard. 399. b. [Detect.] Not as a rule.

Good counsel.

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[4] Christiano...nec duas simul habere licitum est, nisi unam tantum, aut &c.—Isidor. in eod. ibid. can. 5. ibid.]

[5] August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. Ad Conjug. Serm. ccexcii. 2. Tom. V. col. 1504.]

[6] Is it, 1570, 1609.]

[7] See before, page 630, note 9.]

[8] August. Op. In Die Pasch. i. Serm. ccxxiv. 3. Tom. V. col. 969; where *dicit nescio quis.*]

[9] Hieron. Op. Par. 1693-1706. Ad Eustoch. Epist. xviii. Tom. IV. Pars II. col. 33.]

[10] Otho Bonus, 1567.]

[11] Othonis Boni, 1567.]

[12] Quod crimen, 1567.]

[13] Const. Dom. Othon. ad calc. Lyndw. Provinc. Oxon. 1679. De Conc. Cler. Rem. Gloss. p. 44; where *debeat ecclesia.*]

[14] Ibid.]

[15] Ye, 1567.]

Simple Fornication.

word spoken in all that whole constitution. Contrariwise, a little before in the same place you may find these words: *Clerici hujusmodi concubinas tenent communiter, apparatu honesto, nomine appellationis sororiæ*[1]: "Priests commonly keep such concubines in honest apparel under the name of their sisters." Of such concubines, M. Harding, and of none other, your book entreateth; but it may be lawful for you to make us large commentaries beside your text. Of your priests' concubines, M. Harding, and of none other, your doctor saith: *Si non caste, tamen caute:* "If they deal not chastely, yet let them deal charily."

"But this (you say) was only a common saying, and not a rule." And is not this sufficient, think you? Can you imagine that the common speech of the people is nothing worth, or groweth of nothing? It was no rule, you say. But the world saw ye lived so as if it had been your only rule. Verily, by the testimony of all your own writers, the whole life of the clergy was out of rule. Howbeit, you tell us: "The circumstance considered, all this may seem to be well and discreetly spoken." For you say: "If a man happen to do his unclean lust, he is thereby admonished to do it charily, though he do it not chastely. And this (you say) is good counsel." No doubt, M. Harding, good, and discreet, and fatherly counsel. But St Paul's counsel is much better: *Ad evitandum fornicationem unusquisque uxorem suam habeat: Melius est nubere quam uri:* "For avoiding of fornication, let every man have his own wife:" "Better it is to marry than to burn in desires."

1 Cor. vii.

Likewise saith Petrus Ravennas, one of your notable canonists, upon the decretals: *Quamvis tactus et oscula sunt*[2] *præludia incontinentiæ in laicis, secus tamen est in clericis. Nam clericus præsumitur ista facere pro caritate et bono zelo*[3]: "Notwithstanding handling and kissing in lay persons be the occasions or beginnings of incontinent behaviour, yet in priests it is far otherwise. For a priest is presumed to do these things of charity and of good zeal."

Extr. de Immunit. Eccles. Petr. Raven.

Likewise it is noted in your gloss: *Si... clericus amplectitur mulierem, (laicus) interpretabitur, quod causa benedicendi eam hoc faciat*[4]: "If a priest embrace a woman, a lay-man must judge of it thus, that he doth it to the intent to bless her." Where also ye shall find this special note set out in the margin for the purpose: *Clericus amplectens mulierem præsumitur bene agere*[5]: "A priest embracing a woman is presumed to do well."

xi. Quæst. 3. Absit, in Gloss.

Ibid. in Marg.

These be your canonists, these be your school-masters, these be your doctors, M. Harding: thus they write, not only in the singular, but also in the dual and plural number. They would never so lightly have judged hereof, if they had thought your simple fornication had been sin.

St Augustine saith: *Clamor Sodomorum et Gomorrhæroum multiplicatus est; quia non solum jam apud eos non puniebantur illa flagitia, verum etiam publice, velut lege, frequentabantur*[6]: "The cry of Sodom and Gomorrha is multiplied; for that such vices then not only were not punished, but also were openly used, as it had been by the aid and authority of the law."

August. in Enchir. ad Laur. cap. lxxx.

Somewhat it must needs be, that in your late council of Basil enforced the bishops there to decree, that fornication should be sin[7]. For, unless some had thought the contrary, what should we have needed that new decree? Or why should they so solemnly determine that "fornication is sin," unless some had said "it is no sin[8]?" Erasmus, a man of singular learning and judgment, saith: **Bona pars eorum, quos vulgus integros et incorruptos appellat,... simplicem fornicationem et moderatum voluptatis usum, ut leve commissum, neutiquam refugiunt*[9]: *"A great

Concil. Basil. Sess. 20.

Erasm. in Enchir. Mil. Christ. cap. xiv.

* He meaneth some of the best of the Roman clergy.

[1 Ibid.]

[2 Sint, 1567, 1570.]

[3 There would seem to be a mistake in the reference; for nothing to the purpose has been found under the title cited. But the following is probably the passage meant...si videmus clericum osculantem et amplexantem mulierem, interpretamur quod causa benedicendi hoc faciat, hoc tamen intellige, nisi pro parte sinistra sit præsumptio vehementior quam potest colligi ex consuetudine et qualitate personarum. —Petr. Ravenn. Compend. Jur. Canon. Col. 1507. Tert. Pars, De Regul. Jur. fol. 236. Conf. ibid. foll. 175. 2, 293. 2.]

[4 Corp. Jur. Canon. Lugd. 1624. Decret. Gratian. Decr. Sec. Pars, Caus. xi. Quæst. iii. Gloss. in can. 14. col. 925.]

[5 Not. ibid.]

[6 August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. Enchir. de Fid. &c. cap. lxxx. 21. Tom. VI. col. 227; where *veluti*.]

[7 Concil. Basil. Sess. xx. in Crabb. Concil. Col. Agrip. 1551. Tom. III. pp. 60, 1.]

[8 These two sentences are not in 1567.]

[9 Erasm. Op. Lugd. Bat. 1703-6. Mil. Christ. Enchir. can. 14. Tom. V. col. 53.]

many of them whom the common sort taketh for good and godly men not a whit abhor simple fornication, and a sober use of pleasure, reckoning it to be but a little petite fault." So saith Jacobus de Valentia: *Tam Judæi, quam Saraceni, et... mali Christiani,... ut detestabilem vitam suam excusent et defendant, asserunt fornicationem simplicem esse licitam*[10]: "As well Jews as[11] Saracens, as also ill christian men, to the intent to excuse and defend their wicked life, say simple[12] fornication may be lawfully used."

Simple Fornication.

Jacob. de Valent. in Psal. cxviii.

So saith Antoninus, the archbishop of Florence: *Confutatur error dicentium, simplicem fornicationem non esse peccatum*[13]: "Hereby is reproved the error of them that say simple fornication is no sin." Alexander of Hales, by way of disputation, doubteth not to allege the words of St Ambrose to this purpose: *Etiamsi aliquis lubricum carnis patiatur, sine dubio vapulabit; sed non peribit*[14]: "If a man suffer the frailty of the flesh, without doubt he shall be punished; but perish he shall not[15]."

Anton. in Summ. Part. iv. Tit. 12. cap. ii. §. 3. Alex. Halens. Part. iii. Quæst. 35. Memb. 5. Ambros. 1 Tim. iv.

Thus have you, M. Harding, not only what your canonists, but also what your school-doctors, have taught and thought of simple fornication.

But there is noted in the margin of the Apology, Johannes de Magistris instead of Martinus. And hereof have you[16] made yourself a pleasant conquest. We read not (you say[17]) these books ourselves: we believe such pelting writers of our sects: we are shamefully and dangerously deceived. Howbeit, M. Harding, I require but your indifferent judgment: speak uprightly. Wherefore is it more deadly sin for us to name Johannes instead of Martinus, than it was for you in this self-same book to name captain Josue instead of the prophet Osee[18]? or for one of your brethren to allege Hosius for Athanasius[19]? or for D. Stephen Gardiner instead of Theophylactus to allege Theophilus[20]? Cicero allegeth Ajax instead of Hector, Agamemnon instead of Ulysses, Eupolis instead of Aristophanes. Aristotle allegeth Calypso instead of Circe. Your Gratian allegeth Aniceus for Anicetus, Ambrosius for Augustinus, and, by your own confession, Calixtus for Anacletus[21]. St Chrysostom nameth Abacuk for Sophonias, and Agar instead of Sara[22]. St Mark allegeth Abiathar for Abimelech. St Matthew nameth Hieremias for Zacharias[23].

M. Hard. p. 46. [Conf.] Read the bishop of Winchester unto M. Fecknam, p. 121. Vint. con. Cant. Lib. iii. De Euch. M. Hard. p. 93. [Conf.] Chrysost. ad Rom. i. Chrysost. ad Gal. iv. Hieron. in Marc. cap. ii. Matt. xxvii.

It had been no great prejudice unto your cause to have dissembled so small a matter, specially finding yourself so often guilty in the same. Your own doctors say: *Error in nomine non habet vitiare, modo constet de corpore*[24]: "Error in name marreth not the matter, so the body or party be known."

De Reser. Signif. Abb.

But this same Martinus (ye say) never denied fornication to be deadly sin; but by express words affirmeth the contrary. For trial hereof it may please you to give some credit to Alphonsus de Castro, your own doctor. His words be these: *Græci, ... ut Guido illis impingit, dicunt simplicem fornicationem non esse peccatum. Martinus de Magistris, in suo libro de Temperantia, quæstione secunda de luxuria, dicit se fateri fornicationem simplicem esse peccatum mortale. Tamen dicit insuper, quod oppositum credere non sit hæreticum; quia, ut dicit, testimonia*

Alphons. contr. Hær. Lib. iv. Coitus.

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[10] J. Parez de Valent. Expos. in Psalm. Par. 1518. fol. 260; where *simplicem fornicationem*.]

[11] And, 1567, 1570.]

[12] Say that simple, 1567.]

[13] Secundus error fuit eorum qui dixerunt simplicem &c.—Antonin. Summ. Basil. 1511. Pars IV. Tit. xii. cap. ii. 3. fol. p. 5. 2.]

[14] Si quis...lubricum...carnis patiatur...Sine dubio vapulabit.—Ambros. Op. Par. 1686-90. Comm. in Epist. I. ad Tim. cap. iv. v. 8. Tom. II. Append. col. 297. Conf. Alex. Alens. Op. Col. Agrip. 1622. Pars III. Quest. xxxv. Memb. v. p. 267.]

[15] Here there is a sentence in 1567, comprising a quotation from St Augustine, afterwards omitted.]

[16] Ye, 1567, 1570.]

[17] These two words are not in 1567.]

[18] See Vol. III. page 274.]

[19] An Answeare made by Rob. Bishoppe of Wynchester, to a Booke entituled, The Declaration of svche Scruples, and staies of Conscience, touchinge the Othe of the Supremacy, as M. Iohn Fekenham, by wrytinge did deliuer vnto the L. Bishop of Winchester, Lond. 1566. fol. 121.]

[20] Cranmer's Answer to a Crafty and Sophistical Cavillation, Book iii. Park. Soc. Ed. pp. 186, &c.]

[21] See Vol. III. page 473.]

[22] Chrysost. Op. Par. 1718-38. In Epist. ad Rom. Hom. ii. Tom. IX. p. 446; in cap. iv. Epist. ad Galat. Comm. Tom. X. p. 710. In the first case Jewel should have said Sophonias for Abacuk. The errors are corrected by the Benedictine editors, but may be seen in earlier editions. Conf. Edit. Savil. Eton. 1612. Tom. III. pp. 17, 748.]

[23] Hieron. Op. Par. 1693-1706. Comm. in Marc. cap. ii. Tom. V. col. 893. Conf. Comm. Lib. IV. in Matt. cap. xxvii. Tom. IV. Pars I. cols. 134, 5.]

[24] ...tunc error non habet vitiare si constat de corpore.—Panorm. sup. Prim. Primi Decretal. Lugd. 1534. De Reser. Tit. iii. cap. 34. fol. 83. 2.]

Not deposed for Fornication.

scripturæ sacræ non sunt expressa[1]: "The Greeks, as Guido chargeth them, say that simple fornication is no sin. Martinus de Magistris, in his book of Temperance, and in the second question, disputing of lechery, granteth indeed that simple fornication is deadly sin: and yet he saith it is no heresy to believe the contrary; for that, as he saith, the testimonies of the scriptures (touching this matter) are not plain." Here, M. Harding, ye have your own doctor's mind. Martinus saith, "It is no heresy to believe that simple fornication is no sin;" and this he saith even in the very same book that he hath written *de Temperantia*. So dangerously, M. Harding, and so shamefully are we deceived in alleging your pelting doctors.

And therefore Alphonsus concludeth thus: *Sed, cum pace illius dixerim, ego credo Martinum, alioqui virum doctum, in hac parte errasse*[1]: "But, to speak with his favour, I believe that Martinus de Magistris in this behalf was much deceived."

M. HARDING.

[a] Untruth. For this lie will soon be found a truth.

After this foul lie followeth [a]*another.* "*Let him remember* (*say these defenders*) *that they be his men that have decreed, that a priest for fornication ought not to be removed from his cure.*" *To this may we*[2] *say that, although he be not deprived of his cure, yet he may be punished otherwise. But let us see how they would prove that they say.* [b]*By their note in the*[3] *margent they send us for proof to the canon law,* iii. Quæst. 7, Lata; Extra de Bigamis, Quia circa. *As touching the chapter* Lata, *in the decrees we find none such*[4]. *And in* Causa iii. Quæst. 7, *there is nothing to this purpose. The paragraph* Quia circa, Extra, *is understanded of them who, being in the state of bigamy, are not to be promoted to holy orders, and not of one who is already made priest, that he be not for fornication removed*[5]. *But to understand what was done to a priest* (*that had committed fornication*) *by order of law,* [c]*in case any bishop, or priest, or deacon, after degree of deaconship taken, had been convict of fornication or advoutry, he was deposed, and cast out of the church, and enjoined to do penance among the laity: which thing St Sylvester at length mercifully changed, enjoining* [d]*ten years' penance after a prescript form*[6], *which to our new clergy would seem very hard and strait....*

[b] Who bestowed these quotations in the margin, I cannot tell. But the laws are plain, as it shall appear.

[c] This was in old times. Now it is quite forgotten.

[d] An hypocritical folly. For he may redeem all this whole ten years' fast by paying of a penny: read the answer.

Yea further, the law of the church in this case so little beareth with the sinful life of clerks, that, if [e]*any bishop in his diocese had consented and borne with the fornication of priests or deacons*[7], *or with the crime of incest, for money or prayer, or had not by authority of his bishoply office duly punished such faults committed, the same should be suspended from his office.... And this much we have shewed touching the removing of a priest, not only from his benefice, but also from his office, for cause of fornication; wherein these men most falsely have slandered the church, as now to any man it may* [f]*appear.*

[e] Untruth manifest, and a canon of M. Harding's own making.

[f] Full clearly, God wot. See the answer.

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

Here, M. Harding, ye shew yourself to be much unskilful in your own canons. The simplest proctor in your courts could soon have told you, that ye are over far deceived. For thus it is written by express words in your own gloss upon the decrees: *Dicunt neminem hodie propter fornicationem esse deponendum, nisi in*

Dist. 82. Presbyter.

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[1] Alfons. de Castr. Contr. Hær. Col. Agrip. 1539. Lib. IV. Coitus, fol. 82; where *testimonio*. Conf. Mart. Magist. De Temp. Lib. Par. 1511. De Lux. Quæst. iii. fol. 50. 2; who says: Sed quia idem sacri doctores, qui dicunt fornicationem simplicem esse peccatum mortale, non asserunt quod dicere oppositum sit hæreticum, videtur quod nullus de necessitate salutis teneatur hoc credere nisi sibi ex auctoritatibus sacræ scripturæ manifeste et indubie deducatur quod ipsa sit peccatum.]

[2] We may, Conf. and Def. 1567.]

[3] Their, Conf. and Def. 1567.]

[4] Fornicatio simplex non est digna depositione.—Corp. Jur. Canon. Lugd. 1624. Decret. Gratian. Decr. Sec. Pars, Caus. II. Quæst. vii. Not. in can. 44. The marginal reference in the Apology was slightly in error: *Lata* for *Lator*.]

[5] Sane postulasti per sedem apostolicam edoceri, si presbyteri plures concubinas habentes bigami censeantur? Ad quod duximus respondendum, quod cum irregularitatem non incurrerint bigamiæ, cum eis, tanquam simplici fornicatione notatis, quoad executionem sacerdotalis officii poteris dispensare.—Innoc. III. in eod. Decretal. Gregor. IX. Lib. I. Tit. xxi. cap. 6. cols. 307, 8.]

[6] Decret. Gratian. in eod. Decr. Prim. Pars, Dist. lxxxi. cans. 10, 15; Dist. lxxxii. can. 5; Dist. lxxxiii. can. 1. cols. 387, 8, 98, 9, 400.]

[7] Deacon, 1570, 1609, 1611.]

ea [8]*perduret*[9]: "They say that for fornication no man ought this day to be deposed, unless he continue in the same." And, lest ye should in any wise mistrust or doubt your gloss, it is also thus noted of purpose in fair great letters in the margin: *Fornicationis causa hodie nemo est deponendus:* "Now-a-days no man may be deposed for fornication." Were there nothing else to be said, yet this thing only were sufficient.

Not deposed for Fornication.

But Panormitane also, your greatest canonist, likewise saith: *Ad varietatem temporum debent mutari statuta humana; ideo hodie ex simplici fornicatione clericus non deponitur*[10]: "The laws of men ought to be altered according to the change of times; and therefore now-a-days for simple fornication no priest is deposed from his benefice." Likewise ye have it noted upon your decrees: *Communiter... dicitur, quod pro simplici fornicatione clericus deponi non debet; quia pauci sine illo vitio inveniuntur*[11]: "It is commonly said, that for simple fornication no priest ought to be deprived; for that few priests are found without that fault."

Extr. de Consang. et Affin. Non debet. Abb.

Dist. 81. Maxim. Gloss.

Again Panormitane saith to like effect: *Clericus concubinarius in officiis vitandus non est, nisi sit notorius*[12]: "A priest that keepeth a concubine, unless he be notorious, may not be refused in his service."

Extr. de Cohab. Cler. et Mul. Si autem. Abb.

Sundry other such-like authorities your poorest proctor could have brought you.

Howbeit, you say, St Sylvester in such cases enjoineth ten years' penance. This was true indeed, M. Harding. But it was true in old forne[13] years, about twelve hundred years ago. Now Sylvester is passed quite out of mind, and his law with him. Your own folk now can say, *Nunc aliud tempus, alii pro tempore mores.*

Martinus Pœnitentiarius saith: *Ecclesia multos hujusmodi canones exufflavit, quia onerosi sunt*[14]: "The church hath blown away many such canons, for that they be too burdenous." Look better on your books, M. Harding. Your own law saith: *Fornicationis causa nemo hodie deponendus est;... quia corpora hodie sunt fragiliora*[15]: "No man now-a-days ought to be deprived for fornication; and that because our bodies are frailer than they were wont to be." And therefore, touching that cruel ten years' fast appointed by Sylvester's constitution, the gloss there saith thus: *Potest jejunare per alium; vel potest dare nummum pro jejunio*[16]: "He may fast by some other man; or else he may give a good penny, and so redeem his whole ten years' fast." But there is graciously added a special proviso in the behalf of him that shall receive this penny: *Sed debet iste denarius esse talis, quod non evincatur ab illo cui donatur: alias non contingeret liberatio*[16]: "But it must be such a penny that it be never evicted again by law from him that received it: otherwise he should not be discharged of his penance."

Mart. Pœnit. in Dict.

Dist. 82. Presb. in Gloss.

In like manner saith pope Pelagius: *Defectus nostri temporis, quibus... corpora ipsa hominum defecerunt, districtionis illius non patitur... manere censuram*[17]: "The weakness of our time, by mean whereof the very bodies of men are decayed, doth not suffer the rigour of that law to continue."

Dist. 34. Fraternitatis.

Otho[18], in his Constitution Legantine, saith: *Removeant ipsas intra mensem; vel ipsas vel alias de cetero nullatenus detenturi*[19]: "Let priests put away their concubines within a month's respite; afterward to hold neither them nor any others in any wise." Whereupon the gloss with great conscience and full dis-

De Conc. Cler. Rem. Licet ad profugandum.

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[8] Perdurat, 1567, 1570.]

[9] ...dicunt hodie pro fornicatione neminem deponendum, &c.—Ibid. Dist. lxxxii. Gloss. in can. 5. col. 398.]

[10] ...secundum varietatem temporum statuta quandoque variantur humana...Ideo &c.—Panorm. sup. Quart. Decretal. Lugd. 1534. Tit. xiv. De Consang. et Affin. cap. 8. fol. 33.]

[11] Corp. Jur. Canon. Decret. Gratian. Decr. Prim. Pars, Dist. lxxxi. Gloss. in can. 6. col. 386; where *quis* for *clericus*, and *cum pauci*.]

[12] Panorm. sup. Tert. Decretal. Tit. ii. De Cohab. Cler. cap. 10. fol. 13.]

[13] Forne: former, past.]

[14] It is not easy to say to what work of Martinus Polonus (made Penitentiary by pope Nicholas III.) reference is here made. The editor had hoped to find the sentence quoted in his voluminous Index to Gratian, commonly called *Margarita Decreti*, but has not been successful.]

[15] Corp. Jur. Canon. Decret. Gratian. Decr. Prim. Pars, Dist. lxxxii. Gloss. in can. 5. col. 398. See above, note 9. The gloss proceeds: hodie fragiliora sunt corpora.]

[16] Nunquid autem potest hic jejunare per alium? quod videtur: quia denarium potest dare, ut se redimat a jejunio...et debet &c. ab eo, &c.—Ibid. col. 399.]

[17] Pelag. Papa in eod. Dist. xxxiv. can. 7. col. 170; where *nostrorum temporum*.]

[18] Otho Bonus, 1567.]

[19] ...eas prorsus a se removeant infra mensem, ipsas vel &c.—Const. Dom. Othon. ad calc. Lyndw. Provinc. Oxon. 1679. De Conc. Cler. Rem. p. 44.]

Not deposed for Fornication.

creetly saith thus: *Detenturi scilicet per mensem.....Alioqui diceremus, quod propter quamcunque momentaneam possessionis detentionem sequentem, hanc gravem pœnàm incurreret. Quod nimis esset rigorosum, attenta fragilitate nostri temporis*[1]: "They may not afterward hold (neither the same concubines nor any other). Which words you must thus understand, that by the space of a whole month together he may not hold them. Otherwise we should say, that a priest should run into this grievous punishment for any short holding of his concubine in possession following afterward. Which thing indeed were marvellous rigorous, specially considering the frailty of our time."

In eod. Tit. Again the same Otho saith: *Ordinamus ut, si contra hoc præsumpserint venire, ab officio et beneficio sint suspensi*[2]: "We ordain, that if any priest do contrary hereunto (living incontinently, contrary to this constitution), that then he be suspended, as well from his benefice as from his office." Hereunto your gloss addeth: *Rigorosa quoque esset hæc pœna, nisi esset pro adulterio vel incestu*[3]*; etiamsi episcopus esset hujusmodi labens*[4]: "And this punishment also were over rigorous, unless it were for advoutry or incest (for he may not so be punished for fornication); yea, although the party so falling were a bishop." And again in the same gloss: *Propter solam simplicem fornicationem de benignitate canonica non debet clericus deponi vel privari; licet secus forte de canonis rigore*[5]: "By the courtesy of the canons, only for simple fornication a priest may not be deposed from his office, or deprived from his benefice; albeit perhaps by the rigour or extremity of the canons it would be otherwise." The very true cause hereof is more plainly expressed in your own gloss upon the decretals: *Quia pauci*[6] *sine vitio carnis inveniuntur*[7]: "For without the vice of the flesh there are but few (priests) to be found."

Extr. de Purg. Canon. Accepimus, in Gloss.

All this notwithstanding, ye say: If the bishop wink and dissemble, and bear with the wickedness of the priest in this behalf, that then he himself ought to be punished by suspension from his office. This, M. Harding, is a canon of your own making; for other authority ye allege none[8]. But how may it seem likely that ye so cruelly punish your bishops for favourable dealing herein, seeing your high and alonely bishop, and the bishop of all bishops, is so well content, upon agreement for money, to license both bishops and priests to keep concubines?

If ye mistrust the truth hereof, beside[9] your common practice, as you know, your own pope Gregory himself will soon tell you: *De adulterio et aliis minoribus criminibus episcopus potest cum clericis post...pœnitentiam dispensare*[10]: "Touching advoutry and other small faults the bishop after penance done may dispense with a priest." Where also it is to be noted, that advoutry in your divinity is reckoned among small faults and petite[11] sins. Likewise again it is to be noted in your gloss: *Cum presbyteris habentibus plures concubinas episcopus potest dispensare, ut suum officium exequantur*[12]: "With priests having sundry concubines the bishop may dispense, that they may nevertheless do their office." Wherein ye seem somewhat to overreach the emperor's courtesy touching the same; for thus he writeth: *Unam concubinam qui habet, non plures, caste vivit*[13]: "He that keepeth one concubine only, and no more, liveth chastely." And in the said former gloss ye shall find another special note of your own, well worthy to be written in the pope's privy gallery in letters of gold: *Nota, quod plures concubinas habens non incurrit irregularitatem*[14]: "Mark well, that he that keepeth sundry concubines is not thereby made irregular." And again: *Nota, mirabile; quod cum eo qui*

Extr. de Judic. cap. iv. §. De Adulteriis.

Extr. de Bigam. Quia circa, in Gloss.

Auth. de Trien. et Sem. Coll. 3.

Extr. de Bigam. Quia circa, in Gloss. In ead. Gloss.

[1 Gloss. ibid.; where *alioquin.*]

[2 Ibid. pp. 44, 5; where *ut* precedes *ab officio.*]

[3 Incessu, 1570.]

[4 Gloss. ibid. p. 44.]

[5 Ibid. p. 46.] [6 Paucis, 1611.]

[7 Et sine vitio carnis pauci inveniuntur.—Corp. Jur. Canon. Lugd. 1624. Decretal. Gregor. IX. Lib. v. Tit. xxxiv. Gloss. in cap. 16. col. 1849.]

[8 Decret. Gratian. in eod. Decr. Prim. Pars, Dist. lxxxiii. can. 1. col. 400.]

[9 Besides, 1567, 1570, 1609.]

[10 De adulteriis vero, et aliis criminibus, quæ sunt minora, potest episcopus cum &c.—Decretal. Gregor. IX. in eod. Lib. II. Tit.i. cap. 4. cols. 524, 5.]

[11 Among the petite, 1567.]

[12 Presbyteri habentes plures concubinas, quæritur, utrum bigami sint censendi? Respondet...cum talibus...poterit episcopus dispensare, ut &c.—Ibid. Lib. I. Tit. xxi. Gloss. in cap. 7. col. 308.]

[13 Corp. Jur. Civil. Amst. 1663. Auth. Coll. III. Tit. v. Novell. xviii. 5. Tom. II. p. 39. The words in the text are not found here, but may be inferred from the law.]

[14 Corp. Jur. Canon. Decretal. Gregor. IX. Lib. I. Tit. xxi. Gloss. in cap. 7. col. 308; where *habens concubinas irregularitatem non.*]

peccat dispensatur, et cum eo qui non peccat non dispensatur[15]: "Mark well, here is a marvellous strange reckoning: the bishop dispenseth with him that offendeth (having sundry concubines); but with him that offendeth not (having married two wives) he dispenseth not." And further he saith: *Plus habet hic luxuria quam castitas*[16]: "Here lechery hath more privilege than chastity." In cad. Gloss.

Again in your decrees it is written thus: *Quæcunque clericis taliter conjunctæ sunt, auferantur ab episcopo, et venundentur*[17]: "Whatsoever women have such company with priests, let them be removed by the bishop, and sold, and made slaves." Unto this law, being in itself over rigorous, the gloss addeth this favourable construction: *Venundentur; verum est, si contrahunt cum illis, tanquam cum uxoribus. Alias non concedo, posse vendi propter simplicem fornicationem*[18]: "Let them be sold, and made slaves. This is true, if the priests marry with them as with their wives. Otherwise I grant not that for simple fornication they may be sold." Dist. 81. Quidam clerici. In Gloss.

Likewise again it is noted in your gloss: *Nota, frequentationem tantum viduarum et virginum prohiberi*[19]: "Mark well, that it is not the coming to widows or maids, but the often haunting unto them, that is forbidden." Otho, in his Legantines, saith thus: *Qui detinet publice concubinas, &c.*[20]: "The priest that openly keepeth concubines, let him be deposed." Hereupon your gloss saith thus: *Tu dic, publice, quando multitudini se patere non expavet.... Secus ergo, si secrete intra domum propriam vel alienam detineat hanc concubinam. Nam tunc pœnam hujus constitutionis non incurret. Domus enim rem secretam, non autem publicam denotat.... Dic ergo, publice, id est, communiter et coram multis.... Non ergo sufficit, quod semel vel bis talis publice videatur*[20]: "He that openly keepeth concubines, &c. Understand thou by this word 'openly,' if he be not afraid though he appear unto the people. It is otherwise if he keep his concubine secretly, whether it be in another man's house or in his own. For so he cometh not within the danger of this law. For a house betokeneth not an open matter, but a secret. Thus therefore expound thou this constitution: If he keep his concubine openly, that is to say, if he keep her commonly, and in the sight of many. Therefore if such a concubine twice or thrice be seen openly, it is not sufficient." In the same gloss of yours ye have these words that I have alleged before: *Si non caste, tamen caute*[21]. Dist. 23. His igitur, in Gloss. Const. Othon. De Conc. Cler. Rem. Licet ad profugandum.

And whereas you say, If a bishop shew favour herein, he himself shall be suspended; your own doctor Abbat Panormitane would have told you the contrary: *Episcopus non tenetur deponere clericum concubinarium*[22]: "The bishop is not bound to deprive a priest that keepeth a concubine." De Cohab. Cler. et Mul. Si autem. Abb.

To make short, ye have also of great providence devised a special *præmunire* to embolden your priests in fornication, and to warrant them free from all danger of any your laws made in that behalf. For thus you say: [*Si laicus, instigante diabolo, accuset clericum incontinentiæ, statim repellitur.*] *Laici in accusatione episcopi audiendi non sunt*[23]: "If a lay-man, by the instigation of the devil, accuse a priest of incontinent life, straightway he is thrust back, and put to silence. The lay sort may not be heard in the accusation of a bishop." And again: *Laicus non potest clericum de fornicatione accusare*[24]: "A lay-man may not accuse a priest of fornication." This is that extremity and unmerciful rigour, M. Harding, that ye shew your priests in these cases: No lay-man may accuse them; no bishop may deprive them; no law may touch them. ii. Quæst. 7. Laici. Dist. 84. Maxim. in Gloss.

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[15] Ibid.; where *cum illo qui non.*]

[16] Ibid.]

[17] Ideo, quæ conjunctæ taliter cum clericis sunt, ab episcopo auferantur, et venundentur.—Ex Concil. Tolet. IV. c. 42. in eod. Decret. Gratian. Decr. Prim. Pars, Dist. lxxxi. can. 30. col. 393.]

[18] ...hic subaudi, quando contrahunt cum eis tanquam &c. quod venundari debeant...propter &c.—Gloss. ibid.]

[19] No. solam frequentationem prohiberi.—Ibid. Dist. xxiii. Gloss. in can. 3. col. 108.]

[20] Const. Dom. Othon. ad calc. Lyndw. Provinc. Oxon. 1679. De Conc. Cler. Rem. Gloss. pp. 43, 4; where *incurret cum domus rem.*]

[21] Ibid. p. 44.]

[22] Panorm. sup. Tert. Decretal. Lugd. 1534. Tit. ii. De Cohab. Cler. cap. 6. fol. 11. 2.]

[23] Corp. Jur. Canon. Decret. Gratian. Decr. Sec. Pars, Caus. II. Quæst. vii. can. 14. col. 687; where *accusatione episcoporum.* The former part of the citation does not appear in this place.]

[24] ...non enim laicus posset istos [clericos] accusare.—Ibid. Decr. Prim. Pars, Dist. lxxxi. Gloss. in can. 6. col. 386.]

Fornication better than Marriage.

M. HARDING.

The third lie is, that cardinal [1] *Campeius*[2]*, Albertus Pighius, and certain others, have taught that a priest liveth more holily and more chastely that keepeth a concubine, than he that hath taken a wife in matrimony. Why do ye not tell us where they have taught so? Will ye that we believe your bare word? How can we, having taken you tardy in so many and so manifest lies? Aristotle, once asked what a common liar gained by his lying,* [a] *That (quoth he), when he telleth truth, no man will believe him. Wisdom would, sirs, that*[3] *ye took good heed that ye prove not such gainers. Now we require you to bring forth proof of that ye charge these learned men withal. We are sure ye cannot....*

[a] This answer much toucheth M. Harding himself.

The words of Pighius be these: "But put case[4]*," saith he, "they which have vowed chastity, all do not that they may and ought to do, to attain the grace of continency; and therefore they be not only tempted, but also overcome with temptation for the more part: what then? shall it be a less evil for them to marry? For to say it is better thou mayest not, which the apostle imputeth to damnation, if they break their first faith. For these (I say) shall it be less evil and less damnable to marry than to be overcome with lusts*[5]*."...*

...Therefore where ye impute unto him that he maketh the keeping of a concubine to be a more holy and a more chaste life in a priest than taking of a wife in matrimony, it is a foul lie and a false slander. Neither is there in that doctrine any filthiness at all, which Philip Melancthon, whom here ye follow, chargeth him withal.

Touching that point of doctrine itself, St Paul confirmeth it, to whom the marriage of those that be bound to vow of continency seemed so wicked and heinous a sin, that he pronounceth the will to marry to be damnable. Now your conjunctions with your yoke-fellows (we mean only so many of you as have vowed chastity) [b] *are not indeed wedlocks, but incestuous advoutries. And right so we find them named by Cyprian, Basil, Chrysostom, Ambrose, Hierome, Photius, and other holy and learned fathers*[6]*....*

[b] Untruth. For St Augustine saith: *Qui dicunt talium nuptias non esse nuptias, sed potius adulteria, mihi non videntur satis acute ac diligenter considerare quid dicant.* De Bon. Vid. cap. x.[7]

But perhaps ye say both are advoutries, whether a vowed person marry or commit fornication. Let it be so. [c] *Yet is not that sin more grievous which a man committeth of set and determined purpose, than that which he falleth into by human frailty? And that evil which continueth, is it not much worse than that which hath intermission* (and no end)?...

[c] O sage considerations!

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

The Apology saith that Campegius, Pighius, and others more of your side, have told us, that "a priest keeping a concubine liveth more holily and more chastely than a priest that hath a wife and liveth in matrimony." Here ye cry out, as your wont is, "Slander[8]," "lies," "foul lies," and I know not what. "For thus only they say," say you, "that fornication in this case is less ill than matrimony." Howbeit, M. Harding, laying all cavils and shifts aside, "the less ill" in use of speech is commonly called "the greater good." And in this sense it is written, "Better is it[9] to die than to want." And again: "Better is the iniquity of a man than a woman doing well." So Jonas saith: "Death unto me is better

Eccius. xl. Eccius. xlii.

[1] Campegius, Conf. and Def. 1567.]

[2] ...si quem castitatis voti pœniteat, nec velit ipse continere, non propterea ne uratur, ducenda est illi uxor: &c.—Thom. Campeg. Bonon. Episc. Feltren. De Cœlib. Sacerd. non abrog. Venet. 1554. cap. lii. fol. D. 4. 2.]

[3] *That* is not in Conf. and Def. 1567.]

[4] Put the case, Conf.]

[5] Sed esto, non faciunt obligati voto omnes, quod possunt et debent ut habeant continentiæ gratiam; et proinde, non solum tentantur, sed etiam uruntur eorum plerique. Quid igitur? An nubere his minus malum erit? Nam melius hoc dicere non potes, quod apostolus damnationi imputat, si primam fidem irritam faciunt. His, inquam, an saltem minus malum minusque damnabile erit nubere quam uri?... Tentationi proinde quibus diximus remediis resistendum est: in quibus si quando remissiores ex infirmitate carnis ceciderimus; tolerabilius hoc peccatum est, quam si jugum in totum excutiamus, &c. —Alb. Pigh. Explic. Cathol. Contr. Par. 1586. Controv. xv. fol. 215.]

[6] See Vol. III. pages 386 &c.]

[7] August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. Lib. de Bon. Vid. cap. x. 13. Tom. VI. col. 375; where *non mihi*.]

[8] Slanders, 1567, 1570, 1609.]

[9] It is, 1567, 1570, 1609.]

than life." So St Peter saith: "Better had it[10] been for them not to have known the way of righteousness, than, knowing the same, to be turned back from the holy commandment that is given unto them." These and other like phrases are often used in the holy scriptures, not for that death, or iniquity, or ignorance of God's justice, be good things indeed[11]; but for that, in comparison of other worse things, they seem to import some less ill. Fornication better than Marriage. 2 Pet. ii.

Fornication, ye say, is not better than marriage; but marriage is worse than fornication. Thus it seemeth you good to shadow your matters by shift of words, from worse to better, and from better to worse. And yet in plain[12] men's judgments, if marriage be worse than fornication, then is fornication better than marriage.

But, to let you understand we have dealt simply and plainly herein, Hulderichus, the bishop of Augusta in Germany, writing unto pope Nicolas against the restraint of priests' marriage, above seven hundred years past, useth the like[13] manner of speech as we have used. Thus he saith: *Hujus imperii, ne dicam consilii, tam fatuam tamque turpem addunt suggestionem, ut dicant, honestius est pluribus occulte implicari, quam aperte in hominum vultu et conscientia cum una ligari. Quod profecto non dicerent, si ex illo et in illo essent, qui dicit, Væ vobis Pharisæis, qui omnia facitis propter homines*[14]*!* "Unto this commandment, I will not say unto this counsel, they set so foolish and so shameful a suggestion, that they say it is an *honester thing for a priest to be entangled with many concubines in secret and privily, than openly and in the sight and knowledge of the world to be joined in marriage with one wife. Which thing verily they would not utter, if they were either of him or in him that saith, 'Wo be unto you, ye Pharisees, that do all things to please men!'" Huld. Episc. August. The same epistle is found in ancient record under the name of Volusianus episcopus Carthaginensis. *An honester thing[15].

In like sort the council of Worms wrote sometime against pope Hildebrand, for that he had devised great rigour and tyranny, to sunder priests from their wives: *Scorta pudicis conjugibus, stupra, incestus, adulteria casto connubio præfert*[16]*:* "He placeth strumpets before honest wives, and fornication, incest, advoutry before chaste marriage." Concil. Worm. ex Avent.

Notwithstanding, your doctor Hosius saith: *Turpis Philippo videtur hæc oratio; catholicis autem honestissima*[17]*:* "These words unto Philip Melancthon seem shameful; but unto the catholics they seem most honest." Hos. in Petricov. Conf. cap. lvi.

What need we many words in so clear a case? The whole practice of your church, M. Harding, professeth the same. If a priest marry a wife, ye suspend him, ye excommunicate him, ye deprive him, ye disquiet and trouble the whole church. But if he keep a concubine, one, two, or more, ye are then contented and ready not only to dissemble it, but also with favour to excuse it. For so ye say, as it is alleged before: *Clericus concubinarius in officiis vitandus non est, nisi sit notorius*[18]*:* "A priest that keepeth a concubine, unless he be very notorious, may not be eschewed in his service." Again, ye shall find this lesson specially noted in your rubric, as it is said before: *Qui non habet uxorem loco illius concubinam debet habere*[19]*:* "He that hath not a wife instead of her ought to have a concubine." Ye will say there is an error in your print; which thing may easily be granted, specially the whole book being otherwise so full of errors. But would God your error[20] in life and doctrine were no greater! Howbeit, it followeth immediately in the same decree: *Is qui non habet uxorem, et pro uxore concubinam habet, a communione non repellatur*[21]*:* "Whoso hath no wife, and instead of a wife hath a concubine, let him not be removed from the communion." In these words, I trow, ye will say there is no error. Extr. de Cohab. Cler. et Mul. cap. fin. Abb. Dist. 34. Is qui.

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[10] Is, 1611.]

[11] Good indeed, 1567.]

[12] In all plain, 1567, 1570.]

[13] Useth like, 1567.]

[14] Huld. Epist. in Rer. Mem. Paraleip. ad calc. Chronic. Abbat. Ursperg. Argent. 1537. p. 438; where *ad cujus imperii.*]

[15] This marginal note is inserted from 1567, 1570.]

[16] Aventin. Annal. Boior. Ingolst. 1554. Lib. v. p. 570; where *præfert connubio.*]

[17] Reprehenditur a Philippo Pighius, qui non vere magis quam pie scriptum reliquit: Minus peccare sacerdotem, qui ex infirmitate carnis in fornicationem sit prolapsus, quam qui nuptias contraxit. Turpis illi videtur hæc oratio, contra catholicis honestissima.—Hos. Op. 1584. Confess. Fid. cap. lvi. De Imped. Matr. Tom. I. p. 206.]

[18] Panorm. sup. Tert. Decretal. Lugd. 1534. Tit. ii. De Cohab. Cler. cap. 10. fol. 13.]

[19] See before, page 630, note 9.]

[20] Errors, 1567, 1570.]

[21] See before, page 631, note 15.]

Fornication better than Marriage.

Upon the Legantine Constitutions of Otho[1] ye may find these words noted in the gloss: *Nunquid... compelli potest... clericus concubinam abjurare? Videtur quod non... Resolutio: si clericus duxit uxorem de facto, eo casu juramentum exigitur*[2]: "Whether may a priest be forced to forswear his concubine? It seemeth he may not. The resolution hereof is this: If a priest have indeed married a wife, in this case he is forced to forsake her by an oath."

Const. Othon. de Conc. Cler. Rem. Licet ad profugandum.

"Therefore we may say to you as St Augustine said sometime to the Manichees: *Non concubitum, sed, ut longe ante ab apostolo dictum est, vere nuptias prohibetis*[3]: "Ye forbid not copulation; but, as it was long ago forespoken by the apostle, indeed ye forbid very marriage."

August. de Mor. Manich. Lib. ii. cap. xviii.

Now, forasmuch as ye say ye are no angels, and your infirmities ought to be considered and to be borne withal[4], it shall not be amiss shortly to see what your own friends have thought of these infirmities. And here to pass over other authorities, your own doctor, the bishop of Bitonto, being present at your late chapter at Trident, of your whole single life, which ye call chastity, pronounceth thus: *Quibus... turpitudinum monstris, qua sordium colluvie, qua peste non sunt corrupti, non fœdati in ecclesia sancta Dei, et populus et sacerdos?... A sanctuario Dei incipite, patres, si ullus jam pudor, si ulla pudicitia &c. Dicunt in corde impio, et ore impuro, Non est Deus*[5]: "With what monsters of filthiness, with what villainy, with what pestilence are they not corrupted and defiled in the church of God, both the people and the priest? My lords, begin even with the sanctuary of God, if there be any shame, if there be any honest life. They say with wicked heart and filthy mouth, There is no God."

Concil. Trident. Sess. i.

Another saith: *Propter multitudinem luxuriæ alia vitia... quasi non peccata reputantur*[6]: "For the multitude of lechery (that is in priests) other faults are taken for no sin."

Herman. Rid. de Vit. et Hon. Cler.

Another saith: *Defecit [jam] omnis disciplina et religio in cardinalibus; et tres radices vitiorum, superbia, avaritia, luxuria validissime dominantur*[7]: "In the cardinals now all discipline and religion is decayed; and three roots of sins, pride, covetousness, and lechery, do most mightily prevail." St Bernard saith: *Fingunt se amore castitatis ista dicere; cum ea magis causa turpitudinis fovendæ et multiplicandæ adinvenerint*[8]: "They bear us in hand that they speak these things for love of chastity; whereas indeed they have devised the same, to the end to nourish and to increase their filthiness." This, M. Harding, is your infirmity, which, in your judgment, of[9] courtesy and charity we ought to bear withal.

Par. Ursperg. in Clem. V.

Bernard. in Cant. Serm. 66.

The places of St Cyprian, St Basil, St Chrysostom, St Ambrose, St Hierome, and others, that may seem much to make with you in this case, and to condemn this kind of marriage, are weighed and answered before in a place more convenient[10]. Verily, St Augustine saith: *Graviter peccant, qui tales dividunt*[11]: "They sin grievously that divide them that be so married."

Part II. Chap. 8. Div. 1. Dist. 27. Quædam.

M. HARDING.

Where ye say there be many thousands of common harlots in Rome, we think there be many there indeed: whether there be many thousands, we doubt. What number soever there is, they be too many... Those courteghians[12] *the church of Rome doth* [a] *tolerate, not nourish, trusting and looking that by sermons, exhortations, and*

[a] Not nourish, but tolerate. A proper excuse and a sore punishment of open whoredom.

[1] Otho Bonus, 1567.]

[2] Nunquid...potest compelli &c. Solutio. Ibi loquitur de eo qui duxit &c. quo casu &c.—Const. Dom. Othon. ad calc. Lyndw. Provinc. Oxon. 1679. De Conc. Cler. Rem. Gloss. p. 44.]

[3] August. Op. Par. 1679—1700. De Mor. Manich. Lib. II. cap. xviii. 65. Tom. I. col. 739.]

[4] 1567 omits these five words.]

[5] Cornel. Episc. Bitont. Orat. in Concil. Trident. in Concil. Stud. Labb. et Cossart. Lut. Par. 1671-2. Tom. XIV. cols. 992, 3; where *fœdati non corrupti, patres*, preceding *a sanctuario, dicentes*, and *et in ore impudico*.]

[6] Herm. Ryd de Vit. et Honest. Cler. cap. vii. in Fasc. Rer. Expet. et Fug. Lond. 1690. Tom. II. p. 144; where *cetera vitia* and *quasi jam peccatum non reputatur*.]

[7] Rer. Mem. Paraleip. ad calc. Chronic. Abbat. Ursperg. Argent. 1537. p. 367.]

[8] ...fingentes se amore id dicere castitatis, quod magis &c. adinvenerunt.—Bernard. Op. Par. 1690. In Cant. Serm. lxvi. 3. Vol. II. Tom. IV. col. 1495.]

[9] 1609, 1611 omit *of*.]

[10] See Vol. III. pages 387 &c.]

[11] August. in Corp. Jur. Canon. Lugd. 1624. Decret. Gratian. Decr. Prim. Pars, Dist. xxvii. cqn. 2. col. 133. Conf. Op. Par. 1679-1700. Lib. de Bon. Vid. cap. x. 13. Tom. VI. col. 375. The words, however, as quoted by Gratian are not found in Augustine.]

[12] Courtesans, Conf.]

other convenient means, they may be called back to repentance and to the way of salvation....

Fornication better than Marriage.

That the pope gathereth about a thirty thousand ducats yearly of these courteghians[12] *by way of an annual pension, which these defenders affirm,* [b]*it is utterly false. Cornelius Agrippa, who favoured not the see of Rome, and was imbrued with heresies that sprang up in his time, was the first author of this slander. If they pay the common taxes, which be*[13] *levied to the pope, who only hath civil dominion over that city, they* [c]*pay not for that they may be suffered to continue that sinful trade of life, but so as the whole city payeth by polls, for that there they have their abode and habitation....*

[b] Untruth. For it is most true, as it shall appear.

[c] Untruth manifest; for unless they pay, they shall not occupy.

First, it is common to all great[14] *cities in those hot countries not to banish from among them that filthy generation of harlots, not by*[15] *way of suffering, as a thing commendable in itself, but for the avoiding of a greater mischief: as* [d]*God suffered the hard-necked Jews to hate their enemies, and pinch*[16] *them with usuries. Likewise Moses permitted a libel of divorce; not that these things were honest, but to the intent by that means yet they might the rather love their brethren, and lend them money freely, and abstain from murdering their wives. Even so men now-a-days so little apply their endeavour to restrain the proneness which is in their flesh to all riot and carnal concupiscence, that, if some way were not (at the least concerning outward and civil punishment)* [e]*winked at, whereby the fleshly men might obtain some part of their unruly desire; it were more than likely that, in this great decay of virtue, in general the furious rage of that vice would leave neither wedlock undefiled, nor virginity unassaulted, nor a worse enterprise, which nature abhorreth, unattempted. Would God experience had not taught many countries this to be too true an observation!...*

[d] The pope may dispense as well as God.

[e] This is a jolly catholic divine.[17]

St Augustine hereof saith[18]: [f]Quid sordidius, &c.[19]: "*What can be said more unclean, more void of comeliness, more full of turpitude, than harlots, bawds, and such other like pestilences? Take harlots from among men, ye shall disturb all things with lecherous lusts. Put the same instead*[20] *of matrons, ye shall dishonest (all things) with spot and shame.*"... *And why is the bishop of Rome to be*[21] *blamed for that they be in Rome, more than the French king, the king of Spain, or any other prince, for suffering them in their dominions?*

[f] St Augustine wrote these books, *De Ordine*, before he was baptized.

It remaineth, we seek whether they have also the lowest and vilest place in that city, or no; lest perhaps, although they be a [g]*necessary evil, yet, being promoted above their degree, they make an evil shew in the body where they rest. Their places*[22] *may be considered two ways, in respect of the temporal or of the ecclesiastical order or law. For temporal order thus they stand; not to have free liberty of dwelling in the most haunted streets and palaces where them list, but* [h]*only to be*[23] *in such corners and by-lanes, and small out-houses, as are most fit shops for the vile merchandise of such occupiers. Again, they cannot without a very great forfeit ride in* [i]*coaches or chariots, as matrons there do, but are constrained either to keep their homely homes, or to walk a-foot in the streets. And then also by order they must be* [k]*in such apparel that, as Jews by their red caps, so they by their short veils (a note of dishonesty) be known to all, and be subject to all shrewdness of the boys of the streets, who use commonly to mock and revile them....*

[g] A vile untruth. They are not necessary.

[h] Untruth. For the cardinals themselves say: *Habitant... insignes ædes*[24].

[i] Untruth. For the cardinals say: *Mula vehuntur.*

[k] Untruth. For the cardinals say: *Incedunt ut matronæ*[25].

And here I cannot[26] *but mislike with that malice which appeareth... to be in the makers of this Apology. For...*[l]*it is a virtue in the prince to set great burdens and payments upon so filthy a profession, to the end he may fear women from it, and make them the sooner weary of it, &c.... In good sooth, masters, ye are too young to control the city of Rome in her doings....*

[l] This is one of the cardinal virtues of Rome, to take toll of bawdry.

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[12] He, Def. 1570, 1609, 1611.]

[14] All the great, Conf.]

[15] Be, Def. 1570.]

[16] And to pinch, Conf.]

[17] Divinity, Def. 1567, 1570.]

[18] Jewel substitutes these four words for several lines of Harding.]

[19] Quid sordidius, quid inanius decoris et turpitudinis plenius meretricibus, lenonibus, ceterisque hoc genus pestibus dici potest? Aufer meretrices de rebus humanis, turbaveris omnia libidinibus. Constitue matronarum loco, labe ac dedecore dehonestaveris.—August. Op. De Ord. Lib. II. 12. Tom. I. col. 335. See Vol. III. page 157, note 17.]

[20] In the stead, Conf. and Def. 1567, 1570, 1609.]

[21] And why the bishop of Rome is to be, Conf.]

[22] Place, Conf. and Def. 1567.]

[23] Be to, 1611.]

[24] Aede, 1611.]

[25] Suggest. Delect. Card. in Crabb. Concil. Col. Agrip. 1551. Tom. III. p. 823; where *ut matronæ incedunt.*]

[26] Can no, Def. 1570.]

Stews in Rome.

Besides all this, if in that sinful state they continue to their end without repentance, [m] *it is not lawful for them to make any testament or last will for bestowing of their goods; but, as condemned and infamous persons, they must leave all to be confiscated and disposed at the prince's pleasure. But, on the other side, if they turn and repent, there are houses called monasteries*[1] *of the convertites, and special provision and discipline for them, where they are taught how to bewail their unchaste life so sinfully passed over....*

m Untruth. See the answer.

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

Touching the number of your courteghians of Rome; whether they be twenty thousand, or more, or less, we will not strive. They be leased out in fee farm: the pope's rents are always certain: for fornication is fineable in Rome, and a good saleable kind of sin. But this (you say) is another lie, as false and as slanderous as the rest. For (ye say) they pay no yearly pension for their sufferance in that trade of life, but only the common taxes, which are likewise raised upon other citizens. Whether it be so, or no, M. Harding, it is sufficient for you so to say[2]. Otherwise the pope, raising such[3] fines upon bawdry, might well be thought to be the bawd.

Howbeit, your own doctors herein will soon condemn you. For thus it is written by them in your own gloss: *Videtur, quod... crimen meretricii ecclesia sub dissimulatione transire debeat.... Nam et mareschallus papæ de facto exigit tributum a meretricibus*[4]: "It seemeth that the church ought to dissemble the fault of whoredom. For the pope's marshal indeed receiveth a tribute or pension of whores."

Const. Othon. de Conc. Cler. Rem.

Whereas ye say Cornelius Agrippa was the first author of this slander, it is untrue. For your own gloss last before alleged avoucheth it by the authority of Johannes Andreas, a notable canonist, that lived well-near two hundred years before Agrippa was born. And Nicolas de Clavengiis, that lived in the time of the emperor Sigismund, in his book intituled *De Corrupto Ecclesiæ Statu*, hath one special chapter *De exactionibus pro concubinis tolerandis*[5], "Of exactions for the suffering of concubines."

Joh. Andreas mortuus est anno 1348. Nic. de Claveng. in Paralip. Ursperg. anno 1417.

But all this ye wipe away easily with one word: for ye say, The courteghians in Rome pay these impositions, not as a portion of their unthrifty gains, but only as a punishment for their wicked life. For it is not lawful there to commit sin freely without payment. And thus is the matter of your part[6] well defended.

So it is noted upon your decrees: *Quod... dicitur... sacerdos non potest percipere mercedem prostibuli, potest dici, quod non debet recipi oblatio meretricis; licet eleemosyna possit*[7] *inde fieri*[8]: "Whereas it is said, the priest may not receive the reward or oblation of the stews, we may say, that the oblation of an harlot may not be received; notwithstanding we may make an almouse of the same." That is to say, a harlot's money may be taken by the way of almouse, but not by the way of oblation. Thus are we taught, and it behoveth us to believe, that the pope may live, not by the oblations of his[9] courteghians, but by their almouse.

xiv. Quæst. 5. Quod vero, in Gloss. Et Dist. 90. Oblat. in Gloss.

Now, forasmuch as M. Harding would so fain have this matter to pass by the name of a punishment of these ill women, I beseech thee, good reader, to consider how grievously and with what extremity and rigour of law they have devised to have them punished. In a provincial council holden at Oxford, it is written thus: *Concubinæ sacerdotum moneantur ab archidiacono, &c.*[10]: "Let priests' concubines be warned by the archdeacon, &c. If they will not amend,

Const. Prov. Edmund. Cantuar. Archiep.

[1 Called the monasteries, Conf.]

[2 So it is sufficient for you to say, 1570.]

[3 Otherwise he that raiseth such, 1567.]

[4 Const. Dom. Othon. ad calc. Lyndw. Provinc. Oxon. 1679. De Conc. Cler. Rem. Gloss. p. 44. See before, page 633, note 13.]

[5 Rer. Mem. Paraleip. ad calc. Chronic. Abbat. Ursperg. Argent. 1537. p. 403; where *Nicolaus Clemangis.*]

[6 1567 omits *of your part.*]

[7 Posset, 1611.]

[8 Corp. Jur. Canon. Lugd. 1624. Decret. Gratian. Decr. Sec. Pars, Caus. XIV. Gloss. in Quæst. v. col. 1054. Conf. ibid. Decr. Prim. Pars, Dist. xc. Gloss. in can. 2. col. 430.]

[9 The, 1567.]

[10 Concubinæ &c. Quod si ad nullum istorum per monitionem reduci possint, interdicto eis, primo pacis osculo, et pane benedicto, in ecclesia: si perseveraverint...ipsæ...seculari justitiæ tradendæ &c.—Const. Prov. Edmund. Cantuar. Episc. ad calc. Lyndw. Provinc. p. 11.]

then let them be forbidden to kiss the pax, and to take holy bread in the church." With such extremity and cruelty they keep the people from doing ill. Stews in Rome.

It was neither for your profession, M. Harding, nor for your gravity, to become a proctor for the stews. Although it might well become Leontium, an heathen courteghian of lewd conditions, that way to bestow her wit and eloquence against Theophrastus, in the defence of that filthy state, yet may not the same likewise become a christian man and a professor of divinity. Ye call your courteghians a necessary evil; but by what authority of the scriptures, I cannot tell. That the whole trade and life of them is ill, we take it as you[11] grant; but that they be necessary in any christian commonwealth, I reckon it very hard for you to prove. Ye allege the heat of the country; as if that were a sufficient warrant for your stews. And yet, I trow, the town of Lovaine, and the country of Brabant, where ye now inhabit, is not so hot. The heats of Jewry are thought far to pass all the heats of Italy: yet God saith unto the Jews: *Non erit ulla meretrix de filiabus Israel, nec scortator de filiis Israel:* Deut. xxiii. "There shall be no whore of the daughters of Israel, nor whore-keeper of the sons of Israel." And even now, wheresoever the gospel of Christ is openly and freely received, notwithstanding the heat of the country, your stews and bordels fly[12] away as the night-clouds before the sun. But, after that your priests were once forbidden lawful marriage, then was it needful that your "necessary ill" should come in place. Howbeit St Paul saith: "Let us not do *ill* that *good* may follow; for just is the damnation of them that so say." Rom. iii.

But St Augustine standeth full of your side: St Augustine hath written in the behoof of the stews: St Augustine saith: "Take harlots away from among men, and ye fill all the country with ribaldry and villany[13]." Indeed the very name of St Augustine is great and reverend. But what if St Augustine, when he wrote these words, were not St Augustine? What if he wrote that book, *De Ordine,* being as yet a very young man and but a novice in the faith; not yet well instructed, not yet baptized in the name of Christ; himself as yet keeping a concubine and living in whoredom? Shall such a one, so young and so youthful, go for a saint? Or shall his bare name and unseasoned fantasies stand you in stead to prove your stews? August. de Ord. Lib. ii.

Verily the same St Augustine, being afterward fully instructed and christened, saith thus: [*Istam*] *in usu scortatorum... terrena civitas licitam fecit turpitudinem*[14]: "The worldly city (not the church of God) hath made this filthiness of harlots to be lawful." And Ludovicus Vives, writing upon the same, saith: *Satis aperte Augustinus testatur,...jure civili veteri Romano multa esse permissa, quæ sint contraria legibus divinis. Hoc isti volunt, qui, dum gentilitatem conjungere et coaptare christianismo laborant, corrupto utroque et alterius impatiente, nec gentilitatem nec christianismum retinent*[15]: "St Augustine plainly witnesseth, that by the old civil Roman (and heathen) law many things were suffered which were contrary to the laws of God. This thing will not these men follow[16], who, while they study (as you, M. Harding, do) to join heathenness and Christianity both together, both being corrupted, and the one not standing with the other, keep now[17] neither heathenness nor Christianity." August. de Civ. Lib. xiv. cap. xviii. Lud. Viv. in Lib. de Civ. Lib. xiv. cap. xviii.

Therefore we may much better exchange these words of St Augustine[18], spoken in his youth before he had well learned to speak; and may much better say thus: *Permitte lupanaria, et implebis omnia libidinibus:* "Suffer and allow the stews, and ye shall fill all the country with ribaldry and villany." And in this sense St Bernard saith: *Tolle de ecclesia honorabile conjugium, et thorum*[19] *immaculatum; nonne reples eam concubinariis, incestuosis, seminifluis, mollibus, masculorum concubitoribus, et omni denique genere immundorum*[20]? "Take once from the Bernard. in Cant. Serm. 66.

[11] Your, 1567, 1570, 1609.]

[12] Flee, 1567, 1570.]

[13] August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. De Ord. Lib. II. 12. Tom. I. p. 335. See before, page 643.]

[14] Id. de Civ. Dei, Lib. XIV. cap. xviii. Tom. VII. col. 369; where *turpitudinem fecit.*]

[15] Id. cum Comm. J. Lud. Viv. Basil. 1522. Lib. XIV. cap. xviii. p. 434; where *esse* precedes *jure civili, vetere, quæ sunt,* and *isti nolunt.*]

[16] Allow, 1567, 1570, 1609.]

[17] New, 1611.]

[18] Of Augustine, 1567.]

[19] Thronum, 1570.]

[20] Bernard. Op. Par. 1690. In Cant. Serm. lxvi. 3. Vol. II. Tom. IV. col. 1495; where *honorabile connubium.*]

Stews in Rome.

church honourable marriage and the bed undefiled; and dost thou not fill the same church full of brothels, keeping concubines, &c., and with all sorts of filthy persons?"

Further ye say: "And wherefore is the bishop of Rome more to be blamed for maintenance of his stews than the French king, or the king of Spain?" This is but a simple reason for a doctor of divinity. It is an old saying:

Nil juvat exemplum, quod litem lite resolvit.

Christ bade not his apostles to be led by the example of worldly princes. If it be ill in them, it is much worse in him that would be called the vicar of Christ, the head of the church, and the holy one of Israel.

Another part of their punishment is (as you tell us), that they ride not sumptuously[1] in coaches or chariots, or dwell in the open fair streets, and in the sight of the city; but are forced to go a-foot, and to hide themselves in corners, and in out-houses, and by-lanes; and that, by your description, in such simple and poor and beggarly sort, as if they were the vilest and ugliest of all the people, and had not a good clout to cover their bodies. Certainly, M. Harding, your courteghians, if they understood hereof, would think themselves little beholden to such a proctor.

Doctor Peter Martyr, of whom I cannot speak without great reverence, having good cause to know the state of Rome, as few men better, hereof writeth thus: *Nunc, O Deus bone, quomodo* [*Romæ*] *coercentur* [*meretrices*]*? Habent ornatissimas domos; vehuntur per publicum habitu principum; sedent in equis gradariis; habent secum torquatos et larvatos comites, interdum etiam cardinales, præsertim noctu, et ancillarum sumptuosissimum gregem*[2]: "Now-a-days, O good God, how are the courteghians punished in Rome? They dwell in the fairest houses; they are carried with honour through the city, as if they were ladies; they are mounted on ambling palfreys; they are attended with chains of gold and persons disguised, and sometimes cardinals, and specially in the night-season, and have a sumptuous sort of maids to wait upon them."

Pet. Mart. in Lib. Jud. cap. xvi.

If ye shall happen to doubt M. Martyr's report in this behalf, yet I trust ye will give some credit to your own friends the cardinals of the church of Rome. Their words hereof be these: *In hac etiam urbe meretrices ut matronæ incedunt per urbem seu mula vehuntur; quas assectantur de media die nobiles, familiares cardinalium, clericique. Nulla in urbe vidimus hanc corruptionem præterquam in hac omnium exemplari. Habitant etiam insignes ædes*[3]: "In this city of Rome the courteghians pass through the streets or ride on their mules like honest matrons or ladies; and in the midst of the day noblemen, the cardinals' dear friends, and priests attend upon them. We never saw such corruption but only in this city, which is the example and pattern of all others. Moreover, they dwell in fair and notable houses." This information was presented unto pope Paul the third by certain of his gravest cardinals, appointed thereto by special commission.

Concil. [Consil.] Delect. Card. Conc. Tom. III. page 823.

Anno 1538.

Now, good christian reader, I beseech thee, consider the conformity of these tales. M. Harding saith: "The courteghians of Rome go only a-foot." These cardinals say: "They ride on their mules[4]." M. Harding saith: "They have a special apparel of dishonesty to be known by." These cardinals say: "They go or ride as honest matrons, or great ladies, or noble women." M. Harding saith: "They be despised and reviled of the people." These cardinals say: "They have priests, noblemen, and the cardinals' friends to attend upon them." M. Harding saith: "They dwell only in out-houses and back-lanes." These cardinals say: *Habitant insignes ædes:* "They dwell in fair and notable houses." So many untruths it is no hard matter for M. Harding to utter in so short a tale. Now, being so fine dames and so richly attired, it were great slander to say, they serve only for varlets or common rascals. If the report be true, upon twelfth-day at night, in the year of our Lord 1564, there were seen seventeen coaches

Anno 1564.

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[1] They may not ride sumptuously, 1567, 1570, 1609.]

[2] Pet. Mart. Comm. in Lib. Jud. Heid. 1609. cap. xvi. fol. 144. 2; where *nunc bone Deus, insident equis*, and *interdum et cardinales*.]

[3] Suggest. Delect. Card. in Crabb. Concil. Col. Agrip. 1551. Tom. III. col. 823.]

[4] On mules, 1567.]

of courteghians arriving together even into the pope's own palace. If any man shall think this report incredible, yet Luitprandus of the like hereof saith thus: *Lateranense palatium, sanctorum quondam*[5] *hospitium, nunc [est] prostibulum meretricum*[6]: "The pope's palace at Lateran, sometime the harbour of holy saints, is now become a stew of whores." Stews in Rome. Luitprand. Lib. vi. cap. vi.

Another part of their punishment ye say is this, that, "as condemned and infamous persons, at their end they can make no testament, nor take order with that they have." If this were true, it were a good token that the pope is covetous to have their goods more than desirous to save[7] their souls. Howbeit the best-learned and most notable canonists that ye have affirm the contrary. For proof whereof read Cynus Pistoriensis, in L. *Cum te.* C. *De condictione ob turpem causam*[8]: read Baldus, L. I. C. *in eodem capite*[9]: read Bartholus in L. *Idem ff. eodem cap.*[10] Abbas Panormitane, after long disputation had touching this matter, thus saith his judgment in the end: *Conclude ergo ex omnibus præmissis, quod meretrix turpiter non recipit dona vel promissionem, et quod potest de illis ad libitum disponere*[11]: "Of all these premises conclude you thus, that a harlot may receive rewards or promises without infamy or shame (of the law), and that of the same she may dispose at her pleasure." Therefore, M. Harding, this tale would have been better studied. For this punishment, that ye have here imagined, by the judgment of the learned is no punishment at all[12]. Cyn. Pistor. Baldus. Bartholus. De Immun. Eccles. cap. 14. Abb.

"In good sooth, sirs," ye say further, "ye are too young to control the city of Rome in her doings." Yet in the rebuking of open vice no man ought to be thought too young. But of what age then are you, M. Harding, that are able thus to defend the city of Rome in open whoredom? Primasius saith: *Nemo periculosius peccat quam qui peccata defendit*[13]: "No man sinneth with more danger than he that standeth in defence of sin." St Paul saith: "Let no man deceive you with vain words. For because hereof the anger of God cometh upon the children of infidelity. Be not therefore partakers with them." Primas. ad Rom. cap. ii. Eph. v.

And, whereas you say, This policy is thought necessary for the eschewing of a greater ill, your law telleth you: *Abjicienda sunt falsa remedia, quæ veris, et manifestis periculis sunt graviora*[14]: "We must abandon vain remedies, that are more grievous than the true and manifest dangers." Extr. de Celebr. Miss. de Hom.

St Augustine saith: *Non vult Deus tale lucrum compensari tali damno*[15]: "God will not have such a gain to be recompensed with such a loss." St Paul saith, as we have alleged before: "They say, Let us do ill, that good may follow." But he addeth withal: "Therefore just is their damnation." Tertullian saith: *Lupanaria execrabilia sunt coram Deo*[16]: "Stews are accursed before God." And therefore, to conclude, the emperor Justinian, notwithstanding all your necessities and policies[17], straitly commandeth that harlots be banished out of all towns[18]. Rom. iii. Tertull. de Anim. Authent. de Lenonib.

[5 Quodam, 1570.]

[6 Luitprand. Ticin. Rer. Gest. per Europ. Libr. Par. 1514. Lib. VI. cap. vi. fol. 38. 2.]

[7 Have, 1570.]

[8 ...in meretrice nulla turpitudo est quia receperit, licet turpitudo sit in eo quod fornicatur. Facit enim turpiter in eo quod meretrix est; tamen ex quo talis est, non turpiter accipit.—Cyn. Pistor. in Cod. Franc. 1578. Lib. IV. De Condict. ob turp. Caus. Tit. vii. Cum te. fol. 200.]

[9 ...tale lucrum possit licite retineri, et de eo debeatur gabella vel decima—Bald. Sec. sup. Digest. Vet. Lugd. 1562. De Condict. ob turp. Caus. fol. 368. The marginal note is:...tale lucrum non potest dari in oblationibus. sed in aliis piis causis sic.]

[10 Quæro quid si meretrici est promissum, an poterit petere? Gl. dicit quod non...Et quia quædam honeste recipiuntur, quæ non honeste petuntur. —Bartol. in Jus Civil. Comm. Basil. 1562. Ad Lib. XII. Digest. Tit. v. De Condict. ob turp. Caus. Lex 4. p. 596. Conf. Ad Quart. Lib. Cod. Tit. vii. Lex 2. Cum te. p. 347.]

[11 Panorm. sup. Tert. Decretal. Lugd. 1534. Tit. xlix. De Immun. Eccles. cap. 8. fol. 232.]

[12 1567 omits *at all.*]

[13 Primas. Comm. in Epist. ad Rom. cap. ii. in Mag. Biblioth. Vet. Patr. Col. Agrip. 1618-22. Tom. VI. Pars II. p. 23.]

[14 ...falsa remedia sunt abjicienda, quæ sunt veris periculis graviora.—Corp. Jur. Canon. Lugd. 1624. Decretal. Gregor. IX. Tit. xli. Gloss. in cap. 7. col. 1373.]

[15 Non sic sapit lucrum, quomodo dolet damnum.—August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. De Steph. Mart. v. Serm. cccxviii. 2. Tom. V. col. 1272. This expression is frequently used by Augustine. Conf. Serm. viii. 8. col. 44.]

[16 Excessus vero maledictus, adulteria, et stupra, et lupanaria.—Tertull. Op. Lut. 1641. De Anim. 27. p. 330.]

[17 The last six words are not in 1567.]

[18 Corp. Jur. Civil. Amst. 1663. Authent. Coll. III. Tit. i. Novell. xiv. Tom. II. pp. 31, 2. But this law seems to apply exclusively to men.]

But here, good christian reader, this one thing I beseech thee uprightly and indifferently to consider: What thing will not these men defend, that can thus boldly defend confessed filthiness? Or when will they reform the church of God, that in so long time cannot yet reform their open stews?

These harlots, ye say, sometimes repent them, and amend their lives. God of his mercy grant that you, M. Harding, may once do the like! lest the words of the prophet fall upon you: *Frons meretricis facta est tibi.* God grant that "harlots and sinners go" not "before you in the kingdom of God!"

Jer. iii.

Matt. xxi.

M. HARDING.

That ye tell of a woman named Joan, bearing the world in hand she was pope of Rome, it is a fond and a vain fable. Were ye so wise as ye be malicious, ye would never have brought your credit in hazard by reporting such vanity. This I account for one of your accustomed lies. By this men may judge what little store of true things ye have to object against us. Who listeth to see a learned discourse written hereof, him may it please to read the annotations of [b] *Onuphrius Panvinius upon Platina* De Vitis Pontificum, *printed in Venice*[1]. *And he shall easily believe the whole matter to be fabulous....*

[a] Onuphrius is a man yet living, hired of purpose to face out this matter.

In Vita Johan. VIII.[2]

After Anastatius, they that in their writings recite an exact row[3] *and order of popes, as Ademarus and Annonius*[4] *of Paris, Regino, Hermannus, Schafnaburgensis, Otho Frisingensis, Abbas Urspergensis, Leo bishop of Hostia, Johannes of Cremona, and Godfridus Viterbiensis, of which some wrote three hundred, some four hundred years past, all these make no mention at all of this woman pope Joan*[5]. *Again, there be in* Bibliotheca Palatina *at Rome six or seven tables of the popes' names written in sundry books, before the time of Innocentius the fourth.... Marry, in the margin*[6] *of Pandulphus this fable is put in between Leo the fourth and Benedict the third, written in a hand far different from the old characters of that ancient book, added by some man of latter*[7] *time: which maketh the matter to be the more suspected, and taken for a fable....*

.... Though men had at that time been so far bewitched and distract of their five wits, [b] *as they could not have known a woman from a man (which no wise man I ween believeth), yet* [c] *it is not to be thought that God himself, who appointed and ordained the seat of Peter, whereof he would the whole church to be directed, would depart so far from his merciful providence toward the church, as to suffer the same to be polluted by a woman, which is not of capacity for holy orders.*

[b] Semiramis, being a woman, was of long time taken for a man; yet men's eyes were not bewitched.

[c] God hath suffered others, as very monsters, to sit in that see, as ever was pope Joan.

[d] *The first author of this fable was one Martinus Polonus, a monk of the order of Cisterce, who wrote long after the time that pope Joan is feigned to have lived in: whose manner of writing if we consider, we shall find it vain, and nothing like to be true. It beginneth thus:* Johannes Anglicus natione, Maguntinus, sedit annos duos, mensem unum, dies quatuor, &c.: "*John, an Englishman by nation, of Maguntia, sat (in the Roman see) two years, one month, and four days,* alias *five months and three days.*" *What a foolish speech is this! An Englishman Maguntine or of Maguntia!... It followeth in the fable, as the said Martin telleth: "This (as it is said) was a woman, and in the young age of a girl she was brought to Athens by one that was her lover in a man's apparel, and there profited so much in divers sciences, as none was found to be compared with her." To Athens was she brought, saith the fable. And why? for learning. Very well. Whereas at that time* *[e] *neither any Athens stood,* *[e] *neither was there any place of learning there any longer; but all the country of Attica became barbarous, and utterly void of*

[d] Untruth. For there were others before him that wrote the same.

[e] Untruths, two together.

[1] Onuph. Panvin. Annot. in Plat. De Vit. Pont. Venet. 1562. foll. 102, &c. The list of authors which Harding here gives is nearly a literal translation of Onuphrius, fol. 103.]

[2] This marginal reference is not in 1611.]

[3] Rewe, Conf. and Def. 1567, 1570.]

[4] Ademarius and Antonius, 1611.]

[5] Anastas. De Vit. Rom. Pont. Mogunt. 1602. pp. 293, &c.; Regin. Chron. in Vet. Script. Germ. a J. Pistor. Franc. 1613. pp. 41, 2; Herman. Contract. Chron. ibid. p. 130; Lamb. Schafn. De Reb. Gest. Germ. ibid. p. 154; Otton. Fris. Chron. Basil. 1569. Lib. VI. capp. i. ii. p. 109; Chronic. Abbat. Ursperg. Argent. 1537. p. 195; Leon. Ost. Chron. Monast. Casin. Lut. Par. 1668. capp. xxvii. &c. pp. 160, &c.; Gotf. Viterb. Chron. apud Pistor. Franc. 1584. Pars xx. col. 576. But in several of these works there is no exact enumeration of the popes.]

[6] Margent, Conf. and Def. 1567, 1570.]

[7] Later, Conf. and Def. 1567, 1570.]

[8] Others, 1567, 1570.]

Dame Joan the Pope.

learning, as we understand by the writers of that time. The author reporteth that from thence she came to Rome, and there professed learning openly, and had great doctors to her scholars, and, for opinion of learning and good life, by one consent of all was made pope. Which is soon confuted as false; [e]for there was no learning[9] at those days openly professed in[10] Rome, [e]as the stories declare....

[e] Untruths, two. Read the answer.

It followeth in the fable: "Being in the popedom, she is begotten with child of her servant. And, not knowing the time of her deliverance, as she went from St Peter's to Lateran, strained with pains, between Colosseo and St Clement's church, she brought forth, and died, and was (as they say) there buried." Here is to be marked, how the [f]deviser of this fable bewrayeth himself, and thinketh the matter hard[11] to be believed; and therefore in the beginning saith, she was a woman, ut asseritur, *"as folks say;" and now he saith, she was buried,* ut dicitur, *"as it is said[12]." So he doth not affirm it to be true, but referreth all to hearsay: by which testimony lies commonly be soothed....*

[f] This deviser dwelt in Rome, and lived above five hundred years ago.

....And as it is false that ever there was any such pope, so is it not true that ye note in the margent of your book touching the image, which ye say it is[13] to be seen yet in Rome, resembling that woman pope lying in travail. The image which ye mean I have seen myself at Rome, graven in stone[14], after the manner of a tomb-stone, pitched upright not far from the Colosseo. It resembleth no such thing ye speak of....

Neither is it of any more truth which some have ignorantly written of the pope's refraining to go that way, when he goeth thereby in solemn processions; nor that which I have read in some of your [g]school-fellows' peevish books, of the stool of easement that is at Lateran, made of fair porphyry stone, which they have reported to be kept there for an unseemly use at the creation of the popes, for proof of their humanity. Thus, we trust, we have brought your great matter of pope Joan to nought....

[g] Untruth. For they lived five hundred years before us, and were the best writers of that time.

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

Here, in your judgment, is another of our "foul, shameful, accustomed lies." And that ye prove by the authority of one Onuphrius, one of the pope's late pages, specially hired and procured to help out this matter. Of the truth and certainty hereof we shall consider further in the end. Now let us examine this new conjectural doctor with his guesses.

First, he saith, dame Joan is not registered in the calendar among the popes; *ergo*, it is but a vain fable that ever dame Joan was pope in Rome. This conjecture, M. Harding, is very simple; for I doubt not but ye may well remember, that bishops' names, as well in Rome as otherwheres, have upon sundry occasions been oftentimes quite stricken out of the calendar.

Not registered.

So was Chrysostom's name upon displeasure quite stricken out of the table of the bishops of Constantinople, as if he had never been bishop there[15].

In Vit. Chrysost.

And Chrysostom himself, writing unto Cyriacus in his own defence, saith thus: *Siquidem hoc feci, expungatur nomen meum ex albo episcoporum, et non scribatur in libro orthodoxæ fidei[16]:* "If I have thus done, let my name be rased out of the bishops' calendar; and let it not be registered in the book of the catholic faith."

Chrysost. Epist. 3. ad Cyriac.

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[9] For neither was any learning, Conf.]

[10] At, Conf. and Def. 1567, 1570.]

[11] Heard, 1611.]

[12] Post hunc Leonem Joannes, Anglus, natione Margantinus, qui alibi legitur fuisse Benedictus tertius, sedit annis duobus, mensibus quinque, diebus quatuor...Hic, ut asseritur, fœmina fuit. Et quum in puellari ætate a quodam suo amasio, in habitu virili, Athenis ducta fuit; in diversis scientiis ita profecit, ut nullus sibi par inveniretur: adeo ut post Romæ trivium legens magnos magistros discipulos et auditores haberet. Et quum in urbe vita et scientia magnæ opinionis esset, in papam concorditer eligitur. Sed in papatu per suum familiarem impregnatur. Verum tempus partus ignorans, quum de sancto Petro in Lateranum tenderet, angustiata, inter Coliseum et sancti Clementis ecclesiam peperit. Et postea mortua, ibidem (ut dicitur) sepulta fuit. Et propterea quod dominus papa eandem viam semper obliquat, creditur omnino a quibusdam, quod ob detestationem facti hoc faciat. — Mart. Polon. Chronic. Antv. 1574. pp. 316, &c.]

[13] Say is, Conf. and Def. 1567.]

[14] In a stone, Conf. and Def. 1567, 1570, 1609.]

[15] Chrysost. Op. Basil. 1547. Vit. Div. Joan. Chrysost. per Des. Erasm. Tom. I. foll. *a* 5, 6.]

[16] Id. ad Cyriac. Episc. Epist. cxxv. Op. Par. 1718-38. Tom. III. p. 668.]

Dame Joan the Pope.

And afterward his name, being so defaced and rased out, was restored again by Theodotus at the vehement request and instance of the people[1]. So Acacius, the bishop of Constantinople, rased out the name of pope Felix of Rome[2]. So Innocentius, the bishop of Rome, rased out the name of Arsacius, the bishop of Constantinople[3]. And this is it that St Augustine meaneth, writing to the people of Hippo: *Quid... obest homini, quod ex illa tabula non vult eum recitari humana ignorantia, si de libro vivorum non eum delet iniqua conscientia*[4]*?* "What hurt is that unto a man, that the ignorant people will not suffer his name to be read out of that table, if wicked conscience blot him not out of the book of life?"

Niceph. Lib. xiv. cap. xxvi. Gelas. ad Episc. Dard. Niceph. Lib. xiii. cap. xxxiv. August. Epist. 137. Joh. de Parrhis. de Potest. Reg. et Papal. cap. xxiv.[5]

So writeth Johannes de Parisiis of pope Cyriacus: *Cyriacus papa renunciavit officio, ut cum Ursula et virginibus palmam martyrii susciperet: sed iste Cyriacus in catalogo paparum non annumeratur; quia credebant ipsum non propter devotionem, sed propter oblectamentum virginum dimisisse episcopatum*[6]*:* "Pope Cyriacus gave over his bishoprick, that with Ursula and other maids he might receive the crown of martyrdom. But this Cyriacus is not reckoned in the calendar of the popes; for that it was believed he had given over his bishoprick, not of devotion, but for some fantasy towards the maids."

But, to come near the purpose, and to the force of your guesses, therefore was pope Joan's name left out of the calendar of the bishops of Rome, not for that there never was any such pope there, but only for shame lest it should appear in record, and afterward be reported for ever, that a woman, and such a woman, had been bishop of Rome, or that the bishop of Rome had been with child.

Marian. Scotus.

So saith Marianus Scotus: *Hujus Joannæ nomen auctores pontificii non ponunt propter turpitudinem rei et muliebrem sexum*[7]*:* "The chroniclers that write of the popes leave out the name of pope Joan, both for the shame of the matter, and also for the womankind." So saith Martinus: [*Johanna*] *non ponitur in catalogo sanctorum pontificum, tam propter muliebrem sexum, quam propter deformitatem facti*[8]*:* "Pope Joan is not reckoned in the calendar of the holy popes, as well for that she was a woman, as also for the shame of the matter." So saith Sabellicus: *Nullus defunctæ honor habitus. Fama tenet ob tam fœdæ rei memoriam*[9]*:* "There was no honour bestowed at her burial. The report is, for the remembrance of her filthy act." So saith Johannes de Parisiis[10]. So saith *Fasciculus Temporum*[11]. Therefore this first reason is but a very blind conjecture, and beareth no force.

Mart. Polon.

Sabell. Ennead ix. Lib. i. pag. 469. Johan. de Paris. de Potest. Reg. et Papal. Fascic. Temp.

Knowing a woman from a man.

Another of your guesses is this: "Men had been bewitched and distracted of their wits, if they could not have known a woman from a man." This reason, M. Harding, beareth as great weight and substance as the former. For your own Amphilochius, that wrote the life of Thomas Becket, could have told you that Euphrosyna, that holy maid, dwelt six and thirty years in monk's apparel among monks, and was never otherwise taken but for a monk.

M. Harding's Amphilochius.

[1 ...γέγραφεν ἡμῖν...ὁ θεοφιλέστατος ἐπίσκοπος Ἀκάκιος, τὸν εὐλαβέστατον ἐπίσκοπον τῆς Ἀντιοχείας Θεόδοτον συναναγκασθῆναι παρὰ τῶν δήμων τὴν προσηγορίαν Ἰωάννου γράψαι.—Niceph. Call. Eccles. Hist. Lut. Par. 1630. Lib. XIV. cap. xxvi. Tom. II. p. 492.]

[2 Gelas. Papæ ad Episc. Dard. Epist. in Crabb. Concil. Col. Agrip. 1551. Tom. I. pp. 978, &c. In this epistle Gelasius shews that Acacius was justly condemned; but he does not state the circumstance mentioned in the text. For the history of Acacius's dispute with the see of Rome, consult Evagr. in Hist. Eccles. Script. Amst. 1695-1700. Lib. III. capp. xviii. &c. pp. 349, &c.]

[3 Ἀρσάκιον ... καθαιροῦμεν ... οὗτινος μηδὲ τὸ ὄνομα ἐγγραφήτω τοῖς ἱεροῖς διπτύχοις.—Niceph. Call. Eccles. Hist. Lib. XIII. cap. xxxiv. Tom. II. p. 420.]

[4 August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. Ad Eccles. Hipp. Epist. lxxviii. 4. Tom. II. col. 184.]

[5 *Cap. xxiv.* is not in 1567.]

[6 Scribitur...quod cum illis virginibus esset palmam martyrii recepturus...renunciavit et dignitati et officio. Sed &c.—Joh. de Parrhis. De Potest. Reg. et Papal. cap. xxiv. in Goldast. Mon. Rom. Imp. Hanov. et Franc. 1612-14. Tom. II. p. 144.]

[7 Huic successit Johanna, mulier, annis 2, mensibus 5, diebus 4.—Marian. Scot. Chronic. Basil. 1559. Lib. III. col. 407. But nothing is here said of the name's being left out of the calendar.]

[8 Mart. Polon. Chronic. Antv. 1574. p. 319; where *nec ideo ponitur*, and *muliebris sexus*.]

[9 Nullus &c. memoriam Romanos pontifices: quum Lateranum hodie petunt; ibi loci via deflectere.—Sabell. Rapsod. Hist. Par. 1509. Ennead. IX. Lib. I. Pars III. fol. 69. 2.]

[10 Et iterum papa propter defectum personæ... ut si esset fœmina vel hæreticus, sicut fuerunt aliqui, qui ob hoc non enumerentur in catalogo paparum: &c.—Johan. de Parrhis. de Potest. Reg. et Papal. cap. xxiii. in Goldast. Mon. Rom. Imp. Tom. II. p. 142.]

[11 Fascic. Temp. Venet. 1479. fol. 49.]

Likewise Vincentius[12], and Petrus de Natalibus[13], and others your writers and recorders of fables could have told you that Tecla sometime addressed herself in man's apparel, and, had she not been forbidden by St Paul, would have followed him in company as a man. Ravisius Textor writeth the like of one Marina, that, dissembling what she was, lived many years in an abbey as a monk[14]. The like he writeth of Lasthenia, Axiothea, and others, that, being women, came into the school in man's apparel to hear Plato[15]. The like writeth your own fabular Simeon Metaphrastes of Eugenia[16]. And, if ye lack other authorities of trust and credit, one of your own companions of Lovaine avoucheth the same of Melania and Papula[17]. And yet I think he was not bewitched (as you say) nor thoroughly bereft of his wits.

Dame Joan the Pope.

Vincent. Lib. ix. cap. xlvii. Petr. de Natal. Lib. viii. cap. cx. Ravis. Textor. in Offic. Mulieres virilem habitum mentitæ. Sim. Metaph. in Eugen. Cop. Dial. 2. pag. 236. Anglicus.

The quarrel that ye pick to the name and surname is nothing else but a childish cavil. For she was not called Joan English by the name of the country, for that she was an English woman born in England, as you full fondly imagine, but only by the surname of her father. So are there many known this day by the names of Scot, Irish, French, Welsh, Westfaling, Norman, Gascoigne, Brabant, Holland; and yet not born in any of all these countries, but only in England. So Matthias Parisiensis, as it is supposed, notwithstanding his name, was born in Bohemia.

Therefore, whereas ye yould have the words vainly and without sense to be read and pointed thus, *Johannes Anglicus natione, Moguntinus, &c.*, "John an Englishman by nation, of Moguntia," &c.; ye play, and toy, and trifle unseemly, and mock your reader. For the words are clear and plain, and lie thus: *Johannes Anglicus, natione Moguntinus, &c.:* "John English (so surnamed), born at Mens."

Further ye say: "God would never have so forsaken Peter's chair as to suffer it to be polluted by a woman, which is not of capacity for holy orders." This guess, M. Harding, presumeth over far of God's providence. And therefore Antoninus, the archbishop of Florence, when he had opened this whole story of pope Joan, being astonied[18] with the strangeness and admiration of the matter, could not refrain himself from crying out: *O altitudo ... sapientiæ et scientiæ Dei! Quam incredibilia sunt judicia ejus*[19]*!* "O the depth of the wisdom and knowledge of God! How incredible[20] be his judgments!" In like manner the prophet Esay crieth out: *Quomodo facta est meretrix civitas fidelis!* "How is that faithful city become an harlot!"

God's sufferance.

Anton. Part. II. Tit. xvi. cap. i. § 7. Isai. i.

And why might not pope Joan, being a woman, have as good right and interest unto the see of Rome, as afterward had pope John XIII., who, being pope, had wicked company with two of his own sisters[21]; or others, whom for their horrible vices and wickedness Platina calleth *monstra et portenta*[22], "monsters against kind, and ill-shapen creatures?" Luitprandus saith, as it is before reported: *Lateranense palatium ... nunc [est] prostibulum meretricum*[23]: "The pope's palace of Lateran in Rome is now become a stew of whores."

In Epist. Othon. Imp. ad Johan. Pap. Plat. in Johan. XIII. Luitprand. Lib. vi. cap. vi.

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[12] ...Tecla ad habitum viri tondere se voluit, ut Paulum libere sequeretur; sed Paulus non permisit. —Vincent. Biblioth. Mund. seu Spec. Maj. Duac. 1624. Spec. Hist. Lib. IX. cap. xlvii. Tom. IV. p. 340.]

[13] Petr. de Natal. Catalog. Sanct. Lugd. 1519. Lib. VIII. cap. cx. fol. 171. 2. But this author merely says that Thecla was converted by St Paul's preaching.]

[14] Marina virgo...sexum...dissimulavit...ut scilicet admitteretur in cœnobium quoddam...ubi ad mortem usque sanctissime vixit nomine Marini.—Ravis. Textor. Offic. Par. 1532. fol. 113. 2.]

[15] Dicæarchus...testis est Lastheniam Mantineam et Axiotheam Phliasiam Platone usas præceptore, et ornatu virili auditorium nonnumquam intrasse.—Id. ibid. fol. 114.]

[16] Sim. Metaphr. de S. Eugen. in Sur. De Prob. Sanctor. Hist. Col. Agrip. 1570-5. Tom. VI. pp. 974, &c.]

[17] In Pappula...est forsan quod desideres, propter vestem mutatam...Melania...Pambonem...et alios sanctos monachos ab Arrianis relegatos...servili veste sumta, vesperi clam invisebat, &c.—Copi Dial. Sex, Antv. 1566. Dial. II. cap. xiii. p. 236.]

[18] Astonned, 1567, 1570.]

[19] Anton. Chronic. Lugd. 1586. Pars II. Tit. xvi. cap. i. 7. p. 569; where *incomprehensibilia sunt.*]

[20] Uncredible, 1567, 1570.]

[21] Synod. Epist. ad Joan. XII. in Baron. Annal. Eccles. Rom. 1602, &c. Tom. X. p. 773.]

[22] Sunt qui scribant hunc sceleratissimum hominem, vel hoc monstrum potius &c.—Plat. De Vit. Pont. Col. 1551. Johan. XIII. p. 133. See also below, page 702, note 8.]

[23] Luitprand. Ticin. Rer. Gest. per Europ. Libr. Par. 1514. Lib. VI. cap. vi. fol. 38. 2. See before, page 647.]

Dame Joan the Pope.

All this notwithstanding, saith Antoninus: *Nulli ... ex hoc salutis præjudicium [fuit]; quia nec ecclesia tunc fuit sine capite, quod est Christus, unde percipit influxum gratiæ*[1]: "No man had hinderance of salvation by mean hereof. For (although the pope were a woman, yet) the church was not without a Head. For that Head is Christ, from whom she receiveth influence of grace." Yea, although antichrist get himself into the see of Rome, yet shall the church of God nevertheless continue still, although in horrible confusion, and under great persecution.

Anton. Part. II. Tit. xvi. cap. i. § 7.

Athens.

Further ye say: "To Athens was she brought, saith the fable. And why? For learning. Very well. Whereas at that time neither any Athens stood, nor was there any place of learning there any longer; but all the country of Attica became barbarous, as we understand by the writers of that time."

The city of Athens was then overthrown (ye say), and learning there utterly decayed. And therefore all this is but a fable. And good reason it is that we believe you; for that your Onuphrius hath so told you. But, for your credit's sake, M. Harding, lest all men espy your vanity, tell us by whom was that noble and so populous and mighty city of Athens thus laid waste? By what king? By what captain? By what foreign nation? At what time? How long ago? Having not one poor author to allege, no, not so much as one[2], how could ye pretend the names of so many without blushing?

Lumen et Μουσεῖον Ἑλλάδος. Ruffin. in Apolog. pro Orig. apud Hieron. Tom. IV. Georg. Patr. in Vit. Johan. Ruffin. Lib. ii. cap. ix. M. Harding's Amphilochius. Theodoric. Lib. i. In Epist. ad Boeth.

The city of Athens had then continued well-near twelve hundred years; and for knowledge in philosophy and renown of learning was called the "eye and university of all Græcia." Origen writeth of himself, that he was sometime a student in Athens[3]. Chrysostom, being eighteen years old, for learning's sake was sent to Athens[4]. St Basil and his brother Gregory, afterward the bishop of Nyssa, were students at Athens together thirteen years[5]. Your own Amphilochius, whose authority ye may not in any wise deny, saith thus of St Basil: *Apprehendit matrem literarum Athenas*[6]: "He came to Athens, which is the mother of learning." Boetius of Rome planted himself in Athens for learning's sake about the year of[7] our Lord 520[8].

It appeareth in the subscriptions of the second Nicene council, anno 742.

In the year of our Lord 680, the bishop of Athens was present at the council holden at Constantinople, called *Synodus sexta*[9]. After that, in the year of our Lord 742, at the second council of Nice, a great number of the bishops of Græcia were present in their persons all together[10]. Within few years after which time followed pope Joan, in the year of our Lord 853.

Hitherto the whole country and church of Græcia continued in safety; and the emperors of Christendom made their continual abode in those parts. And have you, M. Harding, so suddenly thrown down altogether both church, country, town, and castle, only to keep pope Joan from her study?

Ye say: "The whole country of Attica was then become barbarous." This tale is your own, and hangeth only upon your own credit. Yet Platina, Sabellicus, and others more that wrote this story, and knew what they wrote, were not so barbarous. But barbarous is he, M. Harding, that will believe your simple word without warrant.

"At that time (ye say) the city of Athens was not standing." But Paulus

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[1 Anton. Chronic. Lugd. 1586. Pars II. Tit. xvi. cap. i. 7. p. 569; where *qui est Christus; unde influxum gratiæ percipit.*]

[2 These six words are not in 1567.]

[3 ...miserunt ad me Athenas hominem &c.—Pro Orig. Ruffin. Apol. in Hieron. Op. Par. 1693-1706. Tom. V. col. 251.]

[4 Ἐπειδὴ δὲ καὶ ταῦτα εἰς ἄκρον ἐξεπαιδεύθη ...παραγίνεται εἰς Ἀθήνας, πληρῶσαι θέλων τὰ λείποντα τῆς παιδεύσεως.—Georg. Alex. de Vit. Chrysost. in Chrysost. Op. Eton. 1611. Tom. VIII. p. 161.]

[5 The passage meant is probably the following: ...ambo Athenis eruditi...Gregorius vero...tantum de collegæ amore præsumpsit, ut sedentem Basilium ...secum ad monasterium ...perduceret. Ibique per annos ut aiunt tredecim...solis divinæ scripturæ voluminibus operam dabant.—Hist. Eccles. Par. Lib. XI. cap. ix. fol. 123. But the Gregory here spoken of was Nazianzen. Gregory, Basil's brother, is afterwards mentioned, but the place where he studied is not named.]

[6 Amphiloch. Op. Par. 1644. In Vit. S. Basil. cap. i. p. 157.]

[7 1567 omits *of*.]

[8 Sic enim Atheniensium scholas longe positus introisti.—Theodoric. Ad Boeth. Epist. xliv. in Cassiodor. Op. Rothom. 1679. Var. Lib. I. Tom. I. p. 21.]

[9 Subscript. Concil. Constant. III. Act. XVIII. in Concil. Stud. Labb. et Cossart. Lut. Par. 1671-2. Tom. VI. col. 1062.]

[10 Concil. Nic. II. Act. I. in eod. Tom. VII. cols. 40, &c.]

Æmylius saith that long after that time, in the reign of Philip the French king, Gottofredus, one of the house of Tricasses, was appointed and made *dux Athenarum et princeps Achaiæ*[12], "the duke of Athens and the prince of Achaia." If there had been then no Athens standing at that time, as you tell us, how then could Gottofredus have been made duke of Athens? If ye say, as ye may do much by your conjectures, that, notwithstanding the city of Athens were rased and made waste, yet the dignity or name of honour remained still, yet will the same Æmylius once again reprove your error: for, writing afterward of certain pirates that had invaded the country of Græcia, he saith thus: *In terram Atticam... delati, Athenarum ducem Brennæ nobilitatis virum occiderunt, urbemque ceperunt*[13]: "Invading the country of Attica, they took and slew the duke of Athens, one of the house of Brennus, and took the city."

Dame Joan Pope[11].

Paul. Æmyl. Lib. vi. An. Dom. 1220.

Paul. Æmyl. Lib. viii. An. Dom. 1288.

In the year of our Lord 1206, Michael Choniates, brother unto Nicetas Choniates, was the bishop of Athens[14]: Nicephorus Gregoras, about the year of our Lord 1300, maketh mention of sundry dukes of Athens[15]: Leonicus Chalcocondyla saith that one Izaulus, a young gentleman of Italy, married the duchess of Athens, and got the city[16]; and that the rest of the Græcians levied their powers against the Athenians[17]; and that afterward, about the year of our Lord 1440, Mahomet the emperor of Turkey took the city of Athens, and subdued it unto himself, and, having it in possession, marvelled at the beauty of the castle, and at the force of the [18]walls[19].

Nicet. pag. 74.

Niceph. Gregor. Lib. iv. et vi.

Chalcoc. Lib. iv.

Chalcoc. Lib. vii.

Chalcoc. Lib. ix.

These things happened, as it is easy to reckon, many hundred years[20] after the time of pope Joan. Now therefore I beseech you, M. Harding, consider indifferently with yourself: If there had been no city of Athens then standing, how could these pirates then, how could Izaulus, how could Mahomet invade[21] and take the city of Athens? Shall we say, they levied an army, and disquieted the country, and troubled themselves, and came so far, to catch a shadow?

Thus hitherto it appeareth not but, if dame Joan would have gone to Athens, there was room sufficient to receive her.

"After that she came to Rome, and there professed learning openly. This (you say) is soon confuted as false: for there was no learning at those days professed at Rome, as the stories do declare." This is very soon confuted, M. Harding, and specially by him that reckoneth[22] so little what he say. "The stories (you say) do declare it." Leave[23], leave this hypocrisy: dissemble no more: it is not manly. Tell us, in good sooth, what writers, what stories declare these things? Your credit faileth over-much. Your word is no sufficient warrant.

Ye say: "There was no learning in those days professed in Rome." And why so? Will ye now say of Rome as ye erst said of Athens? Will ye say there was no city of Rome then standing? Will ye say, learning there was then utterly decayed, and the whole country become barbarous? If there were no study nor[24] place of learning then in Rome, where then was there any study in all Christendom? For the universities of Paris, Orleans, Tolouse, Salerne, Padua, Bononia, Praga, Salamanca, were erected long afterward. And therefore ye seem to say that all the whole world then was barbarous.

No university in Rome.

But, that ye may the better see your oversight, St Hierome, writing of Victorinus and Donatus, saith thus: "Victorinus the rhetorician, and Donatus the grammarian, my school-masters, are accounted notable in Rome[25]." And again he

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[11] Dame Joan the pope, 1567.]

[12] Gotthofredus e Tricassium nobilitate, impiger, ac summæ virtutis vir, dux Athenarum, idem et Achaiæ princeps declaratus.—Paul. Æmyl. De Reb. Gest. Franc. Par. 1544. Lib. vi. fol. 129.]

[13] Id. ibid. Lib. viii. fol. 169. 2.]

[14] Nicet. Choniat. Annal. Basil. 1557. Lib. de Imp. Bald. Flandr. p. 298.]

[15] Niceph. Gregor. Hist. Rom. Basil. 1562. Libb. iv. vii. pp. 54, 108, 9, &c.]

[16] Laonic. Chalcoc. De Reb. Turc. Hist. Par. 1650. Lib. iv. pp. 112, &c. An account of Izaulus is given here, but it does not seem clear that he married a daughter of the sovereign of Athens. Rainerius however is spoken of as prince of Corinth and Athens, and as having given his two daughters in marriage to Theodorus and Carolus.]

[17] Id. Lib. vi. p. 170.]

[18] Id. Lib. ix. p. 241, 2.]

[19] This paragraph, with the references, is not in 1567.]

[20] Well-near four hundred and fifty years, 1567.]

[21] These pirates then invade, 1567.]

[22] Recketh, 1567, 1570.]

[23] The last eight words are not in 1567.]

[24] Or, 1567.]

[25] Victorinus rhetor et Donatus grammaticus, præceptor meus, Romæ insignes habentur.—Hieron.

Dame Joan Pope[1].

saith: *Victorinus, natione Afer, Romæ sub Constantio principe rhetoricam docuit*[2]: "Victorinus, born in Africa, taught rhetoric in Rome in the time of the emperor Constantius."

Hieron. in Append. Annal. Euseb. Hieron. in Catalog. Script. Illust. Erasm. in Vit. Hieron.

Erasmus, writing the life of St Hierome, saith thus: *Romam missus est, velut ad primariam eo seculo tum religionis tum eruditionis magistram, [liberalibus studiis erudiendus; quod ipse declarat enarrans* xi. *caput Ezechielis]*[3]: "Hierome was sent to Rome, as to the principal school-mistress in those days, both of religion and also of learning, as he himself declareth, expounding the eleventh chapter of Ezechiel." St Augustine saith: *Egisti... mecum, [O Deus], ut mihi persuaderetur Romam pergere, et potius ibi docere quod docebam Carthagine*[4]: "O God, thou movedst my mind to go to Rome, and there rather to profess openly the same learning that I had professed at Carthage." And further he saith: *Audiebam quietius studere ibi adolescentes, et ordinatiore disciplinæ correctione sedari*[5]: "I heard say that young men there went more quietly to their books, and were kept in orderly obedience to their studies."

August. Confess. Lib. v. cap. viii.

In Oper. Tripart. Lib. ii. cap. x.

And in the Tripartite Work joined unto the council of Lateran ye may find the story hereof recorded thus: *Primo Athenis Romam translatum est studium philosophicum; deinde Roma Parisios tempore Caroli, ut dicunt historiæ*[6]: "First the study of philosophy was translated from Athens to Rome; and afterward, as the stories say, in the time of the emperor Charles, it was translated from Rome to Paris."

Extr. de Privil. Lib. iv. Cum de diversis. In Sexto. Clemens, Lib. v. De Magistris.

What shall I more say? The pope himself in his own decretals saith: "Rome is an university." These be his words: *Curia Romana habet studium generale, et ejus privilegia*[7]: "The court of Rome hath an universal study, and the privileges of the same." And again pope Clemens saith: *In studiis Romanæ curiæ, Parisiis, Oxonii, Bononiæ, Salamancæ, debent esse professores linguarum Hebraicæ, Chaldaicæ, Arabicæ*[8]: "In the universities of Rome, of Paris, of Oxford, of Bononie, and of Salamanca, there must be professors of the Hebrew, Chaldee, and Arabic tongues."

Theodor. Niem. citat. ab Illyr. in Test. Verit.

To be short, Theodoricus Niemus, sometime the pope's secretary, and therefore having good cause to know the truth hereof, and, for ought that I know, having[9] no cause to dissemble, of this whole matter writeth thus: *Et nunc est titulus cardinalis prædictæ scholæ. Et olim in ea legebantur septem artes liberales, et præcipue rhetorica; et etiam in ea legit quandoque beatus Augustinus, et Johannes vocatus de Anglia. Et fuit mulier de Maguntia nata, quæ studuit Athenis sub virili habitu; et in tantum profecit in artibus..., ut tandem veniens... Romam per biennium in eadem schola artes... liberales legerit; et adeo sufficiens fuit, ut etiam majores et nobiliores urbis ejus lectiones frequenter audiverint. Et postea in papam eligitur, &c.*[10]: "Even now a cardinal beareth the title of the said school or university of Rome. And in old times the seven liberal sciences, and specially rhetoric, were read in the same. There also sometime read St Augustine, and one that was called John of England. This John was a woman born at Mens (in Germany), and had studied at Athens in the apparel of a man; and had so profited in the arts, that at last coming to Rome two years together she professed the liberal sciences in the same school. And her gift in teaching was such, that the elders and nobles of the city resorted often to hear her read. Afterward she was chosen pope," &c.

Vit. per Erasm. in Hieron. Op. Basil. 1516. Tom. I. fol. *a* 6. 2.]

[1 Dame Joan the pope, 1567.]

[2 Hieron. Op. Par. 1693-1706. Catalog. Script. Eccles. ci. Tom. IV. Pars II. col. 125.]

[3 Hieron. Vit. per Erasm. ubi supr. fol. *a* 6.]

[4 August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. Confess. Lib. v. cap. viii. 14. Tom. I. col. 113.]

[5 Id. ibid.; where *ibi studere*, and *coercitione sedari*.]

[6 ...studium philosophicum, quia de Athenis primo Romæ translatum fuit, deinde de Roma Parisiis Caroli tempore, &c.—Opusc. Tripart. Lib. II. cap. x. in Crabb. Concil. Col. Agrip. 1551. Tom. II. p. 992.]

[7 Corp. Jur. Canon. Lugd. 1624. Sext. Decretal. Lib. v. Tit. vii. Gloss. in cap. 2. col. 669.]

[8 In studiis Romanæ curiæ, Parisien. Oxoniensi, Bononien. et Salamantino debent esse magistri catholici, scholas regentes in linguis Hebraica, Arabica, et Chaldæa.—Ibid. Clement. Lib. v. Tit. i. Gloss. in cap. 1. col. 257.]

[9 1567 omits *having*.]

[10 M. Flac. Illyr. Catalog. Test. Verit. juxt. Edit. Argent. 1562. Franc. 1666. nº. 142. pp. 240, 1; where *quandocunque, quod tandem, legit*, and *quod etiam*. This quotation has not been found in the edition of 1608.]

Thus many ways, M. Harding, have we found an university or school in Rome; and no cause to the contrary but dame Joan, being so well-learned as it is said, might well be a reader there. Dame Joan Pope[1].

But ye say: "Why kept she not herself in?" Her midwife might better answer this question. But what if she were suddenly prevented before her time, as many be? Or what if God would have such a matter so openly known, to the everlasting detestation either of the person or of the place? Certainly Antoninus, the archbishop of Florence, being astonied with the horror hereof, as it is said before, crieth out: "O the depth of the wisdom and knowledge of God! O how unsearchable be his judgments[11]!" The pope's time of travail. Anton. Part. II. Tit. xvi. cap. i. § 7.

"The author hereof (say you) durst not to avouch the matter for an undoubted truth; but only saith, *ut asseritur*, 'as it is said;' and so referreth all the whole to hearsay." Notwithstanding, M. Harding, many there be that write this story as a certain truth, without doubting, or credit of hearsay. And Platina, albeit he would not seem to avouch over-much, for the honour of the see of Rome, yet thus he saith: *Quod fere omnes affirmant*[12]: "Which thing in a manner all men do affirm." And Ravisius Textor saith: *Scitum est ex chronicis, et a majoribus scriptum*[13]: "It is known by the chronicles, and written by our elders." "It is known," saith one; "It is affirmed in a manner by all men," saith another. But for the space of eight hundred years and more there was no writer, I trow, so impudent, that would condemn it for a fable, as you do, and utterly deny it to be true. Ut asseritur. Plat. in Johan. VIII. In Officina.

Touching the marble image, representing a woman in child-bearing, and the pope's sudden breaking off his way in his solemn procession, let each man weigh these things as[14] him listeth. But where ye compare that image to one of the great rag-stones at Stonage or Long Compton, as if it were utterly unwrought and without shape, ye seem wilfully to avouch, as your manner is, a great untruth. Verily, Theodoricus Niemus, the pope's secretary, saith: *Et adhuc vetus statua marmorea illic posita figurative monstrat (hoc factum). Unde summi pontifices, dum ad Lateranum de Basilica principis apostolorum et contra vadunt, illud iter rectum non faciunt; imo per alias vias per indirectum transeunt, illud aliquantulum prolongando*[15]: "Even unto this day an old marble image there erected under a figure sheweth this matter. Therefore the popes, when they pass from St Peter's church to Lateran, or backward, they take not their journey straight forth, but pass undirectly by other streets, making their way somewhat the longer:"—lest they should be forced, to their shame, to behold that image[16]. This therefore is not "an old wives' dream," as you say, but the judgment of sundry the wisest and best-learned in Rome, who might best know the matter. The marble image. Theodor. Niem.

As for the "chair of porphyry stone," which otherwheres ye call the "chair of ease," it is too vile to be answered. Sabellicus saith: *Spectatur adhuc in pontificia domo marmorea sella, circa medium inanis; qua novus pontifex continuo ab ejus creatione residet, ut sedentis genitalia ab ultimo diacono attrectentur*[17]. The hollow chair. Sabell. Ennead. IX. Lib. I.

But let truth be falsehood[18], and let stories be fables. Yet, M. Harding, it may please you to remember that the same fable was raised first in Rome, and from thence only, and from no place else, was published abroad into the world. But let the pope's own secretaries and all the people there be deceived; and, to shadow the shame of that see, let Rome itself be the mother of lies. Let no man know the certain truth of matters, but only Onuphrius, the pope's parasite, and M. Harding. Yet neither would so many chronicles have recorded, nor would the whole world so universally have believed these things of the pope more than of any other bishop, had there not been wonderful corruption of manners, and dissolution of life, and open horror, and filthiness in that only see above all others.

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[11] Anton. Chronic. Lugd. 1586. Pars II. Tit. xvi. cap. i. 7. p. 569. See before, page 651, note 19.]

[12] Plat. De Vit. Pont. Col. 1551. Johan. VIII. p. 119.]

[13] Ravis. Textor. Offic. Par. 1532. fol. 114.]

[14] Weigh them as, 1567.]

[15] M. Flac. Illyr. Catalog. Test. Verit. nº. 142, p. 241; where *ut adhuc, Lateranens., et e contra,* and *rectum iter*. See above, note 10.]

[16] This sentence is not in 1567.]

[17] Sabell. Rapsod. Hist. Par. 1509. Ennead. IX. Lib. I. Pars III. fol. 69. 2; where *spectatur ad hæc.*]

[18] Falsehead, 1567, 1570.]

Howbeit, good christian reader, that thou mayest well and clearly understand that our dealing herein is plain and simple, and that we have not imagined these matters, or any parcel thereof ourselves[1], may it please thee to read Platina *in Johanne VIII.;* Sabellicus, *Enneadis* IX. Lib. I.; Leonicus Chalcocondyla, a Greek writer, Lib. VI.; Marianus Scotus, that lived about the year of our Lord 1028; Sigebertus Gemblacensis, that lived about the year of our Lord 1100; Martinus Polonus, the pope's penitentiary, whom M. Harding so much defaceth, that lived about the year of our Lord 1320; Ravisius Textor *in Officina*, cap. *Fœminæ habitum virilem mentitæ;* Antoninus, the archbishop of Florence, Part. II. Tit. 16; Volaterranus, Nauclerus, Carion, Constantinus Phrygio, Christianus Massæus, Matthæus Palmerius Florentinus, Anselmus Rid, Johannes Parisiensis, cap. 20[2], *Supplemento Chronicorum, Chronica Chronicorum*[3], *Fasciculus Temporum*[4], and others more. Of these some lived four hundred, some five hundred years ago; and have ever been counted worthy of some authority; notwithstanding, for your dame Joan's sake, you, M. Harding, begin now to clip their credit. Howbeit, whatsoever they were, certain it is they were no Lutherans. All these with one consent agree together that dame Joan was pope of Rome[5].

Testimonies for the proof of pope Joan.

Notwithstanding, some of your own fellows of Louvain could have taught you to have dealt herein more discreetly; and not so precisely and peremptorily to have denied the whole story; specially being sent to you from your friends in Rome, and confirmed by so many. And therefore one of your Louvanians would seem handsomely to excuse and shift the matter by possibility of nature. For thus he saith in effect: What if the pope were *hermaphroditus*, an *herkinalson*, that is to say, a man and a woman both in one? Or, if this help will not serve, he seemeth further to say: What if the pope being first a man, were afterward changed into a woman? And thus, for want of better divinity, he forceth Ovid's *Metamorphosis*[6] to serve the turn. If ye would have taken this man's advice, out of doubt with such a pretty "what if" ye might soon have put us out of countenance. His words be these: *Neque ego hic quicquam dico de hermaphroditis, et ἀνδρογύνοις, de quibus veterum libri pleni sunt. Et ne a nostri temporis memoria longius abeam, non ignoro monumentis literarum esse traditum, mulierem quandam nomine Æmyliam, Antonio Spensæ civi Ebulano nuptam, post duodecimum a nuptiis annum in virum transisse*[7]*.... Legi etiam alteram mulierem, ubi puerum peperisset, in marem fuisse mutatam*[8]*:* "I will here say nothing of such persons as be called *hermaphroditi*, and are both man and woman all in one; whereof in old writers we find much mention. But, not to go further than to the remembrance of our own time, I know it is written that a certain woman named Æmylia, married unto one Antonius Spensa, a citizen of Ebulum, twelve[9] years after she had been married was turned into a man. I have likewise read of another woman that, when she had been brought a-bed, afterward became a man." These notable stories he allegeth to answer the matter of pope Joan. Thus he thinketh it a great deal the safer way to make the pope an *herkinalson*, or by miracle to turn him from a man into a woman, than simply and plainly to confess that ever dame Joan was pope in Rome.

Hermaphroditus.

Cop. Dial. i. pag. 47.

If you had taken this same way, then all this story had been a fable, and a woman had been a man; and we had utterly been confounded.

[1 Thereof of ourselves, 1567.]

[2 The last two authors are not mentioned in 1567. 1570 introduces here Sigebertus Gemblacensis again.]

[3 Chronicarum, 1567, 1570.]

[4 See before, page 649, note 14; page 650, notes 7, 9, 10, 11; page 651, note 19; page 655, notes 13, 14. Conf. Laonic. Chalcoc. De Reb. Turc. Hist. Par. 1650. Lib. VI. p. 160; Sigebert. Gemblac. Chronic. Par. 1513. fol. 66. 2; Raph. Volat. Comm. Urb. Par. 1603. Anthropol. Lib. XXII. col. 794; Naucler. Memor. Chronic. Tubing. 1516. Vol. II. Gen. XXIX. foll. 131, 2; Carion. Chronic. Libell. Par. 1543. fol. 91. 2; Constant. Phryg. Chronic. Basil. 1534. p. 402; Christ. Mass. Chronic. Mund. Antv. 1540. Lib. XV. p. 211; Matt. Palmer. Florent. Chronic. Contin. Chronic. Euseb. &c. Basil. 1536. fol. 112; Anselm. Ryd. Catalog. Annor. Bern. 1540. foll. 38. 2, 9; J. P. Bergom. Suppl. Chron. Par. 1538. Lib. X. fol. 255; Chronic. Chronicar. Par. 1521. fol. 12.

For the testimonies of a variety of authors, see Catalog. Test. Genev. 1608. cols. 1104-13. Conf. Mosh. Eccles. Hist. Cent. IX. Part II. chap. ii.]

[5 This sentence is not in 1567.]

[6 Metamorphoses, 1567, 1570.]

[7 Transiisse, 1567, 1570.]

[8 Copi Dial. Sex, Antv. 1566. Dial. I. cap. viii. p. 47; where *transiisse*.]

[9 Ten, 1567, 1570, 1609.]

THE APOLOGY, Chap. ii. Division 1.

But what need we[10] rehearse concubines and bawds? For[11] that is now an ordinary and a gainful sin in[12] Rome. For harlots sit there now-a-days, not as they did in times past, without the city-walls, and with their faces hid and covered; but they dwell in palaces and fair houses; they stray about in court and market, and that with bare and open face; as who would say[13], they may not only lawfully do it, but ought also to be praised for so doing[14]. What should we say any more of this? Their vicious and abominable life is now thoroughly known to the whole world. Bernard writeth roundly and truly of the bishop of Rome's house, yea, and of the bishop of Rome himself. "Thy palace," saith he, "taketh in good men, but it maketh none: naughty persons thrive there; and the good [15]decay[16]." And whosoever he were which wrote the Tripartite Work annexed to the council of Lateran, he saith[17] thus: "So excessive at this day is the riot, as well in the prelates and bishops, as also in[18] the clerks and priests, that it is horrible to be told[19]." But these things be not only grown in ure, and so by custom and continuance of time[20] well allowed, as all the rest of their doings in manner be, but they are now waxen old and rotten ripe. For who hath not heard what a heinous act Peter Aloisius, pope Paul the third's son, committed against Cosmus Cherius, the bishop of Fanum[21]; what John Casa, archbishop of Beneventum[22], the pope's legate at Venice, wrote in the commendation of a most abominable filthiness; and how he set forth with most loathsome words and wicked eloquence the matter which ought not once to proceed out of any body's mouth? To whose ears hath it not come, that Alphonsus Diazius[23], a Spaniard, being purposely sent from Rome into Germany, so shamefully and devilishly murdered[24] his own brother John Diazius, a most innocent and a most godly man, only because he had embraced the gospel of Jesus[25] Christ, and would not return again to Rome?

Gen. xxxviii.

But it may chance to this they will say, These things may sometime happen in the best-governed commonwealths[26], yea, and against the magistrates' wills; and, besides, there be good laws made to punish such. I grant it be so. But by what good laws, I would know, have these great mischiefs been punished[27] amongst them? Petrus Aloisius, after he had done that notorious act that I spake of, was always cherished in his father's bosom, pope Paul the third, and made his very dearling. Diazius, after he had murdered his own brother, was delivered by the pope's means, to the end he might not be punished by good laws. John

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[10] One, Conf.]
[11] As for, Conf.]
[12] At, Conf.]
[13] Who say, Conf.]
[14] Suggest. Delect. Card. in Crabb. Concil. Col. Agrip. 1551. Tom. III. col. 823.]
[15] Good appair and decay, Conf.]
[16] ...at curia bonos facilius recipere, quam facere consuevit. Quod si plures in ea defecisse bonos quam malos profecisse probavimus &c.—Bernard. Op. Par. 1690. De Cons. ad Eugen. Lib. IV. cap. iv. 11. Vol. I. Tom. II. col. 439.]
[17] Council Lateranense saith, Conf.]
[18] As in, Conf.]
[19] Tanta immunditia luxuriæ notoria est...non solum in clericis, sed etiam in sacerdotibus, imo (quod horribile est audire) in prælatis majoribus.—Opusc. Tripart. Lib. III. cap. vii. in Crabb. Concil. Tom. II. p. 1002.]
[20] And continual time, Conf.]
[21] Fanense, Conf.]
[22] Casus archbishop of Beneventanus, Conf.]
[23] That N. Diazius, Conf.]
[24] Germany did shamefully and devilishly murder, Conf.]
[25] Jesu, Conf.]
[26] Commonwealth, Conf.]
[27] Mischiefs have been punished, Def. 1570.]

Petrus Aloisius the pope's son.

Casa the archbishop of Beneventum[1] is yet alive, yea, and liveth at Rome, even in the eye[2] and sight of the most holy father[3].

M. HARDING.

* Untruths, great and notorious.

*... Courteghians[4] went abroad as[5] the matrons do: some[6] rode on[7] mules, some dwelled in goodly houses. Which particular disorders, *as there they continued not many years, *so in these days they have been reformed.... Wherein ye follow the father of your heresies, and school-master of your malice, the devil, who in scripture is called* accusator fratrum nostrorum, *"the accuser of our brethren."* Rev. xii.

O, a fair boon-grace, to beautify open and known wickedness.

But, sirs, how leap ye from Rome to Placentia, from the clergy to a temporal duke, whom ye call the pope's son, though he was not his son being pope, but by lawful matrimony before holy orders taken? For such a one was Peter Aloisius, of whom ye speak. Be it that he was an evil man, what maketh[8] that against the church? What for defence of your new gospel? If Johannes Casa, Johan. Casa. *being yet a young springall, before he came to be a clerk, and long before he was either bishop or legate, made certain amorous sonnets in Italian rhyme, following the Italian poet Petrarcha, to which kind of exercise the good wits of Italy in youth are much given, and, without naming any person, flatteringly smoothed that heinous fact, rather than praised; wherein nevertheless he did evil, we confess, and for the same oversight of his youth was (notwithstanding his other excellent qualities) kept back from the dignity of cardinalship during his life—all this being granted and considered, what hindereth it the estimation of Christ's church? And what furthereth it your false doctrine, your schisms, and your heresies[9]?... Touching the death of John Diazius the Spaniard, ye tell *many lies at once....*[10]

* Untruth. For we tell no lie. Read the answer.

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

We leaped not so lightly to Placentia, M. Harding, but rather rest at Verona, and say the truth. For pope Paulus, that should have punished his wicked son, and have burnt him to death for his abominable outrage, removed not to Placentia, but remained still in Rome. Johannes Sleidanus saith, that the young gentleman, the bishop of Fanum, upon whom Petrus Aloisius the pope's son had shewed that horrible villany, shortly after died for shame and heaviness. "Yet," he saith, "it is thought of some that Petrus Aloisius, after his wicked act committed, gave him poison, and so killed him, lest he should make complaint thereof unto the emperor." He addeth further: *Paulus nihilo secius impense amabat filium; et ad ipsius amplificationem omne studium convertit. Et, cum de [ejus] flagitiis nonnunquam audiret, fertur non admodum ægre tulisse, et hoc solum consuevisse dicere, Hæc illum vitia non se commonstratore didicisse*[11]: "Pope Paul nevertheless favoured his son above measure, and bestowed all his care to increase him in honour. And, whereas he heard sometime of his shameful acts, the report is, that he was not much offended therewith, but used only thus to say, 'Well, ye wis he never learned these vices by my example.'" So cruel and terrible is the pope in repressing of sin.

Johan. Sleid. Lib. xix.

But God of his justice would not suffer such abomination to escape unpunished. Certain of the nobles of his own city, not long after, arose against him, and slew him in his own palace, and hung out his vile carcase in shameful sort by a chain over the walls; and afterward threw it over into the moat. The

Johan. Sleid. Lib. xix.[12]

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[1] Casus archiepiscopus Beneventanus, Conf.]

[2] Eyes, Conf.]

[3] Casa is stated to have died at Rome, A.D. 1556.]

[4] Courtesans, Conf. and Def. 1567, 1570, 1609.]

[5] Abroad so as, Conf. and Def. 1567, 1570, 1609.]

[6] That some, Conf.]

[7] One, 1611.]

[8] Make, Conf.]

[9] Here Harding recriminates that Beza had published most objectionable verses.]

[10] Harding goes on to say that John Diazius was murdered not by his brother Alphonsus, but by a companion of his, John Niger.]

[11] ... quod quidem facinus misero illi sic doluisse ferunt, ut præ mœrore et indignitate rei postea sit extinctus. neque desunt, qui venenum ei datum ab illo fuisse putant, ne flagitium illud ad Cæsarem deferret. Paulus &c. filium amabat, &c. audiret, non &c. hoc solum fertur consuevisse &c.—J. Sleid. Comm. Argent. 1572. Lib. XIX. fol. 233.]

[12] This reference is not in 1567.]

people of all sorts ran gladly to the sight, and stabbed him in on every side with their daggers, and trod him filthily under their feet[13]. Johannes Diazius.

Ye say, the particular disorders of your courteghians in these days at the last have been reformed. And yet by very credible report, even within these two years, which was in the year of our Lord 1565, by a perfect[14] view taken, there were found in Rome to the number of eight and twenty thousand women of that sort. If this be the reformation of the church of Rome, what was it then before it was thus reformed?

As for that most horrible book of Johannes Casa, so vile and so loathsome that no heathen ears could abide to hear it, O how favourably and how friendly it is excused! "He was then," say ye[15], "but a young man," "but a springall," "no bishop," "no clerk;" "he named no person;" "it was but a kind of exercise," "an oversight," "an amorous sonnet." "The good wits of Italy be much given to it;" "he praised not that fault, but only smoothed it." O M. Harding! what abomination is there under heaven, but ye can devise ways how to smoothe it?

But he was punished, ye say, full sore for his oversight; for he could never be made cardinal during his life. Yea, good M. Harding, and all this must we believe, because you speak it. The pope made him the archbishop of Beneventum, and legate *a latere*, and thereby one of his secret council, in part of this cruel punishment. But, though he upon that or some other occasion were kept back from being cardinal, yet were there others made cardinals, in all respects as bad as he. Read Andreas Alciatus, that notable civilian, and ye shall find what a minion was made bishop of Comum, when Paulus Jovius was put beside[16]. Read Paulus Jovius, in the life of Clemens VII.[17], and learn what pretty folks then were made cardinals, and for what causes. As for your own Onuphrius, he speaketh parables, and casteth colours, and would seem to mean more hereof than he durst to utter[18].

Andr. Alciat. in Epist. Præf. Hist. Paul. Jov. Paul. Jov. Onuph. in Jul. III.

The emperor Tiberius sometime placed Novellius Tricongius in most high and honourable room, and made him proconsul, in part of recompence of his good service, for that he was able to drink three pottles of wine together with one breath[19]. This was not the worthiest cause of promoting such magistrates to such a room: yet was there more honour and honesty in this cause of preferment than hath been thought to be in the preferring of sundry cardinals.

Suet. Tranq. in Tib. Tricongium uno spiritu.

Touching the murdering of Johannes Diazius by his own brother Alphonsus, wherein ye say we have "told you so many lies at once," we refer ourselves to the story thereof truly written by Johannes Sleidanus, the effect whereof in short is this: One Johannes Diazius, a Spaniard and a doctor of Sorbona in Paris, after that God had given him grace to understand the truth of the gospel, departed from thence, and came into Germany, and rested at Neuburg, in the dominion of Otho Henricus, county palatine. His brother, Alphonsus Diazius, being then in Rome, and understanding hereof, immediately took horses, and with all speed came into Germany, minding to withdraw his brother from his purpose: and, finding him constant and stedfast and not likely any ways to be removed, in the end he feigned himself by the weight of his reasons to be persuaded to the same religion; and desired him to return with him into Italy, for that he should do more good there than he could in Germany. But, seeing him for sundry causes firmly bent to stay there, he took his leave and departed thence, and exhorted him to continue constant in the truth, and came to Augusta, six Dutch miles

Johan. Sleid. Lib. XVII. Anno 1546.

[13] Ibid.]

[14] Perfite, 1567, 1570.]

[15] Ye say, 1567, 1570, 1609.]

[16] Mirum...quod tibi...in petitione pontificatus patriæ tuæ Paulus pontifex quendam prætulerit. At quem hominem? qui Comi neque natus neque unquam visus sit, et qui (sicut a multis audio) ex arcanis cubiculi sordibus in lucem repente sit productus.—Andr. Alciat. Epist. præf. Paul. Jov. Op. Basil. 1578. fol. (:) 4. 2.]

[17] Ex uno enim et triginta cardinalibus, quos legerat in senatum, vix unum atque alterum probabat, &c.—Paul. Jov. Hist. Lib. XXXIII. Tom. II. p. 234.]

[18] Cardinales ad viginti quattuor lectionibus creavit, inter hos multos graves et doctos; aliquot etiam nimium sibi indulgens, tantæ dignitati vulgo impares habitos.—Onuph. Panvin. Annot. in Plat. De Vit. Pont. Venet. 1562. Jul. III. fol. 302. 2.]

[19] C. Suet. Tranq. Cæs. XII. Libr. Ant. 1548. Tib. Cæs. Vit. cap. xlii. p. 268; where a somewhat similar story is told. But the note of Sabellicus on the place was probably in Jewel's mind; where we find: Plin. Torquatum Mediolanensem celebrat, quod tres vini congios uno haustu biberet, unde Tricongius sit dictus.—Ibid. p. 269.]

from Neuburg. The next day, as having forgotten some special matter he had to say to his brother, he returned back again from thence to Neuburg, and by the way bought a carpenter's axe, and entering into the town upon the 27th of March, he came to his brother's lodging at the break of the day, and, himself watching beneath, sent up his servant with the axe to do the deed. The servant, after he had called forth Johannes Diazius, and had delivered him a letter from his brother Alphonsus, and saw him turned towards the light to read the same, came suddenly behind him, and stroke him in the head with his axe, and, leaving it sticking in the wound, came away together with Alphonsus his master[1]. This is the very true story hereof, M. Harding, and in all these words there is no lie. Touching your courteghians, ye say, the pope of late hath made a general reformation; for now they are both removed from their fair palaces wherein they dwelt, and also put from their mules: as if the fault had been only in their mules or houses[2], and not rather in their whole trade of life. Certainly, the same women continue still, even in the city of Rome, and that unto the number of eight and twenty thousand, as it is said before. Such is the reformation of the church of Rome.

THE APOLOGY, Chap. iii. Division 1 and 2.

They have killed infinite[3] numbers of our brethren, only because they believed truly and sincerely in Jesus[4] Christ. But of that great and foul number of harlots, fornicators, adulterers, what one have they at any time (I say not, put to death[5]) but either excommunicate, or once attached? Why? Voluptuousness, adultery, ribaudry, whoredom, murdering of kin, incest, and others more abominable parts, are not they[6] counted sin at Rome? Or, if they be sin, ought "Christ's vicar," "Peter's successor," "the most holy father," so lightly and slily to bear[7] them, as though they were no sin, and that in the city of Rome, and in the[8] principal tower of holiness[9]? O holy scribes and Pharisees, which never knew this[10] kind of holiness! O what a holiness[11], what a catholic faith is this! Peter did not thus[12] teach at Rome: Paul did not so live at Rome: they did not practise brothelry, as[13] these do openly: they made not a yearly revenue and profit of harlots: they suffered no common adulterers and wicked murderers to go unpunished. They did not receive them into their familiarity[14], into their council, into their household, nor yet into the company of christian men. These men ought not therefore so unreasonably to triumph against our living. It had been more wisdom for them either first to have proved good their own life before the world, or at the least to have cloked it a little more cunningly. For we do use still the old and ancient laws, and (as much as men may do in the manners used at these days, all things being so[15] wholly corrupt) we diligently and earnestly put in execution the ecclesiastical discipline: we have not common brothel-houses of strumpets, nor yet flocks of concubines, nor herds of harlot-haunters; neither do we prefer adultery before matrimony; neither do we exercise beastly sensuality; neither do we gather ordinary rents and stipends of stews;

[1] J. Sleid. Comm. Argent. 1572. Lib. XVII. foll. 193, &c. Conf. Act. et Mon. Mart. Genev. 1560. foll. 126, &c.]
[2] Horses, 1611.]
[3] They have put to death infinite, Conf.]
[4] Jesu, Conf.]
[5] I say not killed, Conf.]
[6] These, Conf. and Def. 1567.]
[7] And slightly bear, Conf.]
[8] That, Conf. and Def. 1567, 1570, 1609.]
[9] Of all holiness, Conf. and Def. 1567, 1570, 1609.]
[10] Which knew not this, Conf.]
[11] What holiness, Conf.]
[12] This, Conf.]
[13] Which, Conf.]
[14] Their entire familiarity, Conf.]
[15] When all things are so, Conf.]

nor do we suffer incest and abominable naughtiness, nor yet such Aloisians, Casians, and Diazians to escape unpunished[16]. For, if these things would have pleased us, we needed not to have departed from these men's fellowship, amongst whom such enormities be in their chief pride and price: neither[17] needed we for leaving them to run into the hatred of men, and into most wilful dangers.

Paul the fourth, not many months sithence[18], had at Rome in prison certain Augustine friars, many bishops, and a great number of other devout men, for religion's[19] sake. He racked them and tormented them: to make them confess he left no means unassayed. But, in the end, how many brothels, how many whoremongers, how many adulterers, how many incestuous persons could he find of all those?

M. HARDING.

....This ye deny as impudently as ye affirmed the other matter of Diazius falsely.... Wherefore, what punishment is due to slanderers, that ought this defender to have for his[20] *false slander....Then cometh me your secretary, and praiseth himself and all you his holy companions besides all wit and modesty; and saith much in commendation of your ministerships' goodness, for that ye keep and use still the old and ancient laws, forsooth, and discipline of the church....*

*For shame, for conscience, for regard of the world, for fear of God's wrath, for avoiding everlasting fire, return to the catholic church, from whence ye are broken out like the fat bulls of Basan; put away your most unlawful yoke-fellows....Leave yourselves to be abominable, before with such spiteful railing ye reprehend our *infirmity....*[21]

A brave and a lusty kind of eloquence.

*Fornication, open stews, and incest, are M. Harding's "infirmities."

THE APOLOGY, Chap. iii. Division 3.

Our God be thanked, although we be not the men we ought and profess to be, yet, whosoever and whatsoever we be[22], compare us with these men, and even our own life and innocency will soon prove untrue and condemn their malicious surmises. For we exhort the people to all virtue and well-doing, not only by books and preachings, but also by[23] our examples and behaviour. We also teach that the gospel is not a boasting or bragging of knowledge, but that it is the law of life, and that a christian man (as Tertullian saith) "ought not to speak honourably, but ought to live honourably; nor that they be the hearers of the law[24], but the doers of the law, which are justified before God[25]."

M. HARDING.

Nay, nay, sirs, for that thing ye crack so much of, be not too hasty to thank your God. What peculiar God ye mean, we know not. That phrase your secretary much useth, as though ye had another God beside him that is God of all. Compare yourselves with whom ye list, your own life and innocency is so well known, as by reproving your vices and horrible sins no man lightly shall seem a slanderer. Indeed, if your continual advoutry and incest were lawful matrimony, if your filthy yoke-fellows were your true wedded wives, if your robbing and throwing down of churches were almose, and building of places for prayer to the increase of God's honour, if ignorant rashness were godly discretion, if your word of the Lord were

[16] Do suffer to escape unpunished incest and abominable naughtiness nor yet such man-quellers as the Aloisians, Casians, and Diasians were, Conf.]

[17] Nother, Conf.]

[18] Since, Conf.]

[19] Religion, Conf.]

[20] This, Conf. and Def. 1567, 1570, 1609.]

[21] Harding, in the part omitted, names several popes who he says punished licentiousness, and denies that Paul IV.'s prisoners were racked.]

[22] Whosoever we be, Conf. and Def. 1567.]

[23] With, Conf.]

[24] Heares of law, Conf.]

[25] Tertull. Op. Lut. 1641. Apolog. 45. p. 39. This is the place referred to in the margin of the Apology. The words cited, however, are not found there. But Tertullian is insisting through the chapter on the innocency of the Christians' lives.]

Our Lord. Our God.

Is this the modesty of the Spirit of God?

God's word, if your pretensed gospel were Christ's true gospel, if your bibble-babble and railing were wholesome preaching, if the spirit of Satan that is in you, the same also being a lying spirit in your mouths, could be meek, humble, obedient, and would tell truth; finally, if evil were good, if darkness were light, if sour were sweet, if the fruits of your so naughty a tree were good, we would also soothe you, and uphold your immoderate cracks.... We say plainly of you at one word, which we will to be a watch-word for all christian people to beware of you, your doctrine is heresy, your life is iniquity, your endeavour tendeth to the subversion of souls.

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

It is no great crack, M. Harding, to give God thanks. But what uncourteous dealing is this of your part! Sir defender and his fellows must come to you and learn to speak. Notwithstanding, for ought that may appear, ye are not yet very well advised how to speak yourself. Now because we say "we thank our God," our secretary hath made himself a several God. Howbeit you may say "our Lord," and think him not catholic that will say otherwise; and yet make ye[1] not yourselves thereby any several Lord. God give you grace ye be not severed from the Lord: but wherefore it should be more lawful for you to say "our Lord," than for us to say "our God," I think it a high point of cunning for you to open.

Thus ye would have us sometimes to say our Lord, sometimes the Lord, sometimes neither. It were a skilful cook that knew your diet. Howbeit the prophet

Psal. xlvi. David saith: *Deus noster refugium et virtus:* "Our God, our refuge, and our

Psal. lxvi. Psal. lxviii. Psal. lxiii. Psal. cxv. Psal. xxxi. 1 Cor. i. & xiv. Phil. i. strength." "Sing psalms unto our God:" "Our God is the God of salvation:" "Our God is in heaven:" "My God, O my God, I wake early unto thee:" "Thou art my God; I trust in thee: my lots are in thy hands." St Paul saith: "I thank my God always:" "I give thanks unto my God." Thus was it lawful then for the apostles and prophets to speak without rebuke: neither was there any M. Harding then so

1 Cor. vi. uncourteous to say, They made themselves a peculiar God. St Paul saith: "We are justified in the name of Jesus Christ our Lord, and in the Spirit of our God."

August. in Johan. Tract. 13. St Augustine saith: *Contra istos... mirabiliarios cautum me fecit Deus meus, dicens, In novissimis diebus surgent falsi prophetæ*[2]*:* "My God hath willed me to beware of these mongers of miracles, telling me that in the last days there

August. de Civ. Lib. i. cap. xxix. shall rise up false prophets." Again he saith: *Deus meus ubique præsens est, ubique totus, nusquam inclusus*[3]*:* "My God is everywhere present, everywhere

Chrysost. in Psal. xcvi. whole, nowhere inclosed or shut up." Chrysostom saith: *Christo meo testificabantur et venti et mare*[4]*:* "Both the winds and the sea bare witness to my Christ."

Hieron. adv. Error Johan. Hierosol. St Hierome saith: *Ego non patrem, non matrem, non germanum adversus Christum meum audiam*[5]*:* "I will not hear neither father nor mother nor brother

Cypr de Bon. Pœnit. against my Christ." St Cyprian saith: *Hic est Deus noster, id est, non omnium, sed credentium et fidelium Deus*[6]*:* "This is our God, that is to say, not the God of all,

Sedul. in 2 Cor. vi. but the God of the believers and of the faithful." Sedulius saith: *Deus natura omnium est, voluntate vero paucorum*[7]*:* "God by nature is the God of all; but by will he is the God of few." But what shall we need many doctors, the case being so clear? You yourself, M. Harding, in this self-same book, either of purpose upon some better advice, or unawares[8], have written the same. Consider well your own

M. Hard. fol. 124. b. [Conf.] words: thus ye say, "There is no iniquity in our Lord God[9]." Yet I trow by these words ye make not to yourself a peculiar God.

Gal. ii. St Paul saith: "I live in the faith of the Son of God, which hath loved me, and hath given himself for my sake." Which words St Chrysostom, writing upon Ge-

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[1 You, 1567, 1570, 1609.]

[2 August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. In Johan. Evang. cap. iii. Tractat. xiii. 17. Tom. III. Pars II. cols. 398, 9; where *novissimis temporibus exsurgent pseudo-prophetæ.*]

[3 Id. de Civ. Dei, Lib. I. cap. xxix. Tom. VII. col. 27.]

[4 Chrysost. Op. Basil. 1547. Explan. in Psalm. xcvi. Tom. I. col. 775; where *ac mare.*]

[5 Ego si patrem, si matrem, si germanum adversus Christum meum audivissem &c.—Hieron. Op. Par. 1693-1706. Ad Pammach. adv. Error. Johan. Jerosol. Epist. xxxviii. Tom. IV. Pars II. col. 311.]

[6 Cypr. Op. Oxon. 1682. De Bon. Patient. p. 220; where *fidelium et credentium.*]

[7 Sedul. In Epist. Paul. Collect. Basil. 1528. In Epist. ad Cor. Post. cap. vi. fol. 66. 2.]

[8 Unwares 1567, 1570.]

[9 See Vol. III. page 579.]

nesis[10], expoundeth thus: *Qui dilexit me, &c. Ut proprium usurpas commune beneficium. Profecto, inquit: Nam licet pro omni hominum genere sacrificium oblatum sit, tamen, propter amorem in eum, id quod factum est omnibus proprium mihi facio. Ita et prophetis mos est et facere et dicere, Deus, Deus meus; quamvis totius orbis sit Deus. Sed peculiare hoc est amori, ut ex communibus propria faciat. Qui dilexit me: Quid dicis? An te dilexit solum? Omnem, inquit, hominum naturam dilexit; sed ego illi gratias debeo, quasi me solum dilexisset, et tradidisset semetipsum pro me solo*[11]: "St Paul saith: 'Christ hath loved me.' O Paul, the benefit that is common to all thou usest as peculiar to thyself[12]. Yea verily, saith St Paul; for, albeit that sacrifice were offered for all mankind, yet, for the love that I bear towards him, the thing that was done to all I account as proper and several to myself[13] alone. Thus the manner of the prophets is to do and to say, 'O God, my God:' notwithstanding he is the God of all the world. But this is the special and alonely office of love, of things common to make things peculiar. Thou sayest, 'Christ hath loved me.' What sayest thou? Hath Christ loved thee only, and no man else? No, saith Paul, he hath loved all mankind: but I owe him thanks, as if he had loved me alone, and had given himself only for me." Chrysost. in Gen. Hom. 34.

Henceforth, M. Harding, it may please you to give us leave to speak as the prophets, the apostles, the holy fathers and doctors have spoken before us.

The Apology, Chap. iv. Division 1.

Besides all these matters wherewith they charge us, they are wont also to add this one thing, which they enlarge with all kind of spite[14]; that is, that we be men of trouble; that we pluck the sword and sceptre out of kings' hands; that we arm the people; that we overthrow judgment-places, destroy the laws, make havoc of possessions, seek to make the people princes, turn all things upside down, and, to be short, that we would have nothing in good frame in a commonwealth. Good Lord! how often have they set on fire princes' hearts with these words, to the end they might quench the light of the gospel in the very first appearing of it, and that men might[15] begin to hate the same ere[16] ever they were able to know it, and to the end that every magistrate might think he saw his deadly enemy as oft[17] as he saw any of us! Surely it should exceedingly grieve us to be so maliciously accused of most heinous treason, unless we knew that Christ himself, the apostles, and a number of good christian men, were in times[18] past blamed and reviled in like sort[19]. For, although Christ taught, they should "give unto Cæsar that which was Cæsar's," yet was he charged with sedition, and was[20] accused to devise some conspiracy, and to seek ways to get the kingdom[21]: and thereupon they cried out with open mouth against him in the place of judgment: "If thou let this man escape, then thou[22] art not Cæsar's friend."

And, though the apostles did likewise evermore and stedfastly teach that magistrates ought to be obeyed, that "every soul ought to be subject to the higher powers, not only for fear of wrath and punishment, but even for conscience' sake," yet bare they the name to disquiet the people, and to stir up the multitude to rebel. After this sort did Haman specially bring

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[10] Upon the Genesis, 1567, 1570.]
[11] Chrysost. Op. In cap. xiii. Gen. Hom. xxxiv. Tom. IV. p. 348.]
[12] Theeself, 1567, 1570.]
[13] Meself, 1567, 1570.]
[14] Spitefulness, Conf.]
[15] And might, Conf.]
[16] Or, Conf.]
[17] Often, Conf. and Def. 1567, 1570.]
[18] Time, Def. 1567, 1570.]
[19] Time past blamed and envied in manner for the same faults, Conf.]
[20] Sedition in that he was, Conf.]
[21] And to covet the kingdom, Conf.]
[22] Saying, If thou let this man scape thou, Conf.]

The boors in Germany.

the nation of the Jews into the hatred of king Assuerus, because, said he, they were a rebellious and stubborn people, and despised the ordinances and commandments of princes. Wicked king Achab said to Elie the prophet of God, "It is thou that troublest Israel." Amasias the priest at Bethel laid a conspiracy to the prophet Amos' charge before king Jeroboam, saying, "See, Amos hath made a conspiracy against thee in the midst of the house of Israel." To be brief, Tertullian saith this was the general accusation of all Christians whiles he lived, that they were traitors, that[1] they were rebels and the enemies of mankind[2]. Wherefore, if now-a-days the truth be likewise evil spoken of, and, being the same truth it was then, if it be now like despitefully used as it was in times past, though it be a grievous and unkind dealing, yet can it not seem unto us a new or an unwonted matter.

1 Kings xviii.

Amos vii.

Tertull. in Apolog. cap. xxxvii.[3]

M. HARDING.

... How far ye have attempted (I mean the sects of your brotherhood[4]) in sundry countries to wrest the sword out of princes' hands, to transpose their sceptres at your pleasure, and to alter states and signories, though we hold our peace[a], the world judgeth, the blood of so many thousands slain speaketh[5], England repenteth, Scotland mourneth, Germany roareth, France bewaileth, Savoy weepeth, all Christendom lamenteth. [b] *Were the hundred thousand boors of Germany consumed by the sword of the nobility there for their obedience? The duke of Saxony and lantgrave of Hesse, were they overthrown in the field[6] and taken captive for standing in defence of their sovereign? Were so great multitudes of people destroyed at Munster for their loyalty? ... Your sacramentary Switzers of Berna, who robbed the quiet old duke of Savoy of his towns and countries from the farther side of the lake of Geneva unto the Alps, did they this for maintenance of his right, and to set him at rest with little? What meant ye when ye laid your heads together being at Geneva in queen Mary's days, the faithful* [c] *brothers of England and Scotland, and devised a most seditious and traitorous book against the monstrous regiment of women[7]? ...*

[a] Untruth, notorious and manifest to all the world.

[b] These boors for the greatest part were enemies unto Luther.

[c] All this great multitude of England and Scotland stood only in two persons[8]. We know no more.

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

Here, M. Harding, for want of matter ye thought it good policy to furnish your tale with store of words: "The world judgeth; blood speaketh; England repenteth; Scotland mourneth; Germany roareth; France bewaileth; Savoy weepeth; Christendom lamenteth." If ye had not well studied your *copia verborum*, ye could never have been half so copious, nor have been able so many ways to utter nothing. Ye might happily have said, your cardinals cry, and your pope roareth, and your friends stand aloof and tear their hair, and say as it is written in the Apocalyse: *Væ, væ Babylon, civitas illa magna:* "Alas, alas Babylon, that great city!"

Rev. xviii.

God be thanked, the kingdoms and princehoods of the world stand now in as safe and in as quiet and flourishing state as ever before. Therefore this tragical rhetoric might better have served you some other where.

The boors of Germany, of whom ye speak, for the greatest part were adversaries unto Doctor Luther, and understood no part of the gospel, but conspired together (as they said) only against the cruelty and tyranny of their lords; as they had done two and twenty years before in the same country, in the conspiracy called *Liga Sotularia*, fifteen years before Doctor Luther began to preach; the partners of which conspiracy had for their watchword the name of our lady,

Liga Sotul. Anno 1503. D. Luther began to preach anno 1518.

[1] Conf. omits *that*.]

[2] Tertull. Op. Lut. 1641. Apolog. 35, &c. pp. 32, &c.]

[3] The latter part of this reference is inserted from Conf.]

[4] Brotherhead, Conf. and Def. 1567, 1570.]

[5] Speak, Conf.]

[6] In field, Conf. and Def. 1567, 1570, 1609.]

[7] John Knox published in 1556 his "First blast against the monstrous regiment and empire of women."]

[8] John Knox and Christopher Goodman. See Strype's Annals, Part I. chap. ix.]

and in the honour of her were bound to say five *Ave Marias* every day[9]. Certainly, touching these later rebels, it is known that Luther sharply and vehemently wrote against them. And they themselves, being demanded thereof, utterly denied both the partaking[10], and also the knowledge of the gospel[11]. Regiment of women.

The princes of Germany raised not their powers (as ye say) against the emperor Charles the fifth; but, being wrongfully and contrary to the law of arms invaded by him, they were forced, being free princes, by the law of nature to draw their sword in their own defence. Johan. Sleid. Lib. iv. et v. Paral. Ursperg. Anno 1525. Nic. Gerbel. Phortzens.

The rebels at Munster were not gospellers, as ye seem to mean, but frantic anabaptists and heretics, as ye be, and therefore enemies unto the gospel.

The lords of Berna never were subjects to the duke of Savoy. That they took certain of his castles in their confines, they did it rightly and by the law of arms, being forced thereto by daily invasions and robberies, and not able otherwise to live in rest. But indeed the said poor duke was thoroughly spoiled of his whole dominion; of the one half by his brother-in-law the emperor Charles V.; of the other half by his nephew Francis the French king, by the counsel of pope Clement[12] VII., after their great interview at Marseilles. And thereof was devised a pretty pasquil declaring the miserable case of the poor duke: *Diviserunt sibi vestimenta mea, et super vestem meam miserunt sortem:* "They have divided my apparel amongst themselves; and they have cast lots for my coat."

The heads of England and Scotland that (as ye say) were laid together at Geneva touching the government of women, being well accounted, were nothing so many as ye would seem to imagine: for, if there had been but one less, for ought that I have heard, there had been but one at all. Such hot amplifications it liketh you to make of so small a number. We will defend no man in his error. Let every man bear his own guilt. M. Calvin, M. Martyr, M. Musculus, M. Bullinger, and others whom you call the faithful brothers of England, misliked that enterprise, and wrote against it.

We know that God hath determined this matter long sithence: for thus he saith: *Si homo moriatur absque filio, ad filiam ejus transibit hæreditas:* "If a man die without a son, his inheritance shall pass unto his daughter." Numb. xxvii. And St Augustine saith: *Lata est Romæ lex illa Voconia, ne quis hæredem fœminam faceret, nec unicam filiam. Qua lege quid iniquius dici aut cogitari possit, ignoro*[13]: "There was a law made in Rome, called *Lex Voconia*, that no man should convey his inheritance unto a woman, no not unto his only daughter. Than which law I know not what may be more wickedly thought or spoken." August. de Civ. Lib. iii. cap. xxi.

But God be thanked, that of his mercy hath now raised up unto us a woman of such wisdom, learning, clemency, gravity, judgment, government, and other most noble[14] and princely virtues as have not been seen in many men. God increase her daily with his Holy Spirit, and make her an old mother in Israel! Amen.

Of your sturdy blasts and secret breathings, M. Harding, I will say nothing. Ye may yet remember which of your Louvanian company[15] it was that in the time of that noble prince of blessed memory, king Edward the sixth, said in open parliament, "Wo be to that kingdom the prince whereof is a child;" and afterward, seeing the queen's majesty that now is placed in her estate, boldly and openly confessed a great oversight and much folly in your former doings, for that in the late time of your unruly government ye had hewn down the boughs, and left the stock

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[9 Admissus in hanc ligam sotulariam, orationem Dominicam et salutationem virginis quinquies in die pro victoria flexis genibus oraret. Symbolum constituerant quo se cognoscerent, virginem Mariam, et Johannem evangelistam.—Rer. Mem. Paraleip. ad calc. Chronic. Abbat. Ursperg. Argent. 1537, p. 462.]

[10 Both partaking, 1567.]

[11 J. Sleid. Comm. Argent. 1572. Lib. IV. foll. 42, &c. Lib. V. foll. 49, 51, &c.

... primi agricolæ... propalam fatebantur, se non esse evangelicos, nec evangelii causa confluxisse.—Rer. Mem. Paraleip. p. 484. Conf. p. 485. The work of Nicolaus Gerbelius Phortzensis is referred to here in the account given of the sedition of the peasants, p. 483.]

[12 Clemens, 1567, 1570.]

[13 August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. De Civ. Dei, Lib. III. cap. xxi. Tom. VII. col. 80; where *est etiam illa Lex Voconia.*]

[14 Other noble, 1567, 1570.]

[15 Your company, 1567.]

Witten-berg. standing still[1]. God's secret providence, M. Harding, breathed against you and confounded your doings. Power only ye lacked; but good-will ye lacked none.

M. HARDING.

For answer to all this ye join yourselves with Christ and his apostles, as though ye were guilty herein no more than they. Presumptuously said. But the matter is not so answered. And yet ye run on at[2] *large in that common place, and very vainly, or rather Lucifer-like, compare yourselves with the apostles... But, sirs, stay here, run no further*[3]*: ye are soon stopped. The case is not like, pardie. These be but your words. In the apostles was the truth indeed; so was it in the holy prophets and those first blessed men of the church. The truth ye boast and crack so much of is not that truth.... Talk less like rhetoricians, and prove us that ye have truth, like honest men; and then talk on: but that can ye never do so long as ye remain out of the church and enemies to the church.* **But what spend I words in vain? Your hearts be hardened, your eyes be blinded, your ears be stopped....*

* O vain bravery!

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

Here is profound stuff, M. Harding, for a doctor of divinity. To answer you with your own vain words, indeed "ye spend your words in vain."

THE APOLOGY, Chap. iv. Division 2.

Forty years ago[4] and upward it was[5] an easy thing for them to devise against us these accursed speeches, and other too sorer[6] than these; when in the midst of the darkness of that age first began to spring and to give shine some one glimmering beam of truth, unknown at that time and unheard of; when also Martin Luther and Hulderic Zuinglius, being most excellent men, even sent of God to give light to the whole world, first came unto the knowledge and preaching of the gospel; when as[7] yet the thing was but new, and the success thereof uncertain; and when men's minds stood doubtful and amazed, and their ears open to all slanderous tales; and when there could be imagined against us no fact so detestable but the people then would soon believe it, for the novelty and strangeness of the matter. For so did Symmachus, so did Celsus, so did Julianus, so did Porphyrius, the old foes to the gospel, attempt in times past to accuse all Christians of sedition and treason, before that either prince or people were able to know who those Christians were, what they professed, what they believed, or what was their meaning.

M. HARDING.

As ye run forth your race, and with lying amplification boast and brag of the truth of your doctrine and of the innocency of your demeanour, ye fall into a great inconvenience and oversight.... Was the light extinguished in all Israel till that lewd friar came, and Zuinglius [a]*the swart rutter? Shall we now change the old song of Micheas the prophet, "Out of Sion shall come the law, and the word of our Lord from Jerusalem;" and sing a new song, Out of* [b] *Wittenberg is come the gospel, and the word of the Lord from Zurich and Geneva?... If Luther and Zuinglius first came to the knowledge and preaching of the gospel, what meant Christ to break his promise, who said, "I will be with you all days till the end of the world?"* Mic. iv.[8]

[a] Untruth, malicious and slanderous. For Zuinglius was a godly preacher, and no rutter.

[b] This blasphemy toucheth God's providence. For why not as well from Wittenberg as from Rome.

[1] Story. See Strype's Annals, Part I. chap. iii.; and Burnet's History of the Reformation, Part II. Book II.]

[2] Run at, Conf. and Def. 1567, 1570.]

[3] Farther, Conf. and Def. 1567, 1570.]

[4] Agone, Conf.]

[5] Was it, Conf.]

[6] Other sorer, Conf.]

[7] Whereas, Conf.]

[8] This reference is inserted from Conf. and Def. 1567, 1570.]

Again, how forgot[9] *ye the old proverb, A liar it behoveth to be mindful? Remember ye not how this is* [c]*contrary to all your own doctrine? For say ye not otherwheres that God had always his number of the elect and his invisible church?...Therefore this must ye recant and call back again, or else shall ye pull all the rabble of sundry your own sects upon your shoulders, whose filthy railings and vile upbraidings, poor souls, ye shall never be able to abide.*

Wittenberg. Church invisible.

[c] Untruth, fond and childish. This is M. Harding's sobriety.

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

It is not worth the while to answer him that saith nothing. Sion, from whence ye say the law of God issued first, was in those days as much disdained of your fathers as is this day of you Geneva or Wittenberg. Origen saith of Celsus the heathen: *Christianum dogma affirmat a barbaris cepisse ortum, hoc est, a Judæis*[10]: "He saith, that the christian faith took her first beginning from barbarous people, that is to say, from the Jews." Cicero saith: *Judæi et Syri, gentes natæ servituti*: "The Jews and Syrians, nations born to bondage."

Orig. contr. Cels. Lib. i.

Cic. de Prov. Cons.

And Chrysostom, speaking of Julianus the renegate, saith thus: *Galilæos nos pro Christianis in edictis suis appellavit*[11]: "In his proclamations, in the stead of Christians, he called us scornfully Galileans;" noting thereby the vileness of the place from whence the gospel of Christ first proceeded. But Nazianzene saith: *Honora parvam Bethleem, quæ te induxit in paradisum*[12]: "(Despise not, but rather) honour that little Bethleem, that hath led thee into paradise."

Chrysost. contr. Gent.

Naz. de Nat. Christ. καὶ τὴν Βηθλεὲμ τίμησον τὴν μικράν.

The sound of this simple, barbarous, despised people was heard throughout the whole world. "God causeth his light to shine out of the dark:" his holy Spirit "breatheth where he thinketh good:" he hath "no regard of persons, or choice of places," but, as St Peter said unto Cornelius, "In every nation whosoever feareth him, and worketh righteousness, is accepted before him." "God chooseth the weak things of the world to confound the strong." God's holy name be blessed, that of so little and so simple a despised mustard-seed hath now raised up so great a tree; "and triumpheth the gospel of Christ his Son in every place throughout the world."

Psal. xviii. John iii. Acts x. Matt. xiii. 1 Cor. i.

"What meant Christ," say you, "to break his promise?" Nay, what meant you, M. Harding, so shamefully to break Christ's commandment, and yet to charge him with his promise? God is true in all his promises, and shall prevail when he is so lewdly judged. There is no fault in God, or his Christ: the fault is in you, that have made of the "house of God a cave of thieves." Christ never made any such special promise unto the pope, that, whatsoever it should please him to say or do, he should never err, nor[13] do amiss. Ye presume overmuch of God's promises. Nay, though antichrist should be pope, yet should Christ's promises be true still.

It is true, that "God hath always a church invisible, and a number of elect known only to himself alone." Neither is this our only saying; St Paul also saith the same: *Firmum stat fundamentum Dei, habens hoc sigillum, Novit Dominus qui sint sui*: "This foundation standeth sound and firm, having this seal, The Lord knoweth who be his own." Elias thought all the godly in Israel had been slain, and not one left alive: but God said unto him, "I have saved unto myself[14] seven thousand men, that never bowed their knee before Baal." God knew them; but Elias knew them not. To the judgment of man they were invisible. Therefore St Augustine saith: *Secundum occultam Dei prædestinationem plurimæ sunt foris oves; plurimi lupi intus. Novit enim, ac signatos habet, qui nec eum nec se norunt*[15]: "According to God's secret predestination, there be many sheep without the church, and many wolves within the church; for he knoweth them, and hath them marked, that know neither themselves, nor God neither."

2 Tim. ii. 1 Kings xix. Rom. xi. August. in Johan. Tract. 45.

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[9] Forgat, Conf. and Def. 1567, 1570.]

[10] Orig. Op. Par. 1733-59. Contr. Cels. Lib. I. 2. Tom. I. p. 320.]

[11] Chrysost. Op. Par. 1718-38. De S. Babyl. contr. Julian. et Gent. Lib. Tom. II. p. 575.]

[12] Gregor. Naz. Op. Par. 1778-1840. In Theophan. Orat. xxxviii. 17. Tom. I. p. 674.]

[13] Or, 1567, 1570, 1609.]

[14] Meself, 1567, 1570.]

[15] Novit ergo Dominus, qui sunt ejus, ipsæ sunt oves. Aliquando se ipsæ nesciunt, sed pastor novit eas....Secundum istam ergo præscientiam Dei et prædestinationem, quam multæ oves foris, quam multi lupi intus, &c.—August. Op. Par. 1679—1700. In Johan. Evang. cap. x. Tractat. xlv. 12. Tom. III. Pars II. cols. 599, 600.]

Addition. ☞ *Addition.* ☜ As for the whole body and company of all them that be called Christians, reckoned universally together, which you call the church catholic, cardinal Cusanus calleth it *Ecclesia conjecturalis*, "A church conjectural;" for that we know it not by certainty, but by conjecture. For in this church, thus largely taken, they that seem predestinate before men are oftentimes wicked, and reprobate before God; and they that before men seem the members of Christ are oftentimes before God the members of antichrist. Cusanus' words be these: *Oportet in sensibili mundo sensibilibus signis de ipsa Christi ecclesia conjecturam sumere, cum aliter attingi nequeat rationis veritas, &c.*[1]: "In this sensible world that is here beneath we must learn by sensible tokens to know the very church of Christ; for otherwise we are not able to reach the truth. Therefore this conjectural church in this sensible world, according to such a short knowledge as this world may yield, is indeed the true church; notwithstanding, according to the conjecture that we gather by tokens, it receiveth[2] as well the godly that be joined to Christ, as also the ungodly that be divided from Christ. This church standeth of them that declare by sensible and outward tokens that they be partakers of Christ, as they be that confess Christ to be the Son of God. And therefore this church hath certain holy tokens, or sacraments, (as the sacrament of baptism, and the sacrament of our Lord's supper,) ordained to that end, that thereby we may know them that be of Christ, so far forth as by such tokens conjectural knowledge may be gathered: therefore I say that this church of Christ (in this general taking) by this conjectural judgment is counted holy, notwithstanding wicked men and hypocrites cover themselves under the same outward tokens, and receive baptism and the Lord's supper as well as the godly." Thus the general or outward church of God is visible, and may be seen; but the very true church of God's elect is invisible, and cannot be seen or discerned by man, but is only known to God alone. ☞

Nic. Cus. de Potest. Eccles. Rom. Epist. 3.

Thus the number of God's elect, yea, before the coming of Christ, in the time of darkness, was evermore certain; yet afterward the knowledge of the gospel by the mouths of the apostles was abundantly carried abroad into the ends of all the world.

Both these parts, M. Harding, may stand well together, and are nothing contrary to our doctrine. Be the number of the faithful more or less, yet the truth of God is one for ever.

The Apology, Chap. v. Division 1.

But now, sithence our very enemies do see and cannot deny but we ever, in all our words and writings, have diligently put the people in mind of their duty to obey their princes and magistrates, yea, though they be wicked (for this doth very trial and experience sufficiently teach, and all men's eyes, whosoever and wheresoever they be, do well see[3] and witness for us); it was a foul part of them to charge us with these things, and, seeing they could find no new and late faults, therefore to seek to procure us envy only with stale and outworn lies. We give our Lord God thanks, whose only cause this is, there hath yet at no time been any such example in all the realms, dominions, and commonweals, which have received the gospel. For we have overthrown no kingdom: we have

[1 Oportet autem in &c. Quapropter conjecturalis illa ecclesia in hoc sensibili mundo, secundum hujus mundi contractam cognitionem, vera quidem ecclesia est, licet intra suam conjecturam ex signis receptam admittat tam Christo in spiritu adhærentes quam non. Constituitur hæc hujus sensibilis mundi ecclesia ex iis, qui sensibilibus signis se Christum participare demonstrant, uti sunt Christum Filium Dei confitentes. Quapropter hæc ipsa ecclesia sacra quædam habet signa ad hoc instituta, ut per ea cognoscamus eos qui Christi sunt: eo quidem modo, quo ex signis conjecturalis trahi cognitio potest. Dico igitur quod hæc ecclesia Christi hujus conjecturalis modi judicio sancta censetur, etiam si mali et ficti sub signis sacris se intermisceant, quorum signa quæ sacra sunt, tantum conjectura attingit.—Nic. de Cusa Op. Basil. 1565. De Potest. Rom. Eccles. Epist. i. ad Rod. de Trev. Tom. II. p. 826.]

[2 Receive, 1570, 1609.]

[3 Well enough see, Conf.]

decayed no man's power or right: we have disordered no commonwealth. There continue in their own accustomed state and ancient dignity the kings of our country of England, the kings of Denmark, the kings of Suecia, the dukes of Saxony, the counties Palatine, the marquisses of Brandeburgh, the lansgraves of Hessia, the commonwealth[4] of the Helvetians and Rhetians, and the free cities, as Argentine, Basil, Frankford, Ulme, Augusta[5], and Norenberg, do all, I say, abide in the same authority and estate wherein they have been heretofore, or rather in a much better, for that by means of the gospel they have their people more obedient unto them than ever they had before[6]. Let them go, I pray you, into those places where at this present, through God's goodness and mercy[7], the gospel is taught. Where is there more majesty? where is there less arrogancy and tyranny? where is the prince more honoured? where is[8] the people less unruly? where hath there at any time either the[9] commonwealth or the church been in more quiet? Perhaps ye will say, From the first beginning of this doctrine the common sort everywhere began to rage and to rise through Germany[10]. Allow it were so; yet Martin Luther, the publisher and setter forward of this doctrine, did write marvellous vehemently and sharply against them, and reclaimed them home to peace and obedience.

Civil Magistrate.

M. HARDING.

Your impudency of lying hath no measure nor end. But we will say little here, having said enough already in reproof of your falsehood[11]. *We leave you to the wide world, who seeth, and almost feeleth your lies....*[12].

But I marvel not a little, that in this place specially, where ye speak of the good order that your gospel breedeth, ye be not ashamed to make mention of Martin Luther. Good God, how much could we, if we were so disposed, allege out of his seditious and heretical books, by him written against the power of lawful magistrates! At this time let one place suffice for all. Luther's words be these:* Inter Christianos nullus neque potest neque debet esse magistratus, sed &c.[14]: "*Among christian men none can nor ought to be a magistrate, but each one is to other equally subject; after the apostle's saying, 'Thinking all others better than yourselves,' &c. Again, 'Be ye humble all one to another.' Whereto Christ accordeth when he saith, 'When thou art called to the marriage-feast, go, and sit down lowest of all.' Among christian men none is superior save one, and only Christ. And what superiority or magistrate can be there where all be equal, and have right, power, riches, and honour all alike? Furthermore, none coveteth to be over other, but all will be under one another. Where such men be, though one would, yet can he not make a magistrate to bear rule over others, sith that nature suffereth not to have superiors, where no man will nor may be a superior. And where such kind of men is, there be they not christian men, after the true sort*[15] *of christian men.*" *Thus*[16] *far Martin Luther....*

* Untruth, malicious and slanderous. Read the answer.

In[13] Libro de Sæculari Potestate *Luther admitteth no civil magistrate.*

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[4] Common wealths, Conf. and Def. 1567, 1570.]

[5] August. Conf.]

[6] The last five words are not in Conf. and Def. 1567.]

[7] Conf. has not *and mercy.*]

[8] Be, Conf. and Def. 1567.]

[9] Any time the, Conf.; 1609 repeats *time.*]

[10] Throughout Germany, Conf. and Def. 1567, 1570, 1609.]

[11] Falsehead, Conf. and Def. 1567, 1570.]

[12] Harding in the part omitted refers to the assassination of the duke of Guise, the risings of the Huguenots in France, and the war of the princes of Germany against Charles V.]

[13] Conf. has not *in.*]

[14] For an account of this treatise, which does not appear to have been included in the Latin edition of Luther's works, see Seckendorff, Comm. de Lutheran. Lips. 1694. Lib. I. Sect. 52. § cxxvii. p. 207; Addit. II. pp. 211, &c. In his remarks upon it this writer says:...differentiam inter statum Christianismi et politicum ostendit, et quod Christianis, qua talibus, magistratu non sit opus. Conf. ibid. Index III. Anno 1523. No. 3; where this treatise is said to be in the Altenburg edition of Luther's works, Tom. II. 258.]

[15] True and right sort, Conf.]

[16] This, Conf. and Def. 1567, 1570.]

*He persuaded them to peace, when there was scarcely any left that could bear a club. First he *stirred up his disciple Thomas Munzer in Thuringia, who was the rebels' preacher. After that he excused him of seditious preaching to the duke of Saxony, prince elector, trusting, if Munzer were let alone, the matter should well go forward....*

* Nothing else but mere untruth. For Luther called him the preacher of Satan.

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

To dissemble the rest of your untruths, and your immoderate and uncivil bitterness, M. Harding, proceeding from the unquiet and unsavoury humours of your heart, where ye say, "Doctor Luther admitteth no civil magistrate," and note the same so specially in your margin, I marvel much that your paper blushed not in your behalf. Read his books throughout, and consider the quiet government both of the commonwealths, and also of the churches of Germany; and ye shall find that no man ever, neither by word nor by example, more advanced[1] the authority of the civil magistrate. To leave all other his notable sentences to this purpose against the rebels of whom ye speak, being then in the field against their lords, he wrote thus: "God commandeth all men universally to obey the magistrate with fear and reverence, &c." Again: "Ye take the sword and withstand the magistrate whom God hath appointed. Is not this rashly to abuse the name of God[2]?"

Johan. Sleid. Lib. v.

But he saith: "Among Christians neither may be, nor ought to be, any magistrate." O M. Harding, nothing could have found fault herewith but only intemperate and mere malice. For Luther speaketh not these words of the outward civil government, whereof only we speak now[3], but only of our inward band and obedience towards God. And in this respect there is no king nor[4] prince indeed, nor may be any. In this sense St Paul saith: "There is no Jew, there is no gentile; there is no lord, there is no servant; there is no man, there is no woman; for all you are one in Christ Jesus[5]." St Paul denieth not but Jew, gentile, lord, servant, man, and woman, remain still in their several states[6] and kinds as they were before: but in Christ Jesus[5] he saith there is no regard of any such difference. In civil government a king is a king; and so hath God commanded him to be known: but, after that we be once come to the reverence and obedience of God's will, there God only is the king; and the king, be he never so mighty, is but a subject. So saith St Ambrose to the emperor Valentinian: *Noli te extollere, [imperator]; sed, si vis diutius imperare, esto Deo subditus. Scriptum est, Quæ Dei, Deo; quæ Cæsaris, Cæsari*[7]*:* "O my lord, advance[8] not yourself; but, if ye will remain long in empire, be subject unto God. It is written, 'Give to God that belongeth to God; give to Cæsar that belongeth to Cæsar.'"

Gal. iii. Col. iii.

Ambros. Lib. v. Epist. 33.

So saith the emperor Valentinian the elder of himself: *Ego sum in sorte plebis*[9]*:* "I am (in this respect) as one of the people." To like purpose Julius Cæsar, being an heathen prince, said sometime of himself at Rome in the council-house: *Equidem ad alia omnia quæ pro vobis gerenda sunt, et consul sum et dictator; quod autem ad injuriam cuiquam faciendum attinet, sum privatus*[10]*:* "Touching all other affairs that ought to be taken in hand for your sake, I am both your consul and your dictator; but, as touching any wrong to be done to any man, I am as a private man, without office." So said the heathen renegate, Julianus the emperor: *Principes, ubi ad limen delubri venerint, perinde sunt atque privati*[11]*:* "When the princes and magistrates once come within the entry of the temple, they are none other but as private men." And this is all that traitorous and horrible judgment that, as it pleaseth you to say, Luther had of the civil magistrate.

Sozom. Lib. vi. cap. vii.

Dion. Lib. xliii. πρὸς δὲ τὸ κακῶς ποιῆσαι τινά ἰδιώτης ὤν.

Sozom. Lib. v. cap. xv.

[1 Avanced, 1567, 1570.]

[2 ... cum Paulus tamen jubeat omneis in universum obtemperare magistratui reverenter et cum timore ..... interim tamen gladium arripitis, ac magistratui, quem Deus constituit, resistitis: annon istud est temere usurpare nomen divinum?—J. Sleid. Comm. Argent. 1572. Lib. v. fol. 51.]

[3 These five words are not in 1567.]

[4 Or, 1567.] [5 Jesu, 1567, 1570.]

[6 Staies, 1609, 1611.]

[7 Ambros. Op. Par. 1686-90. Ad Soror. Epist. xx. 19. Tom. II. col. 857.]

[8 Avance, 1567, 1570.]

[9 Sozom. in Hist. Eccles. Script. Amst. 1695-1700. Lib. VI. cap. vii. p. 525.]

[10 Dion. Hist. Rom. Hanov. 1606. p. 222.]

[11 Sozom. in Hist. Eccles. Script. Lib. v. cap. xvi. p. 504.]

Where ye say he stirred up his disciple, Thomas Munzer, in Thuringia, to be the preacher to the rebels, it is no strange matter to see your tongue run[12] riot. Luther himself, writing thereof unto the rebels, saith thus: *Satanas... sub evangelii prætextu multos hoc tempore seditiosos et plane sanguinarios doctores excitavit*[13]: "Satan, under the pretence of the gospel, hath stirred up in these days many seditious and bloody doctors;" meaning thereby Munzer, and other like his companions. So far was Luther from the encouraging of Munzer to that wicked purpose, that he said, he was set a-work by the devil[14]. Johan. Sleid. Lib. v.

THE APOLOGY, Chap. v. Division 2.

But, whereas it is wont sometime to be objected by persons wanting skill touching the Helvetians' change of state, and killing of Leopoldus the duke of Austria, and restoring by force their country to liberty; all[15] that was done, as appeareth plainly by all stories, for two hundred and three-score years past or above, in the time of pope Boniface[16] the eighth, when the authority of the bishop of Rome was in greatest jollity, about two hundred years before Huldericus[17] Zuinglius either began to teach the gospel, or yet was born. And ever sithence[18] that time they have had all things still and quiet, not only from foreign enemies, but also from all civil[19] dissension. And, if it were a sin in the Helvetians to deliver their own country from foreign government, specially when they were so proudly and tyrannously oppressed, yet to burden us with other men's faults, or them with the faults of their forefathers, it[20] is against all right and reason.

M. HARDING.

...Now your spirit is not content with that ye have railed already against the pope and holy church, but it moveth you again to rave and cry out: but whether with more malice or reason, let us indifferently consider.

THE APOLOGY, Chap. vi. Division 1.

But, O immortal God! and will the bishop of Rome accuse us of treason? Will he teach the people to obey and follow their magistrates? Or hath he any regard at all of the majesty of a prince[21]? Why doth he then, as none of the old bishops of Rome ever[22] did, suffer himself to be called of his flatterers, "Lord of lords[23]," as though he would have all kings and princes, who and whatsoever they be[24], to be his underlings? Why doth he vaunt himself to be "King of kings," and to have kingly royalty over his subjects[25]? Why compelleth he all emperors and princes to swear to him fealty and true obedience? Why doth he boast that the emperor's majesty is a thousand-fold inferior to him; and that for[26] August. Steuch. Anton. de Rosel. De Major. et Obed. Solit.

[12] Tongue to run, 1567, 1570.]
[13] J. Sleid. Comm. Lib. v. fol. 51; where *excitavit doctores.*]
[14] This last sentence is not in 1567.]
[15] Conf. omits *all.*]
[16] Above under Boniface, Conf.]
[17] Hulderike, Conf.]
[18] Since, Conf.]
[19] From civil, Conf.]
[20] Conf. omits *it.*]
[21] Of princes, Conf.]
[22] Rome heretofore ever, Conf.]
[23] August. Steuch. Op. Venet. 1591. De Fals. Donat. Constant. Lib. I. Tom. III. fol. 213. 2. See Vol. III. page 153, note 15.]
[24] Are, Conf.]
[25] ...recte dicitur, quod pontifici data est potestas terreni et cœlestis imperii... papa... debet juste dici princeps regum terræ.—Anton. de Rosell. Monarch. Pars Prim. cap. xii. in Goldast. Mon. Rom. Imp. Hanov. et Franc. 1612-14. Tom. I. p. 259. Conf. cap. xviii. p. 263. See below, page 682, *note 6.*]
[26] And for, Conf.]

this reason specially, because God hath made two lights in [1]heaven[2]; and
De Major. et Obed. Unam Sanctam[3]. because heaven and earth were created, not in two beginnings, but in[3] one[4]? Why hath he and his fellows[6], like Anabaptists and Libertines, to the end they might run on more licentiously and carelessly, shaken off the yoke, and exempted themselves from being under a[7] civil power? Why hath he his legates (as much to say as most subtle spies) lying in wait in all kings' courts, councils, and privy chambers? Why doth he, when he list, set the christian princes one against another, and at his own pleasure trouble the whole world with debate and discord? Why doth he excommunicate, and command to be taken as a heathen and a pagan, any christian prince that renounceth his authority? And why promiseth he his indulgences and his pardons largely to any that will (what way soever it be) kill any of his enemies? Doth he maintain empires and kingdoms? Or doth he once desire that common quiet should be provided for? You must pardon us, good reader, though we seem to utter these things more bitterly and bitingly than it becometh divines to do: for both the shamefulness of the matter, and also the[8] desire of rule in the bishop of Rome, is so exceeding and outrageous, that it could not well be uttered with other words or more mildly. For he is not ashamed to say
Clem. V. in Conc. Vien. in open assembly, that "all jurisdiction of all the kings and princes of the world dependeth of [9]himself[10]." And, to feed his ambition and greediness of rule, he hath[11] pulled in pieces the empire of Rome, and vexed and rent whole Christendom asunder. Falsely and traitorously also did
Leo Papa III.[12] he release the Romans, the Italians, and himself too, of the oath whereby they and he were straitly bound to be true to the emperor of Grecia, and stirred up the same emperor's[13] subjects to forsake him; and, calling Carolus Magnus[14] out of France into Italy, made him emperor[15]; such a
Zachar. Papa thing as never was seen before. He put Childericus[16], the French king, being no evil prince, beside his realm, only because he fancied him not, and wrongfully placed Pipin in his room[17]. Again, after he had cast out king Philip, if he could have brought it to[18] pass[19], he had determined and appointed the kingdom of France to Albertus the king[20] of Romans[21]. He
Clem. VII.[22] utterly destroyed the state of the most flourishing city and commonweal of Florence, his own native country, and brought it, out of a free and peaceable state, to be governed at the pleasure of one man: he brought to pass by his procurement that whole Savoy on the one side was
Idem Clem. miserably spoiled by the emperor Charles the Fifth, and on the other side by the French king; so that the poor unfortunate[23] duke had scant one city left him to hide his head in.

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[1] In the heaven, Conf.]

[2] Innoc. III. in Corp. Jur. Canon. Lugd. 1624. Decretal. Gregor. IX. Lib. I. Tit. xxxiii. cap. 6. col. 426. See Vol. I. page 14, note 1.]

[3] Not at two beginnings, but at on, Conf.]

[4] Bonifac. VIII. in eod. Extrav. Comm. Lib. I. De Major. et Obed. cap. 1. col. 212. See Vol. I. page 14, note 2.]

[5] 1567 adds *in Sexto.*]

[6] Complices, Conf.]

[7] All, Conf. and Def. 1567.]

[8] And the, Conf.]

[9] All kings doth depend upon himself, Conf.; all kings dependeth of himself, Def. 1567.]

[10] Clem. V. in eod. Clementin. Lib. II. Titt. ix. cap. unic. xi. cap. 2. cols. 114, &c., 128, &c. See Vol. I. page 397, note 15.]

[11] Hath he, Conf.]

[12] Conf. omits III.]

[13] The emperor's, Conf.]

[14] Carolus Martellus, Conf.]

[15] Plat. De Vit. Pont. Col. 1551. Leo III. fol. 109.]

[16] Chilpericus, Conf. and Def. 1567, 1570, 1609.]

[17] Id. Zach. I. fol. 99.]

[18] It so to, Conf. and Def. 1567.]

[19] Brought to pass, Def. 1570.]

[20] Albertus king, Conf.]

[21] Id. Bonifac. VIII. p. 213.]

[22] Clemens Papa VII. Conf.]

[23] So as the unfortunate, Conf.]

M. HARDING.

It is a great eye-sore to the ministers of antichrist, to see the vicar of Christ above the lords[24] *and kings of this world, to see princes and emperors promise and swear obedience unto him. But they that are the faithful subjects of the church of God think it no absurdity that the shepherd be set, not only above the lambs and ewes of the church, but also above the wethers and rams themselves. It is a very great folly for them to find fault with the superiority of the bishop of Rome, who can never prove that he is not the vicar of Christ. If he were not his vicar, yet, being a bishop, he is above any temporal prince* [a]*concerning his priestly office*[25]. *But, sith Christ said to Peter, "Upon this rock I will build my church, and hell-gates shall not prevail against it," bark until your bellies break, ye that be the hell-hounds of Luther*[26] *and Zuinglius' litter, or rather of Satan's, your and their chief master, shall not prevail against the apostolic see of Peter. It hath withstanded all devils and heretics a thousand five hundred years; and think ye that yourselves be stronger than Arius? It grieveth you that the pope is higher than the emperor, not for any love ye bear to the emperor, nor for hatred that ye have to the pope's person, whom ye know not; but your quarrel is against Christ, whose person the pope beareth. Or tell us, I pray you, doth he call himself any prince's or emperor's vicegerent, and not rather the* [c]*vicar of Christ alone? Whom impugn ye then but Christ in his vicar? Have ye not read*[27], Qui vos spernit, me spernit: "*He that despiseth you despiseth me?*" *Ye thought the pope had no better text for his primacy and supreme authority than two lights which God made in heaven. But, if malice had not blinded you, in the very same chapter of Innocentius the third (from whence, like a spider, ye sucked that ye thought was worst) ye might have seen another reason going before, where he said,* Pontifex in spiritualibus antecellit, quæ tanto sunt temporalibus digniora, quanto anima præfertur corpori[28]: "*The bishop (said Innocentius) in spiritual matters passeth (the emperor); which spiritual things are so much above the temporal by how much the soul is preferred above*[29] *the body.*" *How like ye that reason?...*

Within a little after Innocentius bringeth forth another proof; where it was said to Jeremy the prophet, who came [d]*of the priests' race, and was a priest himself, "*[e]*Behold, I have set thee over nations and kingdoms, to the intent thou mayest pull up, and scatter, and build, and plant."...*

Then, after that Innocentius had [f]*by natural reason and holy scripture proved the highest bishop's superiority above princes, he cometh in the third place not now to prove, but to make his former saying, already proved, more plain, by alluding to that is written in the beginning of Genesis; where Moses declareth how God made two lights in the firmament of heaven*[30], *a greater and a lesser.... But this cannot sound in the ears of our new preachers. They would not have the guide of heavenly things above the guide of earthly cares. They love the earth, the flesh, the world, too well to be of that mind; and therefore do ask why the popes of Rome, like Anabaptists and Libertines, have shaken off the yoke, and exempted themselves from all civil power. What yoke mean ye? The yoke of infidels and painims?...*

Distinct. 96. Duo sunt. Matt. xvi.

Luke x.

Jer. i.

[a] So is every simple priest.

[b] A little wit had been better than all this so great ado.

[c] So he calleth himself. But when did Christ ever call him so?

[d] As if Jeremy had been a pope.

[e] A very profound reason. Read the answer.

[f] By natural reason! O natural folly!

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

We are not the ministers of antichrist, M. Harding, but the witnesses of the truth of Christ. He is antichrist, as St Paul sheweth you, "that sitteth in the temple of God, and advanceth[32] himself above all that is called God." And to speak more particularly of the matter, by St Gregory's judgment, he is anti-

2 Thess. ii.[31]

Gregor. Lib. iv. Epist. 80.

Gregor. Lib. iv. Epist. 82.

[24] Above lords, Conf. and Def. 1567, 1570, 1609.]

[25] Gelas. Papa in Corp. Jur. Canon. Decret. Gratian. Decr. Prim. Pars. Dist. xcvi. can. 10. cols. 468, 9.]

[26] Luthers, Conf. and Def. 1567, 1570, 1609.]

[27] Readen, Conf. and Def. 1567, 1570.]

[28] Innoc. III. in eod. Decretal. Gregor. IX. Lib. I. Tit. xxxiii. cap. 6. cols. 425, 6.]

[29] Before, Conf. and Def. 1567, 1570, 1609.]

[30] Of the heaven, Conf. and Def. 1567, 1570, 1609.]

[31] This reference is not in 1567.]

[32] Avanceth, 1567, 1570.]

Pope above Kings and Emperors.

christ, or the forerunner of antichrist, that calleth himself the universal bishop; and vaunteth himself as the king of pride; and hath an army of priests prepared for him; and setteth himself, as Lucifer, above all his brethren[1]. These be the words of St Gregory; by such colours he blased out the kingdom of antichrist[2]. Of him cardinal Franciscus Zabarella[3] saith thus: *Papa facit quicquid libet, etiam illicita; et est plus quam Deus*[4]: "The pope doth what him listeth, yea, though it be unlawful; and is more than God[5]." This is antichrist, M. Harding, by the judgment of the wise and godly; and the supporters of him, whosoever and wheresoever they be, are the ministers of antichrist. It is great[6] arrogancy to advance[7] a bishop above a king; notwithstanding in some good meaning it may be true. So a judge, in knowledge of the law; so a doctor of physic, in his profession; so a pilot, in knowledge of the sea, and guiding of a ship; so a captain, in martial affairs, is above any king; and it behoveth a king, be he never so wise or mighty, in every of these several faculties to be[8] guided by them. And thus is the king inferior, not only to a bishop, as you say, but also to every inferior priest.

Franeis. Zabarell.[3]

Chrysost. in Psal. xliv.

So St Chrysostom saith of Christ's apostles: *Omnem terrarum orbem pervaserunt, et omnibus principibus fuerunt magis proprie principes regibus potentiores*[9]: "The apostles roved over the whole world, and were more prince-like indeed than the princes themselves, and more puissant and mighty than the kings."

Theodor. Lib. iv. cap. v. αὐτῷ τὰς ἡμετέρας ὑποκλίνωμεν κεφαλάς.

So said the emperor Valentinian unto the people of Milan: *Eum collocate in pontificali solio, cui nos quoque moderatores imperii nostra capita submittamus*[10]: "Place ye such a man in the bishop's chair unto whom we ourselves that govern the empire may stoop our head."

For the prince is bound to the obedience of God's word no less than if he were a private subject. And if he refuse to hear and reverence[11] the same, as the declaration of God's holy will, he is accursed. But what is this, M. Harding, to your purpose? Would you therefore that the king should swear his obedience and allegiance[12] unto the bishop?

Extr. de Pœn. et Remiss. Omnis utriusque, Abbas.

In this respect, by your own learning, any simple priest may well be above the pope. So saith your own doctor Panormitane: *Papa tenetur confiteri; et in eo actu sacerdos est major illo*: "The pope is bound to confess himself; and in that act of confession the priest is above him." And again: *Papa non potest cogere sacerdotem, ut revelet confessionem; quia in illo actu sacerdos est major quam* [13]*papa*[14]: "The pope cannot compel a priest to open that hath been said unto him in confession; for in that act the priest is greater than the pope." Yet, I trow, ye would not therefore the pope should swear obedience to a priest.

This therefore, M. Harding, it is that grieveth us, to see the poor stool of humility, whereon St Peter sat, blown up now into a mount of pride, and the pope to require homage and fealty of kings and emperors as of his subjects. It grieveth us to see you and others your fellows, in respect of the pope, so much, not only to abase, but also vilely to abuse the majesty of them unto whom Christ and his apostles were always obedient. Remember what one of yours hath written and published to the world in this behalf. Stanislaus Orichovius saith thus: *Tantum sacerdos præstat regi, quantum... homo præstat bestiæ;... quantum Deus præstat sacerdoti, tantum sacerdos præstat regi:... qui regem anteponit*

Stan. Orichov. in Chronær. fol. 97.

[1 Gregor. Magni Papæ I. Op. Par. 1705. Epist. Lib. VII. Indict. xv. Ad Mauric. August. Epist. xxxiii. Tom. II. col. 881; Lib. v. Indict. XIII. Ad Johan. Episc. Epist. xviii. col. 744; Ad Constant. August. Epist. xxi. col. 751. See Vol. I. pages 344, 5, notes 4, 5, 7.]

[2 This sentence is not in 1567.]

[3 Zarabella, 1567.]

[4 Francis. de Zabarell. De Schism. Pont. in Auth. Var. de Jurisd. Autor. et Præem. Imper. a Schard. Basil. 1566. pp. 703, 4. See Vol. II. page 992, note 3.]

[5 Than a God, 1567, 1570.]

[6 Is a great, 1570.]

[7 Avance, 1567, 1570.]

[8 Faculties be, 1570.]

[9 Chrysost. Op. Par. 1718-38. Expos. in Psalm. xliv. Tom. V. p. 181.]

[10 Theodor. in Hist. Eccles. Script. Amst. 1695—1700. Lib. IV. cap. vi. p. 157.]

[11 And to reverence, 1567, 1570, 1609.]

[12 1567 omits *and allegiance*.]

[13 Papam, 1570.]

[14 ... papa tenetur confiteri... papa potest ligari a sacerdote... et hoc ideo quia ille in hoc actu est major papa... Et bene dicunt doc. papam non posse compellere sacerdotem ad revelandum quod sibi fuerat in pœnitentia detectum, quia in illo actu est major papa.—Panorm. sup. Quint. Decretal. Lugd. 1534. De Pœn. et Remiss. Tit. xxxviii. cap. 12. fol. 161, 2.]

sacerdoti, is anteponit creaturam Creatori[15]: "A priest is so much above a king as a man is above a beast; as much as God is better than the priest, so much is the priest better than the[16] king; he that setteth the king before a priest, setteth the creature before the Creator."

Pope above Kings and Emperors.

It grieveth us to see St Gregory's words by St Gregory's successors so proudly broken. For thus he wrote well-near a thousand years sithence, unto the emperor Mauritius, against John, the bishop of Constantinople, claiming then the same universal authority that is now usurped by the pope: *Ille coercendus est, qui sanctæ universali ecclesiæ injuriam facit, qui corde tumet, qui gaudere de nomine singularitatis appetit, qui honori quoque imperii vestri se per privatum vocabulum superponit*[17]: "Your majesty must repress him that doth this wrong unto the holy universal church, that swelleth in heart, that desireth to enjoy a name of singularity, that also by a private title (calling himself the universal bishop) placeth himself over and above the honour of your empire." Gregor. Lib. iv. Epist. 32.

Touching the knowledge of God's word and cases of religion, certain it is the king is inferior to a bishop. But, if the bishop be negligent, and do not his office; or if he be wilful, and do it not rightly; or if he be ignorant, and cannot do it; then is the bishop under the prince, subject to his check, and by him may be punished. So writeth the emperor Constantinus unto the people of Nicomedia: *Si quis [episcoporum] inconsulte tumultuatus sit, ministri Dei, hoc est, mea executione, illius audacia coercebitur*[18]: "If any bishop unadvisedly work trouble, his boldness shall be repressed by the order of God's minister, that is to say, by my execution." Theodor. Lib. i. cap. xix.

Therefore St Paul saith: "Let every soul be subject to the higher powers." Rom. xiii.

Whereunto St Chrysostom addeth these words: *Etiamsi apostolus sis*[19], *etiamsi evangelista, etiamsi propheta, sive quisquis tandem fueris. Neque enim pietatem subvertit ista subjectio*[20]: "Although thou be an apostle, although thou be an evangelist, although thou be a prophet, or what one soever thou be, (yet be thou subject to the higher powers). For godliness is not hindered by such subjection." Chrysost. ad Rom. Hom. 23.

"Your quarrel," ye say, "is against Christ; for his person the pope beareth. Have ye not read[21], 'He that despiseth you despiseth me?' Tell us, I pray you," say you, "doth the pope call himself any prince's or emperor's vicegerent, and not rather the vicar of Christ alone?"

It forceth not greatly by what title the pope list to claim. He cannot lightly want authority while he may pen his own commission. I trow, we may say of him, as Cicero said sometime of one in Rome: *Asinius senator voluntarius, lectus ipse a se:* "Asinius is a very willing senator, himself appointed and chosen by himself." Verily, antichrist too shall[22] sit in the temple of God, even in the place of Christ, and shall bear[23] himself as Christ's vicar. 2 Thess. ii.

Howbeit, let the pope do the duty of a bishop, let him exhort, let him preach, let him dispense God's mysteries, let him fulfil his office, let him do the part of an evangelist; and we will love him and reverence him, although not as Christ's vicar-general, yet at least as a bishop. Otherwise we must say unto him as St Gregory said sometime to Cyriacus, the bishop of Constantinople: *Omnes magnos esse et honorabiles cupio, quorum tamen honor honori omnipotentis Dei non detrahat. Nam quisquis se contra Deum honorari appetit, mihi honorabilis non est*[24]: "I wish that all men should be great and honourable; so that their honour be not prejudicial to the honour of Almighty God. For whosoever shall desire himself to be honoured against God shall not be honourable unto me." Gregor. Lib. vi. Epist. 28.

One high and worthy reason we alleged out of your pope, Innocentius the third: "The sun is higher and greater than the moon; *ergo*, The pope is higher and De Major. et Obed. Solitæ

[15] Stan. Orichov. Chimær. Col. 1563. foll. 97, 9; where *tantumque hic præstat*, and *præstat animanti ad pastum abjectæ*. See Vol. III. page 117, note 5.]

[16] A, 1567, 1570.]

[17] Gregor. Magni Papæ I. Op. Epist. Lib. v. Indict. XIII. Ad Mauric. August. Epist. xx. Tom. II. col. 749.]

[18] Theodor. in Hist. Eccles. Script. Lib. I. cap. xx. p. 51.]

[19] Sit, 1609, 1611.]

[20] Chrysost. Op. In Epist. ad Rom. Hom. xxiii. Tom. IX. p. 686.]

[21] Readen, 1567, 1570.]

[22] Antichrist shall, 1567.]

[23] And bear, 1567.]

[24] Gregor. Magni Papæ I. Op. Epist. Lib. v. Indict. xv. Ad Cyriac. Episc. Epist. xxxi. Tom. II. col. 879.]

Pope above Kings and Emperors.

greater than the emperor[1]." This pope Innocentius is he that said, "Either he would lose his mitre, or else he would pull the emperor Philip's imperial crown from his head[2]."

"Malice," ye say, "blinded us; otherwise we might have seen other his more substantial and better reasons." So were it needful, M. Harding; for certainly this reason is very simple. But the best of his reasons ye can find is this:

Carion. in Innocent. III.

"The soul is above the body."

Ergo, "The pope is above the emperor."

"And how like you[3] this reason?" say you. Verily, as a reason without sense or reason; such as be many of your making. By the like reason you may say:

The cook is always about the fire:

The fire is the highest of all elements;

Ergo, Of all sciences the cook's occupation is the highest.

By the same reason ye may prove that the highest emperor is subject not only to the pope, but also to every simple priest. Yea, further, of the same reason there must needs follow a great inconvenience; that the pope himself, forasmuch as he ministereth sacraments, teacheth, exhorteth, and occupieth himself in spiritual affairs least of all others, is therefore the lowest and basest of all his clergy.

Now, M. Harding, I beseech you, consider the weight and drift of your own reason.

The pope's charge is spiritual, say you.

Ergo, The emperor is bound to swear obedience to the pope. By what reason may this reason be proved? Verily by the same good reason ye may say:

Every priest's charge is spiritual.

Ergo, The king is bound to swear obedience to every priest. Yet by such proper reasons the pope hath advanced[4] himself above all the states and princes of the world.

But your holy father Innocentius, lest he should seem to want scriptures for proof hereof, allegeth also the words of God spoken unto the prophet Hieremy:

Jer. i.

"Behold, I have set thee over nations and kingdoms, to the intent that thou mayest pull down[5], and scatter, and build, and plant." *Ergo*, he saith[6], "the emperor is subject unto the pope." "These proofs," ye say, "our defenders could not find." Further, ye say in your sober manner: "When will you forsake the school of lying?" Truly, if there be any such school, M. Harding, you may claim of good right to be the master. We are as far from lying as you are from saying the truth. But what make these words of Hieremy for the bishop of Rome? Will ye say that the prophet Hieremy was the pope? Or that the king then was sworn to be subject and loyal unto him? What king or prince did Hieremy subdue? What people or country did he ever[7] overthrow? One of your own doctors saith: *Hieremias nullum regem deposuit. Sed intelligitur positus supra gentes et regna, quasi habens auctoritatem super ea in annunciando et prædicando vera.... Non de... destructione regum mundi,... sed de destructione vitiorum, et plantatione fidei et morum: ut illud Pauli, Dei ædificatio estis; Dei agricultura estis*[9]: "Hieremy deposed no king. But we understand that he was placed over nations and kingdoms, as having authority over the same, in opening and preaching of the truth. He speaketh not of the overthrowing of the kingdoms of the world, but of the overthrowing of vices, and of the planting of faith and manners. In this sense St Paul saith to the Corinthians: 'Ye are God's building; ye are God's tillage.'"

Johan. de Paris. cap. xv.[8]

1 Cor. iii.

[1 Innoc. III. in Corp. Jur. Canon. Lugd. 1624. Decretal. Gregor. IX. Lib. I. Tit. xxxiii. cap. 6. col. 426. See Vol. I. page 14, note 1.]

[2 Is persecutus est Cæsarem Philippum, et dixisse fertur: Velle se Philippo imperialem coronam adimere, aut pontificiam infulam ab eo eripiendam. —J. Carion. Chronic. Libell. Par. 1543. Lib. III. fol. 110.]

[3 Ye, 1567.]

[4 Avanced, 1567, 1570.]

[5 Up, 1567, 1570, 1609.]

[6 Saith he, 1567.]

[7 Ever did he, 1567.]

[8 In 1567 this reference stood *Hervæus de Potestate Papæ, ca. xiii.*]

[9 ... constat quod nullum regem... deposuit. Sed &c. super &c. morum. Sicut accipitur illud I. Corinth. 3. Dei &c.—Johan. de Parrhis. de Potest. Reg. et Papal. cap. xv. in Goldast. Mon. Rom. Imp. Hanov. et Franc. 1612-14. Tom. II. p. 128.]

The very gloss itself saith: *Ut evellas regnum Satanæ, ut plantes bona, ut ædifices ecclesiam*[10]: "I have placed thee to root up (not the kingdoms of the world, nor the states of commonweals, but) the kingdom of Satan, to plant good things, to build up the church." His whole commission was limited with these words: *Posui verbum meum in ore tuo:* "I have put my word in thy mouth," saith the Lord[11]. Pope above Kings and Emperors. Jer. i.

Such authority had Elias over king Achab; and therefore he said unto him: "It is not I that trouble Israel, but thou and thy father's house." Such authority had John Baptist[12] over king Herod; and therefore he said unto him: "It is not lawful for thee to have thy brother's wife." 1 Kings xviii.

If it be true that ye would seem to say, that the pope's superiority standeth only in things spiritual, wherefore then doth pope Nicolas say, [*Christus*] *beato* [*Petro*]... *terreni simul et cœlestis imperii jura commisit*[13]; "Christ hath given to blessed Peter the right as well of the worldly as also of the heavenly empire?" Wherefore then did pope Adrian thus write unto the emperor Fredericus? *Romæ nostra sedes est; imperatoris est Aquis in Arduenna, quæ est sylva Galliæ. Imperator, quod habet, totum habet a nobis. Sicut Zacharias transtulit imperium a Græcis ad Teutonicos, ita nos possumus illud transferre ab Alemannis ad Græcos. Ecce in potestate nostra est, ut demus illud cui volumus. Propterea constituti* [*sumus*] *a Deo super gentes et regna, ut destruamus, et evellamus, et ædificemus, et plantemus*[14]: "My seat is in the city of Rome. The emperor's seat is at Acon[15] in Ardenne, which is a forest in France. Whatsoever the emperor hath, he hath it of us. As pope Zacharias translated the empire from Græcia into Germany, so may we again translate the same from the Germans to the Greeks. Behold, it is in our power to bestow the empire upon whom we list. Therefore are we appointed by God over nations and kingdoms, to pull down, to root up, to build and to plant again." This authority, I trow, reacheth somewhat further than only to causes spiritual. One of your own doctors saith: *Magis esset acceptum Deo, quod per solum pontificem mundus in omnibus regeretur*[16]: "It were more acceptable unto God that the world in all matters (both spiritual and temporal) were governed only by the pope." Dist. 22. Mediol. Avent. in Adrian. IV. Anno 1154. Johan. de Paris. cap. xii.[17]

That Innocentius addeth of the sun and the moon, ye say, is not a reason, but a "similitude." This thing may easily be granted: for indeed it is a similitude utterly void of either wit or reason. But who taught the pope so childishly to play with similitudes, thereby to advance[18] himself, and to abase the empire of the world? Who told him that the pope is the sun, and the emperor the moon? or, that the emperor is so far inferior to the pope as the moon is inferior to the sun? Isidorus, that lived six hundred years before pope Innocentius, saith quite contrary: *Per solem intelligitur regnum, et per lunam intelligitur sacerdotium*[19]: "By the sun we understand the kingdom; and by the moon we understand the priesthood." Whereby he giveth us to consider, contrary to the judgment of your good father, pope Innocentius, that, as the moon is inferior to the sun, so is the pope inferior to the emperor. In Gloss. in Gen. cap. i. Johan. de Paris. cap. xv.[20]

M. HARDING.

*But when Constantine was baptized, he gave place to *St Sylvester, then bishop of Rome, and to all other*[21] *successors of St Peter. O how that irketh your hearts, that*

* Untruth, fond and peevish. For Sylvester was dead long before Constantinus was christened.

[10] ...Ut evellas (mala), et destruas (regna diaboli) ...et ædifices (ecclesiam) et plantes.—Bibl. cum. Gloss. Ord. et Expos. N. de Lyra, Basil. 1502. Hier. cap. i. Pars IV. fol. 111.]

[11] The last three words are not in 1567.]

[12] John the Baptist, 1567, 1570, 1609.]

[13] Nicol. Papa II. in Corp. Jur. Canon. Decret. Gratian. Decr. Prim. Pars, Dist. xxii. can. 1. col. 99.]

[14] Aventin. Annal. Boior. Ingoldst. 1554. Lib. VI. p. 636; where *ita nos possumus ab Alemannis transferre ad Græcos.*]

[15] Aachen: Aix-la-Chapelle.]

[16] Johan. de Parrhis. De Potest. Reg. et Papal. cap. xii. in Goldast. Mon. Rom. Imp. Tom. II. p. 123; where *Deo acceptum.*]

[17] Hervæus de Potestate Papæ, 1567.]

[18] Avance, 1567, 1570.]

[19] Unde dicit Isidorus super Genesim in glossa, quod per &c.—Id. cap. xv. ibid. p. 128. The passage referred to in Isidore is probably the following:... constituit Deus luminaria in firmamento cœli: id est, splendorem regni, tanquam solis excellentiam, et in lunæ specie soli obtemperantem tanquam synagogam, et stellas principes ejus.—Isidor. Hisp. Op. Col. Agrip. 1617. Comm. in Genes. cap. iii. p. 285.]

[20] Hervæus de Potestate Papæ, ca. xiii. 1567.]

[21] Others, Conf. and Def. 1567, 1570.]

The Donation of Constantine.

*so great an emperor, and the first that openly professed Christianity, should, by the same Holy Ghost who called him to the faith of Christ, be made to *depart from that city which ruled the world, and to yield his own palace partly a church to our Saviour Christ, partly a dwelling-house for the bishops of Rome? Ask of Constantine why he submitted his neck to St Sylvester. We have cause to think that Constantius the heretic, son of Constantine, was not very glad of his father's doing: and yet God suffered him not to return and dwell at Rome, but to leave that city free to the rulers of the church....*

* Untruth, too vain for a child. Why should M. Hard. be so vain? There is not one true word in all this tale.

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

"Constantine (ye say) gave over the city of Rome, and all the west part of the empire, to the pope and to his successors for ever. And this thing (ye say) irketh our hearts full sore." Yea, verily, M. Harding, it irketh us much in your behalf, to see you, a man of wisdom and learning, to warrant such follies without blushing. This whole donation of Constantine, whereupon ye build the pope's whole kingdom, hath not shew sufficient to mock a child. The effect and sense thereof is this, that Constantinus the emperor, the third day after he was christened, in the honour of St Peter willingly left all the west part of the empire, and departed to Byzantium, which is now called Constantinople, to dwell in the East; and that he gave the whole imperial and civil dominion, not only of the city of Rome, but also of Italy, France, Spain, Arragon, Portugal, England, Germany, Scotland, Ireland, Pole, Denmark, Sweden, and Hungary, to the pope. This doubtless, being true, had been a jolly liberal and a princely gift. And one of your friends saith: *Volunt aliqui, quod ratione hujus doni summus pontifex imperator est;... et quod potest instituere et destituere reges sicut imperator*[1]: "Some say, that by mean of this gift the pope is an emperor, and may set up and pull down kings as an emperor."

Johan. de Paris. cap. xxii.[2]

But Pius Secundus, being himself afterward bishop of Rome, saith: *Dicta palea, Constantinus, falsa est*[3]: "The said decree (named *Constantinus*, containing Constantine the emperor's donation, or charter) is utterly false." So saith Antoninus the archbishop of Florence, Valla, Volateran, Hieronymus Cathalanus, Otho Frisingensis, and others more[4]. Of this fable we shall have occasion to speak hereafter. Here, M. Harding, the pope himself telleth you, that you maintain his vanity by a false decree[5].

Pius in Dial. fol. 21.

Constantius the heretic, son unto Constantinus, as you say, much misliked his father's doing. Nay, M. Harding, if Constantius were alive, he would rather find fault in your discretion, that report such follies of his father's doings. Where ye say, "God suffered him not to return and to dwell in Rome," it passeth the depth of your divinity to search up the causes and secrets of God's sufferance. Although Constantius, being encumbered with dangerous wars and great affairs, were forced to stay in other countries, and could not have leisure to return to Rome, yet he still continued the lord of Rome, as also did a great number of other emperors that followed after him. Therefore pope Bonifacius thus wrote unto the emperor Honorius: *Roma est urbs vestræ mansuetudinis*[6]: "Rome is your

Dist. 97. Eccles.

[1 Id. cap. xxii. ibid. p. 140; where *reges constituere et destituere.*]

[2 Herræus de Potestate Papæ, ca. xix. 1567.]

[3 It is not easy to verify this reference. But see Æn. Sylv. Pental. in Bernard. Pez. Thesaur. Anecd. August. Vind. 1721-8. Tom. IV. Pars III. col. 679; where we find: Nam una ex parte vetustum quoddam eulogium allegatur, quod apud historicos nusquam reperitur; to which another of the interlocutors says: Ah, quid tu fictam donationem adducis? This treatise is not comprised in the Basil edition of the author's works. The dialogue in question, with the assertion here ascribed to Pius II., is often referred to by Romish writers. It will be sufficient to cite one: De quo in primis vide late in d. dialogo Pio, ut per multa tenet, quod dicta palea, Constantinus sit falsa, et invehit contra miseros legistas, qui laborant in disputando, an valuerit id, quod nunquam fuit.—Felin. sup. Decret. Lugd. 1587. Lib. I. Tit. xxxiii. cap. 6. fol. 234. 2. This celebrated canonist goes on shrewdly to remark that, had Pius written on the subject after his elevation to the popedom, he would doubtless have acknowledged that a fresh light had broken upon him.]

[4 See Fasc. Rer. Expet. et Fug. Lond. 1690. Tom. I. pp. 132, &c. 159; where the testimonies of various authors are collected. Conf. Otton. Fris. Chron. Basil. 1569. Lib. IV. cap. iii. p. 72.]

[5 This sentence is not in 1567.]

[6 ... in urbe vestræ mansuetudinis.—Bonifac. Epist. in Corp. Jur. Canon. Lugd. 1624. Decret. Gratian. Decr. Prim. Pars, Dist. xcvii. can. 1. col. 475.

majesty's city." Likewise pope Agatho writeth unto the emperor Constantinus: *Hæc est urbs servilis majestatis vestræ*[7]: "This is your majesty's bond city." And Constantinus the emperor himself saith: *Dono archiepiscopo antiquæ nostræ Romæ*[8]: "To Donus, the archbishop of our city of old Rome." But what need more words? The case is so clear, that no man of learning can call it in question. In Sext. Synod. Const. Act. 4. In eadem Synod. Act. 1.

Briefly, touching this fond fable of Constantine's donation, cardinal Cusanus saith thus: *Donationem diligenter expendens, reperi in ipsamet scriptura manifesta argumenta confictionis et falsitatis*[9]: "Diligently weighing this donation of Constantine, I have found in the very penning thereof manifest arguments of forging and falsehood[10]." These, M. Harding, be the records and precedents of most certain and most ancient memory, that ye would have published unto the world. By such monuments your pope claimeth the right and possession of the empire: And your friends marvel that ye can defend such falsehood[10] and forgery, so well known and so manifest, for very shame. Nicol. Cusan. De Donat. Const.

M. HARDING.

The being of the pope's legates and ambassadors in princes' courts is a thing no less convenient than it is meet for him that hath cure of many flocks of sheep, to set his servants as watchmen in every part where such flocks do feed.... Legates.

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

In what stead these legates stand the church of God, it may appear by these few uttered thereof by Camotensis: *Legati papæ ita debacchantur in provinciis, ac si ad flagellandum ecclesiam Satan egressus esset a facie Domini*[11]: "The pope's legates do so rage in all countries, as if Satan were gone out before the face of God to scourge the church." And Machiavel saith: "There have been few wars or commotions inflamed these many late years but by the mean and whispering of these legates[12]." What other doctrine they teach, or what other good they do, it were hard to say. And therefore the fathers in the council of Africa refused utterly to have any such legates sent amongst them: for thus they write unto the pope: *Ut aliqui, tanquam a tuæ sanctitatis latere, mittantur, nulla invenimus patrum synodo constitutum*[13]: "That any legates should be sent unto us, as from your holiness' side, we find it not appointed by any council of our fathers." Again they say: *Executores... clericos vestros quibusque petentibus*[14] *nolite mittere,... ne fumosum seculi typhum in ecclesiam Christi... videamur inducere*[15]: "Send not your clerks (or cardinals) to put matters in execution at any man's request[16]; lest we seem to bring the smoky pride of the world into the church of Christ." Citat. ab Agrip. de Vanit. Scient. Nicol. Machiav. in Hist. Concil. Aphr. cap. 105.

M. HARDING.

* *His indulgences and pardons depend upon the power of binding and loosing, which Christ gave to Peter and his successors. Ye must demand of Christ* * *why he gave that power, and not be angry with his vicar for using the same....* Pardons.

Matt. xvi.

* Untruth. For they depend of the deceitfulness of man, and not of the power of God.

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

O M. Harding! what should you mean with all these vanities? Are ye so

* Untruth. For Christ never gave the pope power to deal pardons.

[7 ... ἀπὸ τῆς δουλικῆς τοῦ ἡμερωτάτου ὑμῶν κράτους πόλεως Ῥώμης.—Agath. Epist. i. in Concil. Constant. III. Act IV. in Concil. Stud. Labb. et Cossart. Lut. Par. 1671-2. Tom. VI. col. 632.]

[8 Ibid. Act. I. cols. 593, 4; where the Greek text has simply τῆς πρεσβυτέρας Ῥώμης.]

[9 ... diligenter eam examinans repperi ex ipsamet scriptura argumenta manifesta &c.—N. de Cusa, Op. Basil. 1565. De Concord. Cathol. Lib. III. cap. ii. Tom. II. p. 781.]

[10 Falshead, 1567, 1570.]

[11 ... Romanorum Pontificum legati (quod ait Camotensis...) sic interdum in provinciis debacchantur, ac si &c. egressus sit Sathan a &c.—H. C. Agrip. De Incert. et Vanit. Scient. Col. 1584. cap. lxi. De Magist. Eccles. fol. N. 7. Conf. Joan. Saresb. Policr. Lugd. Bat. 1595. Lib. V. cap. xvi. p. 269. See Vol. III. pages 130, 1, note 6.]

[12 Nic. Machiavel. Hist. Florent. Argent. 1610. Lib. I. p. 15. See Vol. III. page 171, note 9. Conf. Flac. Illyr. De Sect. &c. Basil. 1565. p. 100.]

[13 Concil. Aphr. cap. 105. Epist. ad Cœlest. in Crabb. Concil. Col. Agrip. 1551. Tom. I. p. 521.]

[14 Potentibus, 1567.]

[15 Ibid.; where *potentibus*, and *typhum seculi*. See Vol. III. page 295, note 14.]

[16 In execution to any noble man or mighty prince, 1567.]

fully bent to grant no kind of error, neither in your purgatories, nor in your pardons, nor in your stews? God give you humility of heart; lest ye be an unfit vessel to receive God's pardon.

M. HARDING.

*Ye find fault with Leo the third for making an emperor in the west: I dare say it grieveth you. *For, if there had been none in the west, the Turk might have been our emperor ere this, and to his barbarous and wicked tyranny might have subdued this part of the world, specially Germany, as he hath subdued Greece, Asia, Egypt, Syria, and all the east church. Against which mischief the vicar of Christ, by his Master's merciful warning, with the princes of the west, made provision, and at the length planted the empire in this order we see it now in....*

* Untruth, joined with open folly. For this was the only way to strengthen the Saracens.

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

This policy practised by the pope loosed the whole power of Christendom. For, as the empire before, being united and joined in one, was strong and mighty, so being afterward divided into two, and the east part being sundered from[1] the west, it became lame, and weak, and not able to help itself: by mean whereof a gate was opened to receive the Turk into all these christian dominions, which now he holdeth, without resistance; who otherwise, the empire being one and whole in itself, as it was before, could never have grown to such power. All this was wrought by the practice and policy of the pope. Notwithstanding, the pope himself by this bargain lost nothing. Thereof Marsilius Patavinus writeth thus: "Pipinus, son unto Charles the French king, after he had conquered Aristulphus the king of Lombardy, took Ravenna, and all the five cities of Romandiola, together with the emperor's lieutenant's territory, called Exarchatus, and gave all the same to the pope. Pope Stephen, finding himself well contented with these benefits, and seeing the weakness of the Greek emperor, procured that the empire should be translated from the Greeks unto the French, having utterly forgotten the benefits that he had received of the emperor; to the intent that, the Greeks being utterly oppressed, and the French little caring for these things, he alone might rule in Italy at his pleasure[2]."

Marsil. Patav.

The very true cause of the division of the empire.

Touching pope Leo the Third, whose providence and policy ye so much commend, the true report of the story is this: the said Leo, being by violence deprived of his bishoprick in Rome, fled for aid to Charles, the French king, and by him was restored. In consideration of which benefit, he proclaimed Charles the emperor of the west[3]: sithence which time the empire of Christendom hath been divided and weakened, the pope enriched, and the Saracens and Turks above all measure increased.

Plat. in Leo III.

M. HARDING.

If the pope Zacharias deposed Childerick (for so I find him more commonly named), the king of France, only upon his own pleasure or displeasure, as ye say, and placed Pipine for him, can ye tell that story and not see, what a strength of authority is in that see, which is able with a word to place and displace the mightiest king in Europe? With a word, I say; for I am sure ye can shew us of no army that he sent to execute that his will. Is that the power of a man, trow ye, to appoint kingdoms? Can the devil himself at his pleasure set up and depose kings? No, surely[a]. And much less can any member of his do the same. Remember ye what Christ said, when the Jews objected that he cast[4] out devils in the name of

* Untruth. For St Gregory saith,

[1] For, 1567.]

[2] Ob quam causam rediit Pipinus in Lombardiam, adversus Aistulphum.... Vadit deinde Pipinus Ravennam, ipsamque cepit: totamque Pentapolim Romandiolæ cum exarchatu, in quo est Bononia, cepit. Quæ omnia ecclesiæ Romanæ scribitur contulisse de facto. His autem beneficiis Stephanus papa allectus, et videns illius temporis imperatoris imbecillitatem, procuravit Romanum imperium de Græcis transferri in Francos: minime reminiscens beneficiorum, per imperatores Romanæ ecclesiæ concessorum, in alienos atque remotos imperium transferre satagens, ut Græcis oppressis, Gallicis hæc parum curantibus, posset papa Italiæ liberius dominari.—Marsil. de Pad. De Transl. Imp. cap. vii. in Goldast. Mon. Rom. Imp. Hanov. et Franc. 1612-14. Tom. II. p. 151.]

[3] Plat. de Vit. Pont. Col. 1551. Leo III. pp. 109, 110.]

[4] He did cast, Conf. and Def. 1567, 1570, 1609.]

the prince of devils? [b]*Beware ye sin not against the Holy Ghost, who confess that the pope hath pulled down and set up kings: which thing undoubtedly he could not do profitably and peaceably, but by the great power of God. And yet did that line of Pipine and Charles the Great, which the pope did set up,* [c]*flourish above any other stock that ye can name since the inclination of the Roman empire. Which in that transposed state of so great a kingdom maketh no obscure argument of heavenly approbation and divine providence.*

Antichristus ... ipsas ... summas hujus seculi potestates obtinebit[5].
[b] A new sin against the Holy Ghost.
[c] Untruth, easy to be seen. Read the answer.

Neither did the pope Zacharias depose Childerick, because he fancied him not, as ye slander, but only consented to loose his subjects from bond of oath made to him, at the general and most earnest request and suit of the[6] *nobility and commonalty of the whole realm of France, finding him very unprofitable and unmeet for the kingdom, as one, who being of no wit, and therefore commonly named Stupidus, as much to say, a dolt, was altogether besides like a Sardanapalus, given wholly to belly-cheer and to filthy love of women. Therefore in your own words ye confess a* [d]*divine power in the pope, as by whom God directeth the wills of faithful princes on the earth. The more such examples ye bring, the worse ye make your cause. I would hire you to ease me of the labour of proving such a notable fact.*

[d] A divine power in the pope.

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

Deposing of Kings.

Pope Zacharias deposed Childericus, as you call him, or as some others call him Chilpericus, the French king. Therefore ye say, we must needs acknowledge a divine power in the pope, seeing him "able by his word to place and displace the mightiest king in Europe." "For can the devil," say you, "at his pleasure set up and depose kings?"

Verily, M. Harding, Christ himself calleth the devil the "Prince of this world;" and therefore we may imagine he may do somewhat in the world. And the devil, if ye will believe his word, when he had set Christ on high upon a mount, and shewed him all the kingdoms of the world, he said unto him: "All these things will I give thee, if thou wilt fall down and worship me." This is that power that St John saith should be given to antichrist: *Reges terræ vires et potestatem suam tradent bestiæ, &c.; ut consentiant, dentque regnum suum bestiæ, donec compleantur verba Dei:* "The kings of the earth shall give their strength and power unto the beast, &c.; that they may agree together, and give their kingdom unto the beast, until the words of God be fulfilled." Again he saith: *Mulier ea, quam vidisti, est urbs illa magna, quæ habet regnum super reges terræ:* "The woman that thou sawest is that great city that hath a kingdom over the kings of the world." And again he saith: *Data est illi potestas in omnem tribum et gentem, et adorabunt eam (bestiam) omnes incolæ terræ, quorum nomina non sunt scripta in libro vitæ Agni:* "Power is given unto that beast over every tribe and language and nation; and all the dwellers of the earth shall worship the same beast (which is antichrist), whose names be not written in the Lamb's book of life."

John xii. xiv. xvi.
Matt. iv.
Rev. xvii.
In eodem cap.
Rev. xiii.

St Augustine saith: *Quia antichristus ad tantum culmen inanis gloriæ venturus creditur, tanta ei licebit facere, et in omnes homines et in sanctos Dei, ut... nonnulli infirmi arbitrentur, Deum res humanas negligere*[7]*:* "For that we believe that antichrist shall come unto such a height of vain glory, it shall be lawful for him to do such things, both towards all men (princes and others), and also towards the saints of God, that many weak men shall think God hath forsaken the care of the world." Again he saith: *Ita... traditur [de antichristo], quod omnes reges superaturus sit, et solus regnum obtenturus*[8]*:* "Thus it is written of antichrist, that he shall conquer all kings, and obtain the kingdom himself alone."

August. in Psal. ix.
August. in eundem Psalm.

So saith St Gregory: *Antichristus veniens ipsas etiam summas hujus seculi potestates obtinebit*[5]*:* "Antichrist, when he shall come, shall conquer the highest estates and powers of this world."

Gregor. in Job, cap. xli. Lib. xxxiii. cap. xxii.

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[5] Gregor. Magni Papæ I. Op. Par. 1705. Lib. XXXIII. in cap. xli. B. Job, cap. xxvi. 46. Tom. I. col. 1104.]

[6] Of all the, Conf. and Def. 1567, 1570.]

[7] August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. In Psalm. ix. Enarr. 20. Tom. IV. col. 53; where *ille* for *antichristus*.]

[8] Id. ibid. 23. col. 54; where *reges omnes*.]

Deposing of Kings.

And all this shall come to pass, as Chrysostom saith, by the dissolution of the empire, whereof we have spoken before. These be his words: *Donec imperii illius timor fuerit, nemo antichristo statim subdetur. Quando vero istud imperium destructum fuerit, vacantem imperii principatum invadet, et tentabit ad se rapere et hominum et Dei imperium*[1]: "As long as the empire shall be had in awe, no man shall straightway submit himself to antichrist; but, after that the empire shall be dissolved, antichrist shall invade the state of the empire standing void, and shall labour to pull unto himself the empire both of man and God."

Chrysost. in 2 Thess. ii. Hom. 4.

This, I trow it is, that the pope proclaimeth himself the "heir-apparent of all kingdoms[2]:" this it is that pope Nicolas saith: [*Christus*] *beato* [*Petro*], *æternæ vitæ clavigero, terrarum*[3] *simul et cœlestis imperii jura commisit*[4]: "Christ hath committed unto blessed Peter, the key-bearer of everlasting life, the right both of the worldly and also of the heavenly empire." This is it that some are so bold to say, *Papa totius mundi obtinet principatum*[5]: "The pope hath the princehood of all the whole world;" and that some others have said: *Papa est rex regum, et dominus dominantium*[6]: "The pope is the king[7] of kings, and lord of lords;" and that pope Adrian saith of himself, as it is alleged before: *Imperator quod habet, totum habet a nobis.... Ecce in potestate nostra est, ut demus imperium cui volumus*[8]: "Whatsoever the emperor hath, he hath it of us. It is in our power to bestow the empire upon whom we list." This, M. Harding, is that divine power, that, as you say, is given to the pope. But as St John, St Augustine, St Chrysostom, and St Gregory say, the self-same divine power is given also to antichrist. And therefore it is well noted in your own gloss: *Papa stupor mundi*[9]: "The pope is the wonderment of the world:" that is to say, the pope maketh all the world fools.

Clem. Lib. ii. De Appellat. Pastoralis. Dist. 22. Omnes.

In Sext. Lib. iii. Tit. xvi. De Stat. Regul. Anton. de Rosel. Avent. in Adrian. IV.

Clem. in Procem. In Gloss.

But, if it seem so great a matter for a pope to depose a king, I doubt not but ye may well remember that emperors sometimes have deposed popes. The emperor Constantius (an Arian, I grant, but yet an emperor) deposed pope Liberius; and afterward, restoring Liberius, deposed pope Fœlix[10]. The emperor Otho the First deposed pope John the Thirteenth[11]. The emperor Justinian deposed two popes in order; first, pope Sylverius, and afterward pope Vigilius[12]. And all this did they without levying of army, without raising of power, without disquiet or trouble of the people. And a doctor of your own, seeming fully to determine the matter by a book-case, saith thus: *Imperator requisitus a cardinalibus.... debet procedere contra papam*[13]: "The emperor, being required by the cardinals, is bound to proceed (to deprivation) against the pope." Another saith thus: *Si quando imperialis legatus mitteretur a principe, ut Romanus pontifex proficisceretur Constantinopolim ad imperatorem, omni neglecta occasione, ibat etiamsi pro certo sciret se iturum in exilium*[15]: "If at any time the emperor's embassador had been sent from his prince to will the pope to come to Constantinople to the emperor, all occasions set apart, he went straightway, notwithstanding he certainly knew he should be banished." Urspergensis saith: *Henricus rex Italiam ingressus ... tres papas indigne constitutos synodaliter deposuit*[16]: "Henry

Plat. in Liber.

Ii. Tom. Concil. in Vit. Sylv. et Vigil.

Johan. de Paris. cap. xiv.[14]

Append. Eutrop. in Sylv.

Ursperg. Anno 1045.

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[1] Chrysost. Op. Par. 1718-38. In II. Epist. ad Thess. cap. ii. Hom. iv. Tom. XI. p. 530.]

[2] ... vacante imperio imperatori succedimus.—Clem. V. in Corp. Jur. Canon. Lugd. 1624. Clement. Lib. II. Tit. xi. cap. 2. col. 136.]

[3] Terreni, 1567, 1570, 1609.]

[4] Nicol. Papa II. in eod. Decret. Gratian. Decr. Prim. Pars, Dist. xxii. can. 1. col. 99; where *terreni*.]

[5] ...totius enim orbis papa tenet principatum.—Sext. Decretal. in eod. Lib. III. Tit. xvi. Gloss. in cap. unic. col. 556.]

[6] ...Christus fuit Rex regum et Dominus dominantium. Et si fuit imperator, etiam est sub potestate Christi: ergo et ejus vicarii, quem loco suo constituit principem et pastorem.—Anton. de Rosell. Monarch. Pars Prim. cap. xviii. in Goldast. Mon. Rom. Imp. Hanov. et Franc. 1612-14. Tom. I. p. 263.]

[7] Is king, 1567, 1570.]

[8] Aventin. Annal. Boior. Ingolst. 1554. Lib. VI. p. 636. See before, page 677, note 15.]

[9] Corp. Jur. Canon. Clement. Gloss. in Prœm. col. 4.]

[10] Plat. De Vit. Pont. Col. 1551. Liber. pp. 44, 5.]

[11] Id. Johan. XIII. p. 133.]

[12] Ex Libr. Pont. in Crabb. Concil. Col. Agripp. 1551. Tom. II. pp. 2, 4.]

[13] Johan. de Parrhis. de Potest. Reg. et Papal. cap. xiv. in Goldast. Mon. Rom. Imp. Tom. II. p. 127; where *deberet*.]

[14] Hervæus De Potestate Papæ, cap. xiii. 1567.]

[15] Eutrop. Tractat. de Jur. et Priv. Imp. in eod. Tom. I. pp. 8, 9; where *sciret ut in exilium mitteretur*.]

[16] Chronic. Abbat. Ursperg. Argent. 1537, p.

the emperor, coming into Italy, deposed three popes unlawfully made, by order of synod. Deposing of Kings.

Now, M. Harding, if you, with your rhetorical furniture, may cry out, "O what a divine power had the pope, that thus could depose a king!" why may not we likewise say, O what a divine power had the emperor, that thus could depose so many popes!

But that ye may the better see this wonderful "divinity and heavenly power" wherewith ye would so feign enfeoff the pope, a witness of your own saith thus: *Quod ... dicitur ... papam deposuisse regem Francorum, et loco ejus instituisse Pipinum, glossa ordinaria exponit [deposuit, id est], deponentibus consensit. Non enim legitur, quod [papa] Zacharias regem Franciæ deposuerit*[17]: "Whereas it is said, that the pope deposed the French king, and placed Pipinus in his room, the ordinary gloss expoundeth it thus: 'He deposed him, that is to say, he consented to them that did depose him.' For we read not that pope Zacharias[18] indeed ever deposed the French king." Johan. de Paris. cap. xv.[14]

The truth of the story is this: Forasmuch as Chilpericus the king seemed void of princely gravity, and had given himself over to pleasure and wantonness, and Pipinus, his lord marshal, a man full of wisdom and activity, had the government and burden of all the realm; the nobles of France, having agreed among[19] themselves to depose the one and to set up the other, sent unto pope Zachary as unto a wise man, to have his answer to this question: Whether were meeter to be king, he that carried only the name, and did nothing; or he that bare the burden of the whole? The pope was soon persuaded to give sentence with Pipinus, the lord marshal, against the king. Whereupon the king was shorn into an abbey, and made a monk: Pipinus, advanced[20] unto the state, gave the pope the exarchate or princehood of Ravenna, in part of recompence for[21] his good-will[22]. Paul. Æmil. Lib. ii. Gaguinus.

Whether the king, having nine years ruled his realm, were afterward deprived by right or by wrong, I will not reason. *Fasciculus Temporum* saith, "The kingdom was removed from the right heirs[23]."

The line of king Pipine endured and flourished a long while; and that (ye say) "was no obscure argument of heavenly approbation and divine providence." By such "approbation" and "providence," the Turk may claim: for he hath both longer continued, and much more flourished and increased his estate, than ever did the house of Pipine. But Cato was wont to say, *Multum est caliginis in rebus divinis*: "There is great darkness in God's matters." Plut. in Caton. Utic.

Yet, lest any man of ignorance happen herein to be deceived, this was the very true descent and flourishing fortune of king Pipine's race.

The first thereof was Charles the Great: In his time, saith Benvenutus Imolensis, *laceratum est imperium*[24]: "The state of the empire was torn in sunder." Benven. Imol. in Augustali.

The second was Ludovicus Pius: against him his own son Lotharius arose, and caused[25] him to be shorn as a monk, and to be thrust into an abbey, and his own mother the empress to be made a nun[26]. Paul. Æmil. Lib. iii.

The third was Lotharius: he oppressed his own brethren by violence, and afterward was deposed and made a monk.

The fourth was Ludovicus II.: he was unfortunate in all his doings, and was shamefully conquered by his brother.

229; where *anno Domini millesimo xlvi.* and *papas tres non digne constitutos.*]

[17 Quod &c quod Zacharias papa deposuit regem Francorum, et instituit loco ejus Pipinum, &c.—Johan. de Parrhis. De Potest. Reg. et Papal. cap. xv. in Goldast. Mon. Rom. Imp. Tom. II. p. 129. Conf. Corp. Jur. Canon. Lugd. 1624. Decret. Gratian. Decr. Sec. Pars, Caus. xv. Quæst. vi. Gloss. in can. 3. col. 1083.]

[18 Zachary, 1567, 1570.]

[19 Amongst, 1567.]

[20 Avanced, 1567, 1570.]

[21 Of, 1567.]

[22 Paul. Æmyl. De Reb. Gest. Franc. Par. 1544. Lib. II. foll. 31, &c. Gaguin. De Orig. et Gest. Franc. Lugd. 1497. Lib. III. fol. 18. 2.]

[23 ... regnum illud famosissimum transtulit [Zacharias] de veris heredibus ad genus Pippini propter legitimam causam.—Fascic. Temp. Venet. 1479. fol. 46.]

[24 Nam facta est divisio imperii ut imperium occidentale diceretur Romanorum, et orientale Græcorum; et imperium Romanum tunc transivit ad Francos.—Benven. Imol. Augustal. ad calc. Corn. Nepot. De Vit. Cat. Sen. &c. Fan. 1504. fol. g. iii.]

[25 Accused, 1570.]

[26 Paul. Æmyl. De Reb. Gest. Franc. Lib. III. fol. 53, &c. 55. 2.]

The fifth was Ludovicus III., whom for his doughty deeds they commonly call *Ludovicus nihili:* which is as much to say as "Lewis nobody."

Paul. Æmyl. in Chron.

The sixth was Carolus Secundus, named Calvus, as Benvenutus saith, *Vir lepore timidior*[1]: "A man more fearful and more cowardly than a hare." He was shortly slain with poison.

The seventh was Carolus III., as Benvenutus saith, [*Vir*] *deficiens* [*et*] *animo et corpore*[2]: "A man wanting both strength of body and wisdom of mind:" that is to say, both a coward and a fool.

The eighth was Arnulphus: he was eaten up with lice[3].

Benven. Imol. in August. Nihilo fœlicior patre. In eo defecit imperium in gente Carolorum.

The ninth was Ludovicus IV.[4], by the report of Benvenutus, a man of no better fortune, than his father. In him that house had an end[5]. This is that "noble Pipine's race," M. Harding, that could not so stand and flourish, as you say, without special "heavenly approbation and divine providence."

M. HARDING.

Philippus. Bonifacius VIII.

Concerning that ye say of king Philip surnamed le Bel, if we may believe Paulus Æmylius, the best writer of the French Chronicles, the cause was such between pope Bonifacius and that king, that, if he did not only excommunicate him, but also offered gift of his kingdom to Albert the emperor, as Platina your author herein writeth, he may seem therein to have done [a]*not altogether so evil as ye pretend. For, as both Æmylius and Platina do witness, the cause of their falling out was that, whereas the pope, being first sued unto by Cassanus, a christian prince, and a great conqueror in the east, to join with him for the recovery of the Holy Land, sent the bishop of Apamea to the French king for his necessary aid in that so common a quarrel of all Christendom, he, being offended, either that the suit was not first made to him, either for that the said bishop had done his embassage*[6] *with shew of more authority than the king thought it became him, or upon some private*[7] *grudge, did not only utterly refuse to send any help toward the voyage, but also contemptuously beside common order and cruelly committed the pope's legate to prison, and there kept him until such time as through the pope's interdict the king was compelled to set him at liberty*[8]. *Now of giving away his kingdom, this chief French historiographer maketh no mention. And, if the pope so did, why may he not seem to have done it* [b]*rather to fear him, and to reclaim his mind from disobedience? Verily Platina, writing it, declareth how, before the pope proceeded to that extremity, the French king did what in him lay* [c]*to withdraw the people of France from the obedience of the church and see apostolic*[9]*....*

[a] Not altogether so evil. A proper qualification.

[b] A jolly way to fray a king.

[c] By this divinity, if any kingdom refuse to be subject and thrall to the see of Rome, the pope may give the same away at his pleasure.

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

Here, M. Harding, ye stammer in your tale, and know not well what to say: "If the pope gave away the kingdom of France from the prince, he did it (ye say) to the intent to fear him." A pretty device to fray a king, to pull the crown imperial from his head.

Paral. Ursperg.

First, this pope Bonifacius is he of whom it was said, *Intravit ut vulpes: regnavit ut lupus: mortuus est ut canis*[10]: "He entered into the popedom as a fox: he reigned as a wolf: he died (in prison) as a dog." In solemn procession he went attired with the crown imperial and robe of majesty, as an emperor, and commanded the naked sword to be borne before him[11]. In the story of his life joined with his own book, named *Sextus Bonifacii* 8. it is written thus: *Moritur... hoc modo Bonifacius, qui imperatoribus, regibus, principibus, nationibus, populis, terrorem potius quam religionem injicere conabatur*[12]: "Thus died pope Bonifacius, a

In Vit. Bonif. VIII. In Sext. Id. in Plat.

[1 Benven. Imol. Augustal. ad calc. Corn. Nepot. De Vit. Cat. Sen. &c. Fan. 1504. fol. g. iiii.
Paul. Æmyl. De Regib. Franc. Chronic. Par. 1543. fol. B iiii.]

[2 Benven. Imol. Augustal. fol. g. iiii.]

[3 ... dissolutus a pediculis rosus est.—Ibid.]

[4 3, 1567.]

[5 ... non felicior patre: nam sub eo defecit imperium in progenie Carolorum.—Ibid. g. iiii. 2.]

[6 Ambassade, Conf. and Def. 1567, 1570.]

[7 Some other private, Conf. and Def. 1567.]

[8 Paul. Æmyl. De Reb. Gest. Franc. Par. 1544. Lib. VIII. foll. 169. 2, 70.]

[9 Plat. De Vit. Pont. Col. 1551. Bonifac. VIII. p. 213.]

[10 Chronic. Abbat. Ursperg. Argent. 1537. p. 365. Conf. Ans. Ryd. Catal. Annor. et Princ. Bern. 1540. fol. 52. 2.]

[11 Rer. Mem. Paraleip. ad calc. Chronic. Abbat. Ursperg. pp. 365, 6.]

[12 Vit. Bonifac. Octav. ad calc. Sext. Decretal. Par. 1524. fol. ult. This life is not in the edition

man that sought more to strike terror into emperors, kings, princes, people, and nations, than true religion."

This Bonifacius, saith Sabellicus, "sent to the French king for money, as he pretended, towards the recovery of Jerusalem. The bishop of Apamea, being his legate in that behalf, uttered certain great words in the presence of the king, and threatened him, unless he would grant it. The king, not quietly bearing such presumptuous boldness, commanded the apostolic legate unto ward. This injury so inflamed the pope's choler, that immediately he sent the archbishop of Narbon to the king, to require him to set his legate at liberty; otherwise to tell him, that for his wickedness the right of his kingdom was fallen to the church of Rome[13]." Thus Sabellicus, in favour of the pope, thought it good somewhat to shadow the matter. Sabel. Ennead. ix. Lib. vii.

But others thereof have written thus: *Bonifacius VIII. mandat regi, se esse dominum in spiritualibus et temporalibus in universo mundo; utque rex recognoscat regnum Franciæ a se. Contrarium enim sentire et tenere, hæreticum esse*[14]: "Pope[15] Bonifacius VIII. sent unto the French king, and told him that he was lord both in spiritual and also in temporal matters, throughout the world; and therefore that the king should hold his kingdom at his hand. For otherwise to think and hold, he said it was heresy." This is it that in the name of the pope is noted in your gloss: *Quicunque præceptis nostris non obedierit, peccatum idololatriæ et paganitatis incurrit*[16]: "Whosoever obeyeth not our commandments falleth into the sin of idolatry and infidelity." Hereof Urspergensis writeth thus: *Habes, [Roma], quod... sitisti: decanta canticum; quia per malitiam, ... non per... religionem orbem vicisti*[17]: "O Rome, thou hast now that thou hast so long thirsted after. Now sing merrily; for by thy malice, not by religion, thou hast conquered the world." Martinus Polonus. Dist. 81. Si quis, in Gloss. Abb. Ursperg.

The king, being moved herewith, commanded that none of his clergy should come to the pope's council: he openly burnt the pope's writs: he commanded the pope's legate to depart out of his realm: he forbade that any money should be made thence to the pope: he gave out proclamations, that none of his subjects should go to Rome; and in the synod at Paris he charged the pope with pride, ambition, murder, simony, and heresy[18]. Paul. Æmyl. Plat. Sabel. Naucler.

Thus much of the dealing of the crown of France unto a stranger; that is to say, of the "faith and reverence that the pope beareth to kings and princes."

Here followed somewhat of the spoiling of the duke of Savoy, and of the altering of the state of Florence; which things I thought it best to pass over, as not worthy of any answer.

The Apology, Chap. vi. Division 4.

We are accloyed with examples in this behalf, and it should be very tedious to reckon up all the notorious practices[19] of the bishops of Rome. But[20] of which side were they, I beseech you, that[21] poisoned Henry the emperor, even in the receiving of the sacrament? which poisoned Victor the pope, even in the receiving of the chalice? which

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Lugd. 1624. Conf. Plat. De Vit. Pont. Bonifac. VIII. p. 213.]

[13 ... misit itaque ad Philippum Galliæ regem. Apamensis antistes, qui legatione illa functus est, quum nihil precibus a rege impetraret, minaciter id petere ausus, convertit in se illius iram: qui hominis audaciam pertesus, etsi apostolicum legatum, custodiri tamen jussit. Irritatus ea injuria pontifex, non territus, jubet archidiaconum Narbonensem ad regem ire, eumque monefacere ut Apamensem antistitem custodiæ eximat: qui, si minus esset dicto obediens, omnibus audientibus testaretur, Galliæ regnum ad ecclesiam devolutum.—Sabell. Rapsod. Hist. Par. 1509. Ennead. IX. Lib. VII. Pars III. fol. 122.]

[14 Bonifacius octavus...literas suas transmisit... regi...quod quum ipse papa dominus esset in spiritualibus et temporalibus in universo mundo, volebat quod recognosceret regnum Franciæ ab eodem: et contrarium sentire, hæreticum judicabat.—Mart. Polon. Chronic. Antv. 1574. p. 438.]

[15 *Pope* is not in 1567.]

[16 Corp. Jur. Canon. Lugd. 1624. Decret. Gratian. Decr. Prim. Pars, Dist. lxxxi. Gloss. in can. 15. col. 388; where *incurret.*]

[17 Chronic. Abbat. Ursperg. p. 321. But this exclamation is made on events occurring before the time of Boniface VIII.]

[18 Paul. Æmyl. De Reb. Gest. Franc. Lib. VIII. fol. 169. 2; Plat. De Vit. Pont. Bonifac. VIII. p. 213; Sabell. Rapsod. Hist. Ennead. IX. Lib. VII. Pars III. fol. 122; Naucler. Memor. Chronic. Tubing. 1516. Vol. II. Gen. XLIV. fol. 242.]

[19 Deeds, Conf.]

[20 Conf. has not *but.*] [21 Which, Conf.]

Poison in the Sacrament.

poisoned our king John, king of England, in a drinking-cup? Whosoever at least they were, and of what sect soever, I am sure they were neither Lutherans, nor Zuinglians.

M. HARDING.

... The fiends of hell were not yet let loose, that begat Lutherans, Zuinglians, and Calvinists. And hereof we understand the youth of your church, which, having divided itself from the old and catholic church, is no other but the malignant church and synagogue of Satan.

To answer your demands, whosoever they were that poisoned these great personages (if they were poisoned at all), good men were they not, neither the doers, nor the counsellors. Henry of Luxenburg it was who was poisoned, by report; whom your Latin book, printed among the Huguenots, calleth Henry the Seventh[1]*: M. Doctor Haddon, in his answer to Osorius, accounteth him the Fourth*[2]*: in both your English translations (that I have seen) he is called only Henry. As he laid siege to the city of Florence, and had now brought the citizens to despair of their safety, when manly courage might not serve, they betook them to cowardly malice. First they poisoned (as it is said) the mind of a friar Dominican with gold, that afterward he should adventure to poison the emperor's body with venom. Paulus Æmylius saith, that he died of a sickness, which he fell into at Bonconvento, as he journeyed from Pisa thither*[3]*. Onuphrius, writing of his death, saith that he died at Bonconvento, a town in the territory of Sienna, and maketh no mention of his poisoning*[4]*. Cornelius Cornepolita writing this story, seemeth to give little credit unto it: for he addeth on hearsay*[5]*,* Ut aiunt, *"as they say," as though it were a matter avouched by no certainty, but by hearsay. Nauclerus reporteth that the order of those religious men is said to have a testimonial in writing, witnessing the foresaid friar to have been innocent, and that the whole was but a feigned tale*[6]*.*

Lib. viii.

In Scholiis in Platinam.

In Chronographia.

Victor the Third pope is mentioned by Martinus Polonus to have been poisoned[7] *by the malicious procurement of the emperor Henry the Third, because he stood in defence of Gregory the Seventh, whom the emperor so much hated and persecuted. Vincentius holdeth contrary opinion, that he died of a dysentery, as Platina reciteth*[8]*.*

Touching king John of England, they that write that he was poisoned in a drinking-cup by monks, themselves make no better than a fable of it; and whosoever write it, refer themselves to hearsay, and to the popular fame. The author of your Acts and Monuments reporteth, that many opinions are among the chronicle-writers of his death[9]*.... As ye proceed in your malicious railing against the pope, ye spit out your poison, demanding certain questions, short in words, but full stuffed with false and cankered slanders.*

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

The poisoning of that noble emperor, Henry of Lucenburg, in the sacrament, whereby it appeareth how far forth the states of the world ought to trust you, ye would have us to pass lightly over as a fable. Of your Onuphrius and Cornelius, and other like parasites, we make no reckoning. The truth of the story is reported by many. Urspergensis saith: *Quidam religiosus porrexit imperatori*

Paral. Ursperg. Anno 1313.

[1 See Vol. III. page 22, note 5.]

[2 Haddon and Fox against Jerome Osorius, Lond. 1581. Book III. fol. 302. 2. In this, the translation by Bell, the emperor is called Henry VII. This part of the work was written by Fox. Conf. Contr. Hieron. Osor. Resp. Apolog. Lond. 1577. Lib. III. fol. 149. 2.]

[3 In itinere morbo implicitus, ad Bonum Conventum ... substitit: ibique ... non sine veneni suspicione, discessit.—Paul. Æmyl. De Reb. Gest. Franc. Par. 1544. Lib. VIII. fol. 174. Conf. fol. 173; where the secret counsels of Clement and Robert are spoken of.]

[4 The editor has not found any notice of this emperor's death in the annotations of Onuphrius on Platina, neither has he been able to meet with the writer next mentioned, Cornelius Cornepolita.]

[5 These two words are not in Conf.]

[6 Nauclerus relates the story of the poisoning, and then adds: Dicitur tamen ordo prædicatorum habere literas testantes fratrem prædictum fuisse innocentem et totum esse confictum.—Naucler. Memor. Chronic. Tubing. 1516. Vol. II. Gen. XLIV. fol. 246.]

[7 Mart. Polon. Chronic. Antv. 1574. p. 363.]

[8 ... mox dysenteria dissolvitur, et non multo post moritur. Fertur autem opinio, quod veneno extinctus sit ad primam missam in calice misso.—Vincent. Bellov. Specul. Maj. Duac. 1624. Lib. XXV. cap. lxxxii. Tom. IV. p. 1031. Conf. Plat. De Vit. Pont. Col. 1551. Vict. III. p. 154.]

[9 Fox, Acts and Mon. Lond. 1684. Vol. I. p. 290.]

intoxicatam eucharistiam[10], *&c.*: "A certain religious man ministered unto the emperor the sacrament poisoned. The emperor having received it, and returning again unto his place, thought that a piece of cold ice was past along thorough his body." Poison in the Sacrament.

Baptista Egnatius saith, it was wrought by the policy[11] of Robertus, king of Sicilia[12], moved thereto, as Aventinus saith, by pope Clement V.[13] The same ye shall find recorded in Carion[14], in *Supplemento Chronicorum*[15], in Ravisius Textor[16], and sundry others. Bapt. Egnat. Aventinus. Carion. Suppl. Chron. Text. in Offic. Veneno extineti.

The like record there is found of poisoning of Victor III. in the chalice: for the more credit whereof it may please you to read Martinus Polonus the pope's Penitentiary, Volaterranus, Matthæus Palmerius, The Supply of Chronicles, *Fasciculus Temporum*, Textor[17], and others.

Touching the death of king John, whether he were poisoned by a monk, or no, I will not strive; referring myself[18] therein to the credit of our Chronicles: the common report whereof, together with the general opinion of the people, is this, that he was destroyed with poison. But, whatsoever were the cause of his death, Matthias Parisiensis saith thus: *Papa Innocentius sententionaliter definivit, &c.*[19] "Pope Innocentius determined by sentence, that king John should be deposed from his estate. And he enjoined the execution thereof to the French king, for remission of his sins, promising him also faithfully that, if he so did, he and his successors should enjoy the kingdom of England for ever." So much is England bound to reverence and obey the pope. Matth. Paris. Anno 1211.

The Apology, Chap. vii. Division 2.

What is he at[20] this day which alloweth the mightiest kings and monarchs of the world to kiss his blessed feet? Kiss the Pope's foot.

M. HARDING.

It is he (say we) that humbly for his own person refuseth such honour, that calleth and thinketh himself servum servorum Dei, *"the servant of the servants of God." But, when he seeth the great powers and princes of the world humble themselves to Christ, Lord of all lords, and King of all kings, in the person of him, whose vicar on earth he is, and chief deputy*[21] *in those things that be to God-ward; not unmindful what he is of himself, for the room's sake that he beareth, and for his honour whose vicegerent he is, the rather also for* [a]*example of humility and obedience, so to be taken and learned of others of inferior degree, he suffereth that honour to be done, which is more than a mere man can require. Neither is this the pride of popes at*

[a] A proper school of humility.

[10] Et porrexit intoxicatum: imperator accepit, et ad sedem suam rediit. Et videbatur sibi, quod glacies frigidissima transiisset sua intestina.—Rer. Mem. Paraleip. ad calc. Chronic. Abbat. Ursperg. Argent. 1537. p. 373.]

[11] Police, 1570.]

[12] ...Arretiique agens post Robertum regno privatum, dum Florentinis immineret, qui jam de salute desperarant, veneno in eucharistia dato, periit anno imperii v.—J. B. Egnat. De Princ. Rom. Par. 1544. Lib. III. p. 388.]

[13] Aventinus simply says: ...a Bernardo Dominicano (qui auro male ab inimicis Cæsaris conciliatus fuerat) &c.—Aventin. Annal. Boior. Ingolst. 1554. Lib. VII. p. 746.]

[14] ...monachus quidam prædicatorii ordinis subornatus a Florentinis perdidit Henricum veneno, quod eucharistiæ illitum dederat ei.—J. Carion. Chronic. Libell. Par. 1543. Lib. III. fol. 117.]

[15] Subornaverunt enim (ut fertur) Florentini, ab eo gravissime infensi, pollicitationibus et præmiis quendam monachum, qui eucharistiam veneno illitam ei dedit. Cujus mors Florentinos et Robertum regem admodum lætificavit.—Supp. Chronic. Par. 1538. Lib. XIII. fol. 313. 2.]

[16] Illud autem venenum datum est opera Roberti Siciliæ regis.—Ravis. Textor. Offic. Par. 1532. fol. 27.]

[17] ...veneno in calice immixto dicitur extinctus. —Mart. Polon. Chronic. p. 363. Conf. R. Volaterr. Comm. Urb. Par. 1603. Anthrop. Lib. XXII. col. 799; Matt. Palmer. Florent. Chronic. Contin. Chronic. Euseb. &c. Basil. 1536. fol. 119. 2; Supp. Chronic. Lib. XII. fol. 277. 2; Fasc. Temp. Venet. 1479. fol. 54. 2; Ravis. Textor. Offic. fol. 27. 2.]

[18] Meself, 1567, 1570.]

[19] Tunc papa... sententialiter definivit, ut rex Anglorum Johannes a solio regni deponeretur...Ad hujus quoque sententiæ executionem scripsit dominus papa potentissimo regi Francorum Philippo, quatenus in remissionem omnium suorum peccaminum hunc laborem assumeret, et, rege Anglorum a solio regni expulso, ipse et successores sui regnum Angliæ jure perpetuo possiderent.—Matt. Paris, Hist. Maj. Lond. 1571. (A.D. 1212) p. 310.]

[20] He (say ye) at, Conf.]

[21] Depute, Conf.]

Kiss the Pope's foot.

these days only, as ye object; but the example of such humility in princes we can prove to be ancient.

The great king Charlemagne, who afterward was created[1] *emperor, could not be withholden by the pope Adrian the First, but at the first meeting he would kiss his feet*[2]. *Many other emperors and kings have of old times*[3] *done likewise. And, lest the sovereignty of such honour exhibited unto him should in his own conceit lift him higher than for the degree of human condition,* [b]*to that purpose serveth the stool of natural easement at his creation, whereof your surmise is* [c]*very vile, to temper the highness of that vocation with the base consideration of human infirmity*[6] *and necessities.*

Platina in vita Adriani.

[b] Fie for shame! Cannot the pope learn humility, but by a stool of easement[4]?

[c] "Untruth. For it is not surmised by us, but recorded by your own writers. Sabellicus saith, *Ut sedentis genitalia ab ultimo diacono attrectentur*[5]." Chrysost. in Matt. Hom. 73.

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

What thing is there either so vile or so horrible but by such proper excuses may soon be smoothed? Chrysostom saith: *Hæc, etsi minima esse videantur, tamen magnorum sunt causæ malorum; nam et civitates et ecclesias sæpenumero everterunt. Propterea nec a lacrymis abstinere possum, cum primos istos consessus et salutationes audiam, ac in mentem veniat, quot quantaque hinc mala in ecclesia Dei orta sint*[7]: "These things, notwithstanding they seem small, yet are they the causes of great evils: for oftentimes have they overthrown both cities and churches. Therefore I cannot abstain from weeping, when I hear these[8] superiorities and salutations, and consider how many and how great evils have grown thereof in the church of God." St Hierome, much misliking the state of his time, saith thus: *Episcopi, velut in aliqua sublimi specula constituti, vix dignantur videre mortales, et alloqui conservos suos*[9]: "The bishops, as if they were placed in some high castle, scarcely vouchsafe to look upon poor mortal men, and to speak unto their fellow-servants."

Hieron. in Epist. ad Gal. cap. iv.

Touching the bishop of Rome, it is not for nought that St Gregory saith: *Rex superbiæ in foribus est*[10]: "The king of pride is even at hand." In the pope's own book of the ceremonies of Rome, it is written thus: *Electus imperator cum suis omnibus servato ordine... per gradus ascendit suggestum: et ut primum videt pontificem, detecto capite, illum genu terram contingens veneratur; et iterum, cum appropinquat ad gradus sedis, genu flectit: demum [ubi] ad pontificis pedes pervenit, illos in reverentiam Salvatoris devote osculatur*[11]: "The emperor elect, going in array with all his train, passeth up the stairs into the scaffold; and, as soon as he seeth the pope, he worshippeth him with bare head, touching the ground with his knee. Again, when he cometh to the foot of the pope's throne, he kneeleth down. Last of all, when he cometh unto the pope's feet, he kisseth them devoutly in the reverence of our Saviour." This is ordered as a special ceremony, and appointed unto the emperor as part of his duty.

Greg. Lib. iv. Epist. 38.

Cerem. Lib. i. Sect. 5. cap. iii.

Devote osculatur.

Likewise it is written of the empress, as concerning her duty: *Imperatrix coronata mox osculatur pedem pontificis*[12]: "The empress being crowned immediately kisseth the pope's foot."

Cerem. Lib. i. Sect. 5. cap. vi.

Again of the pope himself it is written thus: *Papa nemini omnino mortalium reverentiam facit, assurgendo manifeste, aut caput inclinando, seu detegendo*[13]: "The pope himself giveth no manner of reverence to any man alive, either openly by standing up, or by bowing down, or by uncovering his head."

Cerem. Lib. iii. cap. ii.

"But the pope (say you) humbly for his own person refuseth such honour, and hereby teacheth kings and emperors, and all their subjects, to be humble." A

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[1] Create, Conf. and Def. 1567, 1570.]

[2] ...nec retinere eum potuit, quo minus pedes suos exoscularetur.—Plat. De Vit. Pont. Col. 1551. Hadr. I. p. 106.]

[3] Time, Conf. and Def. 1567, 1570.]

[4] By a draught, Def. 1567.]

[5] Sabell. Rapsod. Hist. Par. 1509. Ennead. ix. Lib. i. Pars III. fol. 69. 2.]

[6] Infirmities, Conf. and Def. 1567, 1570.]

[7] Chrysost. Op. Par. 1718-38. In Matt. Hom. lxxii. Tom. VII. p. 703.]

[8] Hear of these, 1567.]

[9] ... episcoporum, qui velut &c.—Hieron. Op. Par. 1693-1706. Comm. Lib. II. in Epist. ad Galat. cap. iv. Tom. IV. Pars I. col. 273.]

[10] Rex superbiæ prope est.—Gregor. Magni Papæ I. Op. Par. 1705. Epist. Lib. v. Indict. XIII. Ad Johan. Episc. Epist. xviii. Tom. II. col. 744.]

[11] Rit. Eccles. sive Sacr. Cerim. Rom. Eccles. Col. Agrip. 1557. Lib. I. Sect. v. cap. iii. foll. 46, 7; where *pontificem videt*, and *terram tangens.*]

[12] Ibid. cap. vi. fol. 62. 2; where *coronata imperatrix.*]

[13] Ibid. Lib. III. Sect. i. cap. ii. fol. 260. 2; where *Romanus pontifex nemini.*]

strange case, to teach humility in the school of pride! Such humility taught Julius Cæsar, Diocletian, and Maximinus. Julius Cæsar raught out his foot for Pompeius Pœnus to kiss, that folks might see his golden slipper set with stones[14]. Senec.

Pomponius Lætus saith: *Diocletianus edicto sanxit, &c.*[15]: "Diocletian commanded by proclamation, that all men should fall down and kiss his feet; whereunto also he added a certain reverence, adorning his shoes with gold and diamonds." Maximinus also afterward did the like[15]. Pomp. Læt. in Diocl. Alexander ab Alexandro.

Such humility shall antichrist teach, advancing[16] himself above all that is worshipped or called God. 2 Thess. ii.

Such humility the devil took upon him to teach, when he said to Christ: "I will give thee all these things, if thou wilt fall down and worship me." Matt. iv.

Thus may the pope call himself "Lord of lords, King of kings," and set his foot on emperor's necks; and yet nevertheless, if he can frame a new title, and say he is *Servus servorum Dei*, "The servant of God's servants," it is no pride; it is but humility.

Antoninus saith: *Non minor honor debetur pàpæ quam angelis: unde papa recipit a fidelibus adorationes, prostrationes, et oscula pedum; quod non permisit angelus a Johanne evangelista sibi fieri*[17]: "There is no less honour due unto the pope than unto the angels of God. Therefore the pope suffereth the faithful to worship him, and[18] to fall down before him, and to kiss his feet; which things the angel of God would not suffer St John the evangelist to do unto him." Anton. in Summ. Par. iii. Tit. xxii. cap. v. §. 4.

This, M. Harding, is no "malicious railing," as ye call it, "nor spite, nor poison, nor untruth stuffed with false and cankered slanders." By the report of your own doctors, and by your own confession, it is the truth.

"The porphyry stool of easement serveth (ye say) to put the pope in mind of his humanity;" that is to say, that he may remember himself in the midst of all his glory to be a man. No, no, M. Harding, your own authors and stories can tell you, that stool serveth to put the pope in remembrance of his virility, that the world may know he is no woman.

But let your imagination stand for true. Yet may we think your popes are so forgetful, or so dull-headed, or so blockish, that they have need to be taught by so vile examples to know themselves? Certainly this is a mystical kind of stool of easement.

We cannot lightly lack mysteries at his hands, if so homely a place be so full of mysteries. King Alexander the Great understood himself to be a man mortal, as others were, and not a god, as he was borne in hand[19], for that he was sometimes of natural necessity forced to sleep: but Christ's vicar, Peter's successor, the doctor of all doctors, the father of all fathers, the master and teacher of all the world, were it not for a "stool of easement," would quite forget his own humanity, and could never remember himself to be a man. Plut. in Alexand.

THE APOLOGY, Chap. vii. Division 3.

What is he that[20] commandeth the emperor to go by him at his horse-bridle, and the French king to hold his stirrup?

M. HARDING.

What is he[21], *[a]we know not, [a]nor you neither, sir Defender. This we know, that in these words most impudently you belie the pope: for never was there pope that commanded either French king or emperor to do the service you speak of. Part of that I have read*[22] *pertaining hereunto I will here recite:*

[a] Untruths, two together. Read the answer.

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[14] Senec. de Benef. Lib. II. cap. xii. init.]

[15] Diocletianus edicto sanxit, uti omnes sine generis discrimine prostrati pedes exoscularentur: quibus etiam venerationem quandam adhibuit, exornans calceamenta auro, gemmis et margaritis.—Pomp. Læt. Rom. Hist. Compend. Dioclet. in Hist. Rom. Script. Var. Par. 1544. p. 212.

Alex. ab Alex. Genial. Dier. Libr. Lugd. Bat. 1673. Lib. II. cap. xix. Tom. I. pp. 418, 31.]

[16] Avancing, 1567, 1570.]

[17] Antonin. Summ. Basil. 1511. Pars III. Tit. xxii. cap. v. Sect. 4. fol. HH. 4. 2.]

[18] 1567 omits *and*.]

[19] These thirteen words are not in 1567.]

[20] He (say you) that, Conf.)

[21] He is, Conf. and Def. 1567.]

[22] Readen, Conf. and Def. 1567, 1570.]

The Pope's Bridle. The Pope's Stirrup.

The worthiest and greatest prince that ever was in earth, Constantine the Great, to witness openly the reverence which he bare in his heart to Christ our Saviour, and to St Peter, whose successor the pope is, as likewise Christ's vicar in earth, disdained not to honour St Sylvester, pope in his time, with doing [b] *the office of a footman to him, and with leading his horse by the bridle: wherein he seemeth, as first of all emperors he professed the faith of Christ openly, so first of all princes to have given to the posterity an example of humility. That no man doubt of it, this much I find recorded by an old father of the Greek church, Matthæus Hieromonachus, as uttered by Constantine himself:* Ἡμεῖς δὲ στράτορος ὀφφίκιον ὑπελθόντες, καὶ τὰ χαλινὰ τοῦ ἵππου αὐτοῦ κατέχοντες, τῆς αὐλῆς τῶν ἱερῶν αὐτοῦ ἔξιμεν ἀνακτόρων, αἰδοῖ καὶ φόβῳ τοῦ κυρίου μου τοῦ ἁγίου συνεχόμενοι Πέτρου[2]: *which in English is thus*[3] *much: "Submitting ourself to the office of a footman, and holding his horse by the bridle, we lead him forth out of his sacred palace in the worship and reverence of St Peter."*

[b] All this is a great untruth, and a peevish fable. στράτορος ὀφφίκιον. This is Greek even for a pope.

That sithence both emperors and French kings, of humility and devotion, and to witness their humble obedience to Christ in his vicar, have done the like service, yea, though the pope shewed himself never so unwilling thereto, we find it reported by[4] *sundry good records.* [c] *But that he ever commanded any such service to be done unto him, ye can never shew it by any indifferent and credible witness. Paulus Æmylius, an Italian of Verona, in the second book of his Chronicles, which both diligently and eloquently he wrote of France, describeth how honourably Pipine, that worthy king of France, received Stephen the pope, that succeeded Zacharias, when he came into his realm: he both kissed his feet, and went by him at his horse-bridle*[5]*....*

[c] Untruth, most manifest. For it is thus ordered in the pope's own pontifical, and in his own book of ceremonies.

The like honour of holding the stirrup would Charles the Fifth[6]*, the late great emperor, have done at Bononia to pope Clement the Seventh, had not the pope with much ado put him from it....*

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

This thing sir Defender knoweth; notwithstanding you, M. Harding, dissemble it cunningly, and will not be known that ye know it: neither doth sir Defender, as you say, by these words "impudently belie the pope." For trial hereof, he referreth you to the pope's own book of Holy Ceremonies; wherein it is particularly appointed, and laid out in order to avoid confusion, what each estate ought and is bound to do.

Thus therefore it is appointed: *Cum papa per scalam ... ascendit, &c.*[7]: "When the pope taketh his stairs to mount on horseback, the greatest prince that is present, whether he be king or emperor, holdeth his stirrup, and afterward leadeth his horse a little way forward by the bridle. But, if there were two kings in presence, the more honourable of them should hold the bridle of the right side, and the other of the left. If there happen no king to be present, then let the worthiest persons lead his horse. But if the pope would not ride, but be borne on men's shoulders in a chair, then must four of the worthiest princes, yea, the emperor himself, or any other mighty monarch, if he be present, bear the chair, pope and all, a little way forward upon their shoulders."

Cerem. Lib. I. cap. viii. Etiamsi imperator aut quivis maximus princeps adesset. Sellam ipsam cum pontifice in humeris aliquantulum portare debet.

Again: *Imperator, traditis pomo et sceptro, &c.*[8]: "The emperor delivering

Cerem. Lib. i. Sect. 5. cap. iv.

[1 Shameless, Def. 1567.]

[2 Const. Donat. ex Matt. Blastar. Synops. Jur. Canon. 1610. pp. 26, 7.]

[3 This, Conf. and Def. 1567, 1570.]

[4 In, Conf. and Def. 1567.]

[5 ...pedes, ut ferunt, exosculatus, coerceri non potuit, quin in equo sedentem ipse pedibus ad frenum prosecutus in regiam deduceret.—Paul. Æmyl. De Reb. Gest. Franc. Par. 1544. Lib. II. fol. 33.]

[6 First, Def, 1570, 1609, 1611.]

[7 Cum &c. equum, major princeps qui præsens adest, etiam si rex esset, aut imperator, stapham equi papalis tenet, et deinde ducit equum per frenum aliquantulum...Sin vero esset alius rex, dignior a dextra, alius a sinistra frenum tenerent. Si non sint reges, digniores ducant equum...Si vero pontifex non equo, sed sella veheretur, quatuor majores principes, etiam si inter eos imperator aut quivis maximus princeps adesset, in honorem Salvatoris Jesu Christi sellam ipsam cum pontifice humeris suis portare aliquantulum debent.—Rit. Eccles. sive Sacr. Cerim. Rom. Eccles. Col. Agrip. 1557. Lib. I. Sect. ii. cap. iii. fol. 35.]

[8 Cæsar...traditis &c. uni ex suis, prævenit ad equum pontificis, et in honorem Salvatoris nostri Jesu Christi, cujus vices pontifex in terris gerit, tenet stapham quoad pontifex equum ascenderit. Et deinde accepto equi fræno per aliquos passus ducit equum pontificis. Pontifex, dum &c. debet aliquantulum modeste recusare, et tandem cum aliquibus bonis verbis honorem non in personam suam, sed illius cujus locum tenet, recipiendo permittit illum aliquantulum progredi.—Ibid. Sect. v. cap. iv. fol. 56.]

over his golden apple and his sceptre to one of his men, cometh unto the pope's horse, and in honour of our Lord Jesus Christ, whose person in earth the pope beareth, he holdeth the stirrup until the pope be mounted; and afterward he taketh the bridle and leadeth forth his horse. While the emperor doth these profitable offices, the pope ought modestly a little to refuse the same; and yet afterward, with certain good and gentle words, taking that honour as done to Christ, and not unto himself, he holdeth himself contented."

The Pope's Bridle. The Pope's Stirrup.

Further, it is appointed thus: *Caudam... pluvialis portabit nobilior laicus, qui erit in curia, etiamsi esset imperator aut rex*[9]: "The most noble layman that shall be in the court shall bear up the train of the pope's cope, yea, though it be an emperor or a king." Again: "*Let the most noble layman, whether he be king or emperor, bring water to wash the pope's hands. And while the pope washeth, let all the bishops and laymen kneel down[11]."

Dum imperator hæc utilitatis officia vult exhibere, &c. Tandem cum[10] aliquibus bonis verbis recipiendo permittit, &c. Cerem. Lib. i. cap. viii.

Again: *Pontifice... sedente, &c.*[12]: "*While the pope is yet sitting at the table, the noblest man within the court, be he emperor, be he king, shall be brought to the pope's credence, to give him water."

* Cerem. Lib. i. Sect. 3.

Again: †*Primum ferculum portabit nobilior princeps, sive imperator sit sive rex*[13]: "The first dish the noblest prince shall carry, whether he be emperor or king." Again: ‡*Rex in collatione portabit primum potum*[14]: "When the pope is at breakfast, the king shall bear his first cup." And again: *Pocula portentur, &c.*[15]: "Let the pope's cups be borne by the noblemen or orators being present; and let the clerk of the ceremonies begin with the worthiest estate, yea, though he be king or emperor."

* Cerem. Lib. ii. cap. x. Etiamsi rex aut imperator sit.

† Cerem. Lib. i. Sect. 3.

‡ Cerem. Lib. i. Sect. 13. cap. ii.

Now I trust, M. Harding, of your courtesy ye will confess that sir Defender in these words hath not so "impudently belied the pope." The pope's own book of ordinances and ceremonies, that directeth all orders, saith thus:

"The emperor shall hold the pope's stirrup."

"Let the emperor lead the pope's horse."

"The emperor must bear the pope's chair on his shoulder."

"The emperor shall bear up the pope's train."

"Let the emperor bring the bason and ewer to the pope."

"The emperor shall give the pope water."

"The emperor shall carry the pope's first dish."

"The emperor shall carry the pope's first cup."

Thus may we go to the pope to school to "learn humility[16]." For excuse hereof perhaps ye will say, These were the abuses of old times; but now all such disorders are well reformed. Therefore it may please you to remember, that the self-same ceremonies, touching kings' and emperors' duties, have been lately renewed and confirmed, and published abroad into the world, word by word as they were before, without any manner alteration, even in the pope's own Pontifical, and that even now newly printed at Venice, in the year of our Lord a thousand five hundred three-score and one[17]; whereby it may appear ye are ashamed of nothing, be it never so shameful. What truth therefore, M. Harding, is in your word? Or with what countenance could ye so boldly say, "that the pope ever commanded any such service to be done unto him by the emperor, ye can never shew it by any indifferent and credible witness?" I doubt not but the pope's own witness is unto you of sufficient credit; and in his own case it must needs to himself seem indifferent. Verily Gregorius Haimburgensis saith that

Gregor. Haimb. in Appellat. Sigism.

[9] Ibid. Sect. ii. cap. iii. fol. 26. 2.]

[10] Eum, 1611.]

[11] Nobilior laicus, etiam imperator aut rex, aquam ad lavandas pontificis manus, primo ferat hoc ordine...Dum papa lavat manus, prælati et laici omnes genuflectunt.—Ibid. Sect. iii. fol. 40.]

[12] Pontifice... sedente nobilissimus totius curiæ, etiamsi &c. ducetur ad credentiam papæ ad dandam aquam.—Ibid. Lib. II. Sect. i. cap. x. fol. 163.]

[13] Ibid. Lib. I. Sect. iii. fol. 41. 2; where *imperator sive rex sit.*]

[14] ...in convivio portabit primum ferculum, et in collatione primum potum.—Ibid. Sect. xiii. cap. ii. fol. 120. 2.]

[15] ...pocula, quæ portantur per nobiliores proceres sive oratores præsentes, clerico cerimoniarum ordinante... et incipiente a nobiliori etiam si esset rex, aut imperator.—Ibid. Lib. II. Sect. i. cap. x. fol. 163. 2.]

[16] This sentence is not in 1567.]

[17] Pontifical. Rom. Venet. 1561. De Process. Pont. ad Eccles. Later., De Coronat. Imper. et Imperatr., De Process. Pont. et Cæs. per urb. Pars I. foll. 46. 2, 48, 82, 3.]

pope Adrian II. was highly displeased with the emperor Fredericus, for that he so unskilfully and so unmannerly held his left stirrup, whereas his duty had been to hold the right; and therefore utterly refused to give him his blessing, notwithstanding he desired it humbly upon his [1]knee[2]. Hereby it plainly appeareth that in all offices and services the pope useth the emperor as his man. Therefore Aventinus reporteth these two verses, written sometime of the emperor Lotharius the Second:

Avent. in Fred. I.

Rex venit ad fores, jurans per urbis honores;
Post homo fit papæ, sumit quo dante coronam[3]:

"The king or emperor cometh to the gates, and sweareth by the honour of the city;
And afterward becometh the pope's man, at whose hands he receiveth the crown."

That Pipinus so much abased himself to pope Stephen, it is no marvel. The proverb is common: "One hand claweth another." The pope was advanced[4] by Pipine; and Pipine was likewise advanced[4] by the pope. But hereof we have spoken before.

Where ye say, "The emperor Constantine the Great was footman to the pope," I am much ashamed of your vanity, that, being a man of wisdom and learning, ye should thus seek to mock the world with childish fables.

Ye allege Matthæus Hieromonachus to prove a fable by a fable. If ye would dazzle your reader's eyes, for that ye allege his words in Greek, understand you that his peevish Greek was taken out of your peevish Latin. And yet is the same Greek so fond and so full of folly, that ye were ashamed truly to turn it into English. For thus it standeth: Αἰδοῖ καὶ φόβῳ τοῦ κυρίου μου τοῦ ἁγίου συνεχόμενοι Πέτρου[5]: that is, "In the worship and fear of my lord blessed Peter." Ye durst not to make the emperor Constantine so rude to say plainly[6] that Peter was his lord; and therefore ye thought it better to corrupt and alter your author's words. Yet such vain fables and trifles must ye bring in, "to put us," as ye say, "quite out of doubt." But hereof we shall say more hereafter.

The Apology, Chap. vii. Division 4.

Franciscus Dandalus.

Who hurled under his table Francis Dandalus, the duke of Venice, king of Creta and Cypres, fast bound with chains, to feed of bones among his dogs?

M. HARDING.

Were not this defender past all shame, he would not make so many and so shameless lies. Malice hath so far blinded him, that he seemeth not to see what becometh a man. Though he fear not to be accounted a liar, yet he should be loth to be accounted an unhonest man, yea, and specially a fool. Let truth and honesty go; for indeed there is little[7] in these fellows. What foolishness is it, a man to bring all his doctrine and all his sayings, touching things that he would so fain be[8] believed, into so great and certain discredit, by such open and manifest lies! The truth hereof is this, as I find it witnessed in Sabellicus[9], and in the chiefest chronicles the Venetians have, written by a nobleman of Venice, named Petrus Justinianus[11]. The city of Venice being interdicted of the pope,

Sabellic Decad. ii. Lib. i. 1220.[10] *Historiæ rerum Venetar. Lib. iv.*

[1 This sentence with the reference is not in 1567.]

[2 ... ut Adrianus secundus Friderico primo petitam, more prædecessorum suorum, benedictionem negaret. Qui strepam equo, papa desidente, sinistram tenuit: cum dextram, ut voluit papa, tenere debuisset.—Gregor. Heymb. Confut. Primat. Pap. Pars II. in Fasc. Rer. Expet. et Fug. Lond. 1690. Tom. II. p. 123.]

[3 These lines have not been found in Aventinus.]

[4 Avanced, 1567, 1570.]

[5 See before, page 690, note 2.]

[6 1567 omits *plainly*.]

[7 Title, Conf.]

[8 Fain to be, Conf.]

[9 Sabell. Op. Basil. 1560. Rer. Venet. Decad. II. Lib. I. Tom. II. col. 1220. After relating the story as Harding gives it, Sabellicus goes on: Verum enimvero...haud quidem tam pie Dandulus tunc egisse videri potest, quam Clemens duriter, ne superbe dicam: &c.]

[10 There was here appended in 1567 a marginal note: "In this one little marginal note M. Harding hath uttered four untruths altogether. Read the answer."]

[11 P. Justinian. Rer. Venet. Hist. Venet. 1560. Lib. IV. p. 93. But the author adds: Haud quidem... pio christianoque more pontifex egisse videtur.]

Francis Dandalus was sent by the duke and lords of the council there to sue for absolution. At that time was he neither king of Creta nor of Cypres, nor duke of Venice, as it pleaseth this lying defender to write of him, and that in the Defence of their English church, written to all the world. Johannes Superantius then was duke; and this Francis Dandalus was [a]*but a private man for that time, as others there were. This ambassador, Francis Dandalus, finding the pope at his first coming not well inclined to grant his petition as he wished, the* [b]*quality of his*[12] *offence deserving the same, to move him to clemency and pity, advised with himself to play this pageant. He caused an iron chain to be tied about his neck: therewith he came to the pope as he sat at dinner, put himself to creep on all-four, and like a dog laid him down under the table, so long until the pope's displeasure being assuaged he obtained pardon for his country. Whereof they say he had afterward the surname of Dog given him, as Justinianus writeth. Who desireth to see the whole story, he shall find it well written by the said Petrus Justinianus,* Historiæ rerum Venetarum Libro quarto. *Now let us see, sir Defender, how many lies ye*[13] *make in one sentence. That Francis Dandalus was by the pope hurled under his table, this is one lie. That he was then duke of Venice, king of Creta and Cypres, there be two lies: beside the notable lie, you seem to be very ignorant of the state of Venice, in that you make the duke an ambassador, who, being once created duke, goeth not out of the city.* [c]*Neither is ever any of their state king of Candy and Cypres. For their state admitteth none to be a king among them; howbeit at the time of Francis Dandalus Candy rebelled, and Cypres was not yet come to be under the government of the Venetians, as you might have learned in the eloquent history that Petrus Bembus wrote of Venice his country*[14]*. That he was fast bound with chains, there be three lies. For he was not fast bound;* [d]*only he had cast a chain about his own neck, which he might have taken off at his pleasure. That he was so thrown under the table to gnaw bones among the pope's dogs,* [e]*there be four lies. And that the pope had dogs feeding under*[15] *his table,* [f]*I doubt not but it is another lie. Whether these five lies be not enough for one little sentence of three lines, I report me to whosoever of your own fellows lieth for the best game. I think verily this defender, if he be not very shameless, wisheth he had a thicker beard to hide his silk*[16] *cheeks from blushing. Such false causes must be defended by lying proctors. If they belied stories only, and taught not also false doctrine in the chief points of our faith, their lying were less hurtful.*

Franciscus Dandalus.

[a] Untruth. For he was then a senator of very great honour; and at the next election was chosen duke.

[b] The offence stood only in helping their neighbour, being a banished man, into his country.

[c] Yet the right and state of both these kingdoms is in his hand.

[d] All these matters be full solemnly proved, and are worthy to be published by proclamation.

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

So many lies, M. Harding, and, as you[17] say, so far "past shame," and such hot tragedies, and the cause no greater? What stir would ye have kept, if it had been matter worthy the hearing? What if the author of the Apology had been overseen in the report of one year or two, or in some other like circumstance, the substance of the story nevertheless still reserved? If ye had remembered some of your own often oversights, ye could not for shame have been so terrible against others: for it appeareth well, by all that ye have hitherto sent us over, your insight in matters is not so deep but ye may often and foully be deceived[18].

These words of yours, M. Harding, are neither mannerly nor manly; notwithstanding they seem well to content your pleasant humour. St Hierome saith: *Non æque inimici audiunt, et amici. Qui inimicus est etiam in scirpo nodum quærit*[19]: "An enemy and a friend hear not both of one sort. An enemy will (cavil, and quarrel, and) seek a knot in a rush." The substance of God's religion standeth not in the reporting of a story. St Hierome saith of such captious quarrellers: *Audiant... a me, non periclitari ecclesiarum statum, si [ego] celeritate*

Hieron. adver. error. Johan. Hieros.

Hieron. de Opt. Gener. Interpr.

[12] The, Conf. and Def. 1567, 1570, 1609.]

[13] You, Conf.]

[14] P. Bemb. Hist. Venet. Libr. XII. Venet. 1551. Lib. 1. foll. 8, &c.; where the account is given of the acquisition of Cyprus by the Venetians.]

[15] Feeding of bones under, Conf. and Def. 1567.]

[16] Slike, Conf. and Def. 1567.]

[17] Ye, 1567.]

[18] Here in 1567 was a long paragraph strongly animadverting on Harding's supposed error, in quoting the Decades of Sabellicus. Bishop Jewel afterwards discovered his mistake; and the passage was in subsequent editions suppressed. See Vol. III. page 147.]

[19] Hieron. Op. Par. 1693-1706. Ad Pammach. adv. Error. Johan. Jeros. Epist. xxxviii. Tom. IV. Pars II. col. 307.]

Francis-cus Danda-lus.

dictandi verba aliqua dimiserim[1]: "Let them understand that, albeit I in haste of penning have let escape a word or two, yet that shall not hazard the state of the church of God."

"But Francis Dandalus (ye say) was not at that time duke of Venice; he himself tied the chain about his own neck; he came of his own accord upon all-four, as if he had been a dog, and lay down willingly under the pope's table; he lay not there to gnaw bones; he found no dog there to lie with him." Therefore ye say, This defender is an "unhonest man", "past all shame", "a liar" and "a fool". Such choleric conclusions, M. Harding, may well beseem a doctor of your divinity.

Not duke.

Howbeit, the fairest colour ye can lay upon the matter is this, that the ambassador of that noble commonweal of Venice lay "as a dog in a chain underneath the pope's table", as you say, and that willingly and with all his heart, by such submission to appease the pope's high indignation, and to recover his favour towards his country. It seemeth he was either a very arrogant man, or a marvellous angry pope, that would by none other submission be reconciled.

But Dandalus at that time was not duke of Venice[2]. Neither was it so hard a matter to know that, M. Harding; nor was it so great an heresy to call him duke, for that shortly after he was made duke. St Augustine saith: *Dicimus apostolum Paulum in Tharso Ciliciæ natum. At ille tunc jam non erat apostolus. Ita cum audimus discipulos Christi invitatos ad nuptias, non jam discipulos, sed qui futuri erant discipuli intelligere debemus*[3]: "We say that Paul the apostle was born at Tharsus in Cilicia. And yet Paul at that time, when he was born, was no apostle. Even so, when we hear that Christ's disciples were bidden to the marriage feast at Cana in Galilee, we must understand that they were not then his disciples, but became afterward his disciples."

August. de Consens. Evang. Lib. ii. cap. xvii.

John ii.

So St Hierome calleth Pamphilus a martyr; and yet at that time whereof he meant Pamphilus indeed was no martyr. Therefore he saith: *Concedamus, ... ut Pamphili sit, sed nondum martyris. Ante enim scripsit quam martyrium perpeteretur*[4]: "Let us grant it was Pamphilus' book; but that Pamphilus as yet was no martyr. For he wrote his book first, and was martyr afterward." Likewise again he saith: *Nos ... pro No Alexandriam posuimus per anticipationem, quæ Græce προλῆψις appellatur*[5]: "We, instead of the city No, have translated it the city Alexandria, by a figure called anticipation; for that the city, which before was called No, was afterward called Alexandria."

Hieron. de Error. Orig.

Hieron. in Ezech. Lib. ix. cap. xxx.

So St Augustine saith, It is written in the book of Genesis: *Hi sunt filii Israel, qui nati sunt ei in Mesopotamia; cum Benjamin longe postea natus sit, cum jam transissent Bethel, et appropinquarent Bethleem*[6]: "These be the children of Israel that were born to him in Mesopotamia; and yet Benjamin (that there is reckoned for one of his children) was born (not in Mesopotamia, but) long afterward, when they were now past Bethel, and drew towards Bethleem, that is in Jewry." Yet hath there been no man hitherto so uncourteous, that ever would use your eloquence, M. Harding, and call either Moses, or St Augustine, or St Hierome, fools or liars.

Gen. xxxv. August. in Qnæst. super Gen. Quæst. 117.

If ye would but indifferently have weighed the matter, ye might well have thought we called Dandalus duke of Venice, for that he was soon afterward chosen duke of Venice.

So we may say, Doctor Harding, in the time of king Edward[7], freely and fully professed the gospel, and preached vehemently against the pope. Nevertheless, when he thus preached, he was not yet known by the name of a doctor: for he was doctored afterward in the time of queen Mary[8].

Let us grant there was some error in the report of this story. Yet must

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[1 Id. ad Pammach. de Opt. Gen. Interpr. Epist. xxxiii. ibid. col. 255; where *aliqua verba.*]

[2 1567 omits *of Venice.*]

[3 Dicimus &c. neque enim tunc jam erat apostolus. Ita discipulos Christi invitatos ad nuptias cum audimus, non jam &c.—August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. De Consens. Evang. Lib. II. cap. xvii. 38. Tom. III. Pars II. col. 48.]

[4 Hieron. Op. Par. 1693-1706. Ad Pammach. et Ocean. de Error. Orig. Epist. xli. Tom. IV. Pars II. col. 347; where *sed necdum martyris.*]

[5 Id. Comm. Lib. IX. in Ezek. Proph. cap. xxx. Tom. III. col. 912.]

[6 August. Op. Quæst. in Gen. Lib. I. Quæst. cxvii. 1. Tom. III. Pars I. col. 405; where *transiisset,* and *appropinquaret.*]

[7 These six words are not in 1567.]

[8 This sentence is not in 1567.]

every man be condemned for "a fool" and "a liar" that may be taken in like error? If so, then will M. Harding trouble his godfathers, and cause them to give him a new name. Franciscus Dandalus.

St Chrysostom saith, There were twelve magi or wise men that came to Christ[9]; and yet ye hold commonly they were but three. Clemens Alexandrinus saith, Christ preached but one year[11]; yet others say he preached three years; others say he preached four. Some say Christ was three and thirty years old, some say he was four and thirty, when he suffered. Yet Tertullian saith he was only thirty years old[12]: Irenæus saith he was more than forty[13]. Christ saith: "My Father is able to give me twelve legions of angels." St Hilary, in the report thereof, a great deal advanceth[14] the number, and reckoneth *duodecim millia legionum*[15], "twelve thousand legions of angels[16]." Your own blessed Donation of Constantine, which (ye say) so much irketh us, commandeth the patriarch of Constantinople to be subject and obedient to the bishop of Rome[17]. And yet at that time, when by your imagination this fable was devised, there was neither patriarch nor church in Constantinople, nor any city as yet built and known by that name. Your fellow Dorman allegeth full solemnly the seventh book of Theodoretus; and yet Theodoretus himself never wrote but only five. And so he leapt two whole books beyond his author. And again he telleth us a proper tale of the terrible examples of two kings, Ozias and Oza[18]; and yet both he and his fellows might soon have learned that Oza was only a poor Levite, and no king.

Matt. ii. Chrysost. in Matt. Hom. 2. in Op. Imperf.[10] Clem. Strom. i. Tertull. contr. Jud. Iren. Lib. ii. cap. xxxiv. et xl. Matt. xxvi. Hilar. in Psal. liv. Donat. Const. Dorm. fol. 22. Dorm. fol. 24.

You yourself, M. Harding, in this self-same book say that the council of Nice was kept in the time of pope Sylvester; and yet Athanasius, that then was present at the same council saith, Sylvester at that time was not alive; but that the council was summoned by the emperor, and holden in the time of pope Julius[19]. Again you say that, "at the very same time while the council was holden at Nice, pope Sylvester held likewise a council in Rome." And so, by the judgment of Athanasius, ye say that pope Sylvester held a council after he was dead.

M. Hard. fol. 308. b. [Conf.] Athanas. in Apolog. 2. M. Hard. fol. 309. a. [Conf.]

And must all these and other your like tales, M. Harding, pass under the name of lies and follies?

This gentleman (ye say) was not so fast bound as we imagine, but fell down meekly and willingly of himself. No doubt, M. Harding, whoso knoweth an Italian courage will soon believe that Francis Dandalus, a gentleman of such nobility, and the ambassador of so noble a commonwealth, was soon and easily and willingly won to come creeping with an iron chain on his neck, and to wallow under the pope's table as a dog, to his own immortal shame, and to the everlasting dishonour of his country. Verily he would never have yielded himself to such villany, had it not been to avoid some other greater villany. For, I beseech you, whether is it more cruelty for you to run upon a poor man with sword drawn and to strike him through, and so to kill him, or else to force him to lay cruel hands upon his own body and to kill himself? In whether of these two acts is more cruelty[20]? St Chrysostom saith: "A poor man oftentimes is content to wound or fester his own flesh, to the end to move the rich man to some pity;" *Alii capiti suo clavos acutos infigunt; alii per ipsum gelu nudo corpore mendicantes* Chrysost. in 1 Cor. Hom. 21. ad Pop. Ant. Hom. 37.[21]

Willingly.

[9] Itaque elegerunt seipsos duodecim quidam ex ipsis studiosiores,... et posuerunt seipsos ad expectationem stellæ illius, &c.—Chrysost. Op. Par. 1718-38. Op. Imperf. in Matt. ex cap. ii. Hom. ii. Tom. VI. p. xxviii.]

[10] 1567, 1570 omit *in opere imperf.*]

[11] ...ἐνιαυτὸν μόνον ἔδει αὐτὸν κηρύξαι.—Clement. Alex. Op. Oxon. 1715. Strom. Lib. I. 21. Tom. I. p. 407.]

[12] ...passus est Christus, annos habens quasi xxx quum pateretur.—Tertull. Op. Lut. 1641. Adv. Jud. 8. p. 215.]

[13] Non ergo multum aberat a quinquaginta annis.—Iren. Op. Par. 1710. Contr. Hær. Lib. II. cap. xxii. 6. p. 148.]

[14] Avanceth, 1567, 1570.]

[15] Hilar. Op. Par. 1693. Tractat. in Psalm. liv. 6. col. 105.]

[16] These two words are not in 1567.]

[17] Constant. Edict. in Crabb. Concil. Col. Agrip. 1551. Tom. I. p. 226.]

[18] Dorman, Provfe of Certeyne Articles, Ant. 1564. foll. 22. 2. 4. See Vol. III. page 409, note 14.]

[19] The editor has been unable to find any such assertion of Athanasius respecting the council of Nice. But see Athanas. Op. Par. 1698. Apolog. contr. Arian. 1, 36, 50. Tom. I. Pars I. pp. 123, 154, 168; where the council of Sardica is said to have been summoned in the time of Julius. Bishop Jewel may by an oversight have referred to Nice what occurred at Sardica.]

[20] This sentence is not in 1567.]

[21] *Ad Pop. Ant. Hom.* 37. is not in 1567, 1570.]

Franciscus Dandalus.

petunt; alii hisce etiam graviora ferentes, miserabile de se præbent spectaculum.... At dices, nos illorum capita non configimus. Utinam vero tu configeres! Non enim tam gravis fuisset calamitas. Nam qui alium interimit longe levius peccat quam is qui jubet aliquem seipsum interficere[1]: "Some there be that stick nails in their own heads; some others go begging with naked bodies in the cold frost; some others suffer other things of greater cruelty, and shew themselves miserable to behold. But thou wilt say, we stick not these nails in their heads. Would God thou stickedst them in! For then their misery were not so grievous. For he, that with his own hand killeth another, committeth a great deal less fault than he that forceth a man to kill himself."

So say we, it was far greater grief unto that noble gentleman so vilely to dishonour and abase himself, than if he had been driven thereto through the force and violence of his enemy. In this sort was the emperor Henry the Fourth well content willingly to wait upon pope Hildebrand at Canusium, and three days together to stand bareheaded and barefoot in the hard frost at his gate, and, as one saith, to be a gazing-stock both to men and angels before he might have licence to come near[2]. So was the emperor Fredericus Ænobarbus contented willingly to lay his neck under the pope's foot; as we shall declare more hereafter[3]. So was the poor gentlewoman contented willingly to cast[4] a halter about her own son's neck, and so to present him before pope Hildebrand, whom he had offended, by such humble subjection to crave his pardon: in respect whereof, the pope pardoned him his life, but commanded his foot to be stricken off; of which wound the poor young gentleman soon after died[5].

Ursperg. Sabell. Ennead. ix. Lib. iii.

Beno Card.

Ye say, "It is a lie that Francis Dandalus, so noble a gentleman, was driven under the pope's table to gnaw[6] bones." I think it well, M. Harding, and therefore we will rather say, he lay there to gather up the crumbs that fell from his lord's table.

Gnaw bones.

No dogs under the pope's table.

But under the pope's table (ye say) certainly there were[7] no dogs. And this (ye say) is "another lie". Notwithstanding, this negative were very hard for you to prove. Howbeit hereat I will not greatly strive. And yet it had[8] been a more seemly sight, in my judgment, to see a dog lying there than a man, and specially a noble gentleman, the ambassador of so noble a city.

To conclude, this was the same pope Clemens the Fifth, that thus pronounced of himself, and proclaimed the same unto the whole world by a law: *Nos superioritatem habemus ad imperium; nos, vacante imperio, imperatori succedimus*[9]: "We have the sovereignty over the empire; the empire being void, we are heirs apparent to the emperor." The Venetians had given aid to restore one Friscus, a banished man, unto the dukedom of Ferrara. Therefore pope Clemens interdited them and all that they had, and further signified his pleasure unto all the world, that, whithersoever they or any of them came, it should be lawful for any man, not only to take their bodies and to sell them for slaves, and to spoil their goods, but also to kill them, whether it were by right or by wrong. For so Sabellicus writeth: [*Ut eos*] *fas esset unicuique... jure et injuria interficere*[10]. This was the cause of all this great ado. And this high indignation had never been slacked[11], had not so noble a personage abased himself to be tied by the neck in a chain, and to creep under the pope's table upon all-four like a dog. This disdainful fact Sabellicus the author reproveth vehemently and with many words, as immoderate tyranny and intolerable pride, and most shameful abusing of the

Clem. Lib. ii. De Sent. et Re Jud. cap. 2.

Sabell. Ennead. ix. Lib. vii.

[1 Chrysost. Op. Par. 1718-38. In Epist. i. ad Cor. Hom. xxi. Tom. X. p. 187, 8. Conf. Op. Lat. Basil. 1547. Ad Pop. Ant. Hom. xxxvii. Tom. V. cols. 282, 3.]

[2 Chronic. Abbat. Ursperg. Argent. 1537, p. 235; Sabell. Rapsod. Hist. Par. 1509. Ennead. ix. Lib. iii. Pars III. fol. 84. 2.]

[3 See below, pages 700, 1.]

[4 Content to cast, 1567; content willingly to cast, 1570, 1609.]

[5 Vit. et Gest. Hildebr. auth. Benon. Card. in Fasc. Rer. Expet. et Fug. Lond. 1690. Tom. I. p. 80.]

[6 Driven to gnaw, 1567.]

[7 Ye say there were, 1567.]

[8 Had it, 1567.]

[9 Nos tam ex superioritate, quam ad imperium non est dubium *nos* habere, quam ex potestate, in qua vacante &c.—Clem. V. in Corp. Jur. Canon. Lugd. 1624. Clement. Lib. ii. Tit. xi. cap. 2. col. 136.]

[10 Sabell. Rapsod. Hist. Ennead. ix. Lib. vii. Pars III. fol. 123. 2.]

[11 Slaked, 1567, 1570.]

state of princes. Yet M. Harding thinketh it must be defended as very well done; and he must needs be damned that will find fault with it[12].

Last of all, where it liketh you in the end to refresh your wits with this defender's thin cheeks and blushing, verily, M. Harding, he blushed[13] indeed, and is much ashamed in your behalf, to see your follies. God give you grace that you may blush at your misusing of God's people, lest ye have that face, that the prophet saith is "past blushing." I trust this defender shall never blush to say, either with St Paul, *Non pudet me evangelii Christi; est enim virtus Dei ad salutem:* "I am not ashamed of the gospel of Christ; for it is the power of God unto salvation;" or with St Hierome, *Non me pudet nescire, quod nescio*[14]: "I am not ashamed in that thing that I know not to grant mine ignorance." Rom. i. Hieron. adver. Pelag. Lib. i.

The Apology, Chap. vii. Division 5.

Who set the imperial crown upon the emperor Henry's the sixth's head[15], not with his hand, but with his foot; and with the same foot again cast the same crown off, saying withal, "I have power[16] to make emperors, and to unmake them again, at my[17] pleasure?"

M. HARDING.

*We deny that Celestinus, whom you note in your book's margent, or any other pope, did this. *It is a vain fable devised rather of malice than wit. Ye should have done well to shew us with which foot the pope did set on the crown upon Henry's head, the right or the left, standing, sitting, leaning, or lying, barefooted and using the help of his great toe, or shod; whether he had some jimjam made for him to take it up, hold it, and put it on handsomely, or conveyed it on by a vice, or how it was done....*

* Untruth. For the stories be plain. Read the answer.

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

What nimbleness or cunning the pope hath in his feet more than other men, I have not heard. What other sleights he hath now or hath had in times past to work such feats, it behoveth his *magister ceremoniarum* to consider. The story is recorded by Ranulphus, Rogerus Cestrensis, and Rogerus Hovedenus, that lived at the same time[18].

The Apology, Chap. vii. Division 6.

Who put in arms Henry the son against the emperor his father, Henry the Fourth, and wrought so that the father was taken prisoner of his own son, and, being shorn, and shamefully handled, was thrust into a monastery, where with hunger and sorrow he pined away to death?

M. HARDING.

**It was not the pope that armed Henry the Second against Henry the Fourth, who by the account of some is Henry the Third. Stories declare other causes of their falling out, and the more part of the writers impute it to the judgment of God, for punishment of his great wickedness. After that he was overcome with all his power by the Saxons, in seventeen days he durst not to appear abroad. In the*

* Untruth, easily proved[19] by good records.

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[12] The sentences from *like a dog* are not in 1567.]

[13] Blusheth, 1567, 1570.]

[14] Hieron. Op. Par. 1693-1706. Lib. I. Dial. adv. Pelag. Tom. IV. Pars II. col. 487.]

[15] Henry the Sixth his head, Conf.; Henry the Sixth's, Def. 1567, 1570.]

[16] He had power, Conf. and Def. 1567.]

[17] His, Conf. and Def. 1567.]

[18] Polycron. Southw. 1527. Lib. VII. cap. xxvi. fol. 293. 2; Rog. de Hoved. Annal. Pars Post. Rich. Prim. in Rer. Angl. Script. post Bed. Franc. 1601. p. 689. For an account of the writer here cited as Rogerus Cestrensis (more properly Cicestrensis) see Oudin. De Script. Eccles. Lips. 1722. Tom. III. cols. 938, 9. His work, it would seem, is yet unprinted.]

[19] Reproved, Def. 1567, 1570, 1609.]

Henricus Imp. IV. Henricus Imp. V.

mean time his son took upon him forthwith the administration of the empire, went into Italy with an army, would not surrender the state which he liked well; his father, being therewith offended, he took prisoner [b] *without any motion of the pope,* [c] *with whom he was also at variance, and committed him to strait custody....*

Concerning Gregory the Seventh pope, who before was called Hildebrandus, whom the[1] *emperor with endless malice persecuted, because he would* [d] *not*[2] *ratify his simoniacal making of bishops, and giving of ecclesiastical benefices, and defended*[3] *the church against his wicked attempts; besides sundry writers of histories in that time, as Lambertus Schafnaburgensis, Leo Hostiensis, and, afterward, Otho Frisingensis, who so much commend him for sundry excellent virtues*[4]*, no man hath so largely and so diligently set forth his worthiness as* [e] *Onuphrius Panvinius, who hath written of him five books.*

[b] Manifest untruth. See the answer.
[c] Untruth. For this was not the cause. But the pope would have given the same himself.
[d] Untruth. For then he was at no variance with the pope.
[e] This ancient doctor is yet alive, and writeth worthily for his hire.

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

We may easily believe you, M. Harding, that the pope armed not "Henry the Second," as you say, against his father Henry the Fourth. It had been a marvellous monster in nature, that the fourth should go before the second, or that the nephew should be born before his grandfather. But that the pope raised up Henry the Fifth against Henry the Fourth, that is to say, the son against the father, that ye might have easily found in your own records.

Gregor. Heimburg.

Gregorius Heimburgensis saith thus: [*Paschalis papa*] *principes contra Henricum IV. concitavit; imo, ejus proprium filium; quem etiam contra patrem fecit per multos episcopos Rheni in regem coronari, et vocari Henricum Quintum*[5]*:* "Pope Paschalis raised up the princes of Germany against Henry the Fourth: nay rather he raised up his own son, whom[6] also he caused, by many bishops adjoining to the Rhine, to be crowned emperor against his own father, and to be called Henry the Fifth."

The case being clear, this one authority may stand instead of many. Hereof Henry the father piteously complaineth in his letters written to the French king.

Carion. Anno 1103.

Carion saith: *Hunc Henricum filium sollicitarunt episcopi, ut adversus patrem insurgeret, eumque imperio pelleret*[7]*:* "The bishops enticed this young gentleman, Henry the son, that he should rise against his father, and put him from the empire."

Ursperg. Anno 1105.

But these bishops, as Urspergensis saith, were *responsales... Paschalis papæ*[8]*:* "pope Paschalis' agents or doers in those countries."

Ursperg. eodem loco, p. 257.

And Henry the son himself, when he stood in the field, never pretended any other colour against his father, but only the obedience of the see of Rome[9].

And, lest any man should doubt of the truth hereof, the pope not long before had likewise raised up Rodolphus, the duke of Suevia, against the same emperor, Henry the Fourth; and, the better to encourage his ambitious head, and to train him to his purpose, had sent him a crown with this posey:

Petra dedit Petro, Petrus diadema Rodolpho[10].

Whereby he meant that, as Christ had given the state and right of the empire unto the pope, so would the pope now bestow the same upon Rodolphus, if he would adventure to raise his power against the emperor his liege lord[11]. Likewise he had written to the princes of Germany, as Carion saith,

Carion.

Ut imperatorem alium designarent[12]*:* "That they should proceed to the election of another emperor." Thus the pope thought it but a play, to place and displace the states of the world at his pleasure. Of this emperor's virtues I will say nothing. As he is dispraised by some, so by others he is much commended.

Aventinus.

Aventinus saith: *In pauperes, monachos, sacerdotes munificentissimum, &c.*[13]*:* "His

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[1] That, Conf. and Def. 1567, 1570, 1609.]
[2] Nor, 1611.]
[3] Defendeth, 1611.]
[4] Lamb. Schafn. Annal. Argent. 1609. p. 535; Otton. Fris. Chron. Basil. 1569. Lib. VI. cap. xxxiv. pp. 126, 7.]
[5] Gregor. Heymb. Confut. Primat. Pap. Pars Chron. p. II. in Fasc. Rer. Expet. et Fug. Lond. 1690. Tom. II. p. 122.]
[6] Who, 1570.]
[7] J. Carion. Chronic. Libell. Par. 1543. Lib. III. fol. 104.]
[8] ...responsalium &c.—Chronic. Abbat. Ursperg. Argent. 1537. p. 257.]
[9] Ibid. pp. 257, 8.]
[10] J. Carion. Chronic. Libell. Lib. III. fol. 103. 2.]
[11] The words from *Rodolphus* are not in 1567.]
[12] Id. ibid.]
[13] Ceterum in &c. munificentissimum: constan-

very enemies confess that he was most liberal unto poor folks, monks, and priests; that he was constant in adversity; faithful to his prisoners; gentle to his foes; devout towards God; wise and politic in civil and martial affairs; of a princely majesty of countenance; wherein he excelled all others, and was most worthy of the empire." Henricus Imp. IV. Henricus Imp. V.

Urspergensis saith: "He was noble, doughty, and venturous; and was seen three-score and two sundry times in fought field, wherein he passed both Marcellus and Julius Cæsar, and all other kings and emperors that had been before him[14]." Urspergensis p. 239.

The greatest cause of falling out between him and the pope was this: order was taken before, and had still been kept from the beginning, that the election of the pope should be ratified by the emperor, otherwise not to stand; and Platina saith: "The pope elected without the emperor's letters patent[15] was no pope[17]." Another ancient order was this, that the emperor might bestow all the bishopricks and abbeys of the empire, whensoever they should happen to be void. These ancient orders pope Hildebrand presumed to break. For neither would he suffer his own election to be ratified by the emperor, nor the emperor to bestow the bishopricks or abbeys within his dominions. In these attempts the emperor withstood him, claiming unto himself the same right of inheritance that all other emperors his predecessors had lawfully and peaceably enjoyed before him[18]. Therefore the pope excommunicated him, interdicted[19] his land, and called him arch-pirate, arch-heretic, and apostata[20]. Therefore he deposed him, raised up the duke of Suevia and all the world against him; and armed the son against the father, and wilfully disquieted the whole state of all Christendom. Aventinus saith: *Multi tum privatum, tum publice, &c.*[22]: "Many there were that both privately and openly cursed pope Hildebrand, and said that with his hatred and ambition he troubled the world, and that under the colour of Christ he wrought the feats of antichrist." Carion. Plat. in Severin. I.[16] Ursperg. p. 264.[21] Aventinus.

The emperor took a long journey into Italy, to submit himself unto the pope; and, being at Canusium, as it is said before, in the depth of winter, and in the hard frost, he waited patiently three days together with bare head and bare foot before the pope's gates to win his favour[23]. In the end pope Hildebrand being sick, and finding himself in case not to live, sent unto the emperor and besought him pardon for all his injuries[24]. After that, the popes that succeeded nevertheless continued this quarrel still. And thus by the pope's enticement the son raised a power and deposed his father; the bishops disrobed him of his weed of state, and pulled the crown imperial from his head. The ancient reverend prince, having now continued in his empire fifty whole years, bare all these things quietly, and said unto them: *Videat Deus, et judicet*[25]: Helmoldus. Ursperg. p. 235. Sabell. Ennead. IX. Lib. iii. Carion.

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tia in adversis, fide in dedititios, clementia in hostes, pietate, prudentia civili et militari, eximia specie, ac majestate corporis magnorum operum capaci, quibus eum natura dignata, omnes antecessisse, hocque fastigio dignissimum fuisse, etiam inimici fatentur.—Aventin. Annal. Boior. Ingolst. 1554. Lib. v. p. 563.]

[14] Habent chronica, Henricum IIII. in rebus bellicis fuisse strenuissimum. Bis enim et sexagies signis collatis pugnavit; M. Marcellum, et Julium Cæsarem supergressus.—Chronic. Abbat. Ursperg. p. 239. This is the marginal note.]

[15] Patents, 1567, 1570.]

[16] Severo papa, 1567, 1570.]

[17] Vana tunc enim habebatur cleri ac populi electio, nisi id imperatores aut eorum hexarchi confirmassent.—Plat. De Vit. Pont. Col. 1551. Severin. p. 79.]

[18] Pater Henricus Niger optimo sane consilio sanctionem de pontificia electione tulerat, ut ea sine imperatoris permissu non fieret. Jam vero...Hiltebrandus...contra statuit decretum, a Cæsare pontificatus confirmationem non esse petendam...Præterea quoque jus erat imperatori conferendi episcopatus imperii; sed ne id quidem ferre voluit Hiltebrandus.—J. Carion. Chronic. Libell. Lib. III. fol. 103.]

[19] Interdited, 1567, 1570.]

[20] ...archipirata simul et hæresiarcha, necnon et apostata.....dicebatur, &c.—Chronic. Abbat. Ursperg. p. 264.]

[21] This is inserted from 1567, 1570.]

[22] Plærique tum privatim, publice indignum facinus clamitant: pro concione Gregorio maledicunt, Hyldebrando male precantur: ipsum odio, atque libidine dominandi præcipitem agi vociferantur, antichristum esse prædicant...titulo Christi, negocium antichristi agitat.—Aventin. Annal. Boior. Lib. v. p. 573.]

[23] Chronic. Abbat. Ursperg. p. 235; Sabell. Rapsod. Hist. Par. 1509. Ennead. IX. Lib. III. Pars III. fol. 84. 2. Conf. Vol. III. page 346, note 2.]

[24] Sigebertus...scribit quoque, idipsum conquestum fuisse Hiltebrandum jam moriturum, et per legatos petiisse ab Henrico admissi criminis condemnationem.—J. Carion. Chronic. Libell. Lib. III. fol. 104.]

[25] Tunc rex confusione circundatus ait ad eos, Videat Dominus et judicet, quia inique agitis contra me.—Helmold. Chronic. Slavor. Franc. 1556. cap. xxxii. p. 71.]

Pope Hildebrand.

"Let God see and judge your doings." At the last, being left naked and out of all, he turned himself to the bishop of Spira, and said unto him: "Now I beseech you, for God's sake, give me a prebend in your church. For I am able to read, and can do some good in the quire." But he was kept still in close prison at Leodium, until he died. And, being dead, he was kept five whole years together above ground, at the pope's commandment, and might not be buried. Such courtesy found that worthy emperor at the pope's hand, only for claiming of his right[1].

Matt. Palmer.

"Pope Hildebrand is commended by many for sundry virtues: but no man," say you, "hath more set forth his worthiness than Onuphrius;" a man yet alive, and one of all men that would be right loth in any point to displease the pope. Perhaps he thought to win some credit by adventuring his wits in a desperate cause, as did he that bestowed so much eloquence in the praise of baldness; or he that praised the fever quartane; or Erasmus, that of late years wrote so much in the praise of folly[2].

Synesius. Plato.

The heretic Ebion sometime praised Judas above all the apostles; and Libanius the sophist bestowed great praises upon Julianus the Renegate[3]. Certainly sundry old writers, of whom some knew pope Hildebrand and lived with him, have not given him such worthy praises. Beno Cardinalis saith, Hildebrand, being as yet but a cardinal, beat pope Alexander with his fist, and kept him prisoner, poisoned six popes, his predecessors[4], was a conjurer and a raiser of devils[5], and threw the sacrament into the fire[6].

Socrat. Lib. iii. cap. xxii.

Beno Cardinal.

Aventinus.

Aventinus, making his entry to speak of pope Hildebrand, saith thus: *Scripturus sum reipublicæ christianæ, occidentalis [que] ecclesiæ, Romanique imperii bella, cædes, homicidia, parricidia, simultates, odia, stupra, furta, peculatus, sacrilegia, dissidia, seditiones plusquam civiles, &c.*[7] "Now must I speak of wars, slaughters, murders, killing of fathers, strifes, hatreds, fornications, robberies, spoilings of common treasure, spoilings of churches, debates, and seditions more than civil, which have happened in the christian commonweal in the West church and in the empire of Rome." These were the fruits of Hildebrand's popedom[8].

Ursperg. Anno 1080.[9]

The bishops at the council of Brixia touching pope Hildebrand pronounce thus: *Nos eundem Hildebrandum procacissimum, &c.*[10] "The same most filthy and shameless pope Hildebrand, a maintainer of church-robbings and house-burnings, a defender of murders and perjuries, calling in question the catholic and the apostolic faith of the body and blood of Christ, an old disciple of Berengarius the heretic, a manifest conjurer, loaden with the spirit of Satan, and therefore out of the true faith, we judge worthy to be deposed." Whatsoever points of descant Onuphrius your school-fellow hath lately learned to play hereupon[11], this, M. Harding, is that holiness and worthiness that sundry old writers have judged to be in pope Hildebrand.

THE APOLOGY, Chap. viii. Division 1.

Who so ill-favouredly and monstrously put the emperor Frederic's neck under his feet, and, as though that were not sufficient, added

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[1] Dixit ergo Cæsar ad amicum suum episcopum de Spira: Ecce destitutus regno decidi a spe, nihilque mihi utilius est quam renunciare militiæ. Da ergo mihi præbendam apud Spiram, ut sim famulus Dominæ meæ Dei genitricis, cui devotus semper extiti. Novi enim literas, et possum adhuc subservire choro... Mortuus est autem eo tempore Leodii, stetitque corpus ejus inhumatum in capella quadam deserta quinque annis. Tanta enim severitate Dominus papa et ceteri adversarii ejus in ipsum ulti sunt, ut mortuum vel humari non sinerent.—Ibid. cap. xxxiii. p. 74.

Henricus proximi Henrici filius fuit, et cum imperium assumpsisset, Henricum patrem nefando scelere carcere maceravit usque ad mortem.—Matt. Palmer. Florent. Chronic. Contin. Chronic. Euseb. &c. Basil. 1536. fol. 120. 2.]

[2 See Vol. II. page 803.]

[3 Socr. in Hist. Eccles. Script. Amst. 1695-1700. Lib. III. cap. xxii. p. 161.]

[4 The last two words are not in 1567.]

[5 And raised up devils, 1567.]

[6 Vit. et Gest. Hildebr. auth. Benon. Card. in Fasc. Rer. Expet. et Fug. Lond. 1690. Tom. I. pp. 79, 84, 5.]

[7 Aventin. Annal. Boior. Ingolst. 1554. Lib. v. p. 562; where *scripturusque jam reipublicæ.*]

[8 This last sentence is not in 1567.]

[9 *Anno* 1080 is not in 1567, 1570.]

[10 Chronic. Abbat. Ursperg. Argent. 1537. p. 237. See Vol. III. page 129, note 12.]

[11 *Hereupon* is not in 1567.]

further this text out of the Psalms, "Thou shalt go upon the adder and cockatrice, and shalt tread the lion and dragon under thy feet[12]?" Such an example of scorning and contemning the majesty of a prince[13], as never before that time was[14] heard tell of in any remembrance; except, I ween, either of Tamerlanes the king of Scythia, a wild and a barbarous[15] creature, or else of Sapor king of the Persians. All these, notwithstanding, were popes, all Peter's successors, all most holy fathers; whose several words we must take to be as good as several gospels.

Treading on the Emperor's neck.

M. HARDING.

Ye ask who put the emperor Frederic's neck under his feet, &c. Verily, who it was, I know not; neither yourselves, I believe[16]....

But what if ye bring good authority for it? So far as any man doth evil, be he pope, be he bishop, emperor, or king, or whatsoever he be, we defend him not. Popes themselves be men, and do not at[a] *all times behave themselves like angels. But what is that to your purpose? Our matter is* quæstio juris, non facti; *once more I must tell it you. And, if that were a fault in the pope, we acknowledge it to be as Tertullian saith,* Vitium conversationis, non prædicationis[17]: *"the fault of conversation, not of doctrine*[b] *preached."*...

[a] As though for the most part they lived like angels.

In[18] *Præscription. cont. Hæret.*

All these (though ye scoff never so much) were popes, all were Peter's successors, and, notwithstanding anything that ye can say against them to the contrary, without making a lie[c]*, all were holy fathers; but their several words we be not bound to esteem for so good as several gospels. Nevertheless, their public decrees we acknowledge and reverence, and think they ought to be obeyed....*

[b] What fault can ye find in the pope's preaching? He never preacheth.

[c] Untruth; shameless, as it shall appear.

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

The whole story hereof is thus reported by Carion: *Usus est Fredericus dejectione et summa humilitate, &c.*[19] "The emperor Frederic used all manner submission and humility; for he came to Venice, and, at the gates of the church falling down grovelling before the pope, he suffered himself to be trodden on by the pope with his feet. In the meanwhile the pope caused proclamation to be made by these words of the prophet David, spoken of Christ: 'Thou shalt walk upon the venomous asp and the basilisk: thou shalt tread down the lion and dragon.' And so at the last he absolved him. The emperor in the meanwhile said he shewed that humility not unto pope Alexander, but unto Peter. Thereunto the pope answered, *Et mihi et Petro:* 'Both to me, and to Peter too;' placing himself before Peter."

Carion.

Non tibi sed Petro. Et mihi, et Petro.

Thus Carion declareth the whole story with some particular circumstances; but whether of favour or hatred, I will not judge. Neither may it well be thought the pope used the emperor thus of any great favour. But I think that the noble city of Venice, that caused this whole tragedy to be set forth in imagery, in St Mark's church there, for the everlasting remembrance of the fact, was not so carried away, either with love of the one side, or with hatred of the other, that they would so openly have recorded a known untruth.

Thus Sapores sometime, the proud king of Persia, when he had conquered Valerianus, the Roman emperor, and taken him prisoner, used him afterward most villanously as his footstock, and made him lie down grovelling upon the ground, that he might set his foot on his neck, whensoever it should please him to mount on horseback[20].

Aurel. Vict. Pomp. Lætus.

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[12] See below, note 19.]

[13] A prince's majesty, Conf.]

[14] Before this was, Conf.]

[15] And barbarous, Conf.]

[16] Harding goes on to observe that in different editions of the Apology different popes were named in the margin.]

[17] ...utique conversationis fuit vitium, non prædicationis.—Tertull. Op. Lut. 1641. De Præscr. Hæret. 23. p. 239.]

[18] Conf. omits *in*.]

[19] ...Usus &c. Nam Venetias venit, ac pro templi foribus humi prostratus ante pontificem, pedibus calcari se permisit: qui clamari quoque præcepit, Super aspidem et basiliscum ambulabis. ac tum demum eum absolvit. Fridericus contra dixit, Exhiberi a se eam humilitatem, non Alexandro, sed Petro. Ad quæ respondit Alexander, Et mihi et Petro.—J. Carion. Chronic. Libell. Par. 1543. fol. 109.]

[20] Valerianus...a Sapore Persarum rege supera-

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The Pope is ever holy.

So Sesostris, the great king of Egypt, yoked kings and princes together in chains, and forced them by violence to draw his waggon[1]. So the emperor Henry the Third, upon the day of his coronation, caused four kings of Vindelicia, being then his prisoners, carry[2] pans and caldrons to his kitchen[3].

Budæ. de Ass. Matth. a Michov. de Sarmat. cap. xii.

But ye say: "So far as a man doth evil, be he pope, be he bishop, ye defend him not. The popes themselves," ye say, "be men, and do not always behave themselves as angels." Yet notwithstanding immediately after ye say further: "All these were popes, and Peter's successors, and holy fathers." This being true, it is no hard matter for any pope to be holy. Pope John XII. was slain in advoutery[4]. Pope Benedictus IX. lived without either law or reason, and defiled Peter's chair with all kind of shame. *Sine lege et ratione vixit, et Petri sedem omnibus probris fœdavit.* And in the end he took money enough, and sold the popedom[5]. Platina saith, "Popes then were elected, not for their learning and holiness, but in respect of money and friendship[6]." The bishops in the council of Constance pronounce thus of pope John XXIII.: *A tempore juventutis suæ fuit homo malæ indolis, inverecundus, impudicus, &c. Et adhuc dicitur, tenetur, creditur, et reputatur pro tali, et ut talis*[7]: "From the time of his youth he hath evermore been a man of ill disposition, unshamefaced, unchaste, unhonest, &c. And still hitherto he is named, holden, believed, taken, and reputed for such a one, and as such a one." Some of them have lived filthily with their own daughters, and some worse and in more beastly disorder. Platina calleth them *monstra et portenta*[8]: "Monsters, and ugly, and horrible, and ill-shapen creatures." Yet, say you, "all these were Peter's successors and holy fathers." And so must they needs be counted, although they had been a great deal worse. Dame Joan, I trow, ye will have foreprized out of this number; for, notwithstanding she were a holy mother, yet ye may not well call her the "holy father".

Platina. Text. in Offic.

Platina. Plat. in Sylv. III.

Constant. Concil.

De Major. et Obed. Unam Sanct. in Gloss.

Indeed thus ye have it providently noted upon your decretals: *Est quædam spiritualitas secundum statum, quando est in statu sanctissimo et spiritualissimo; et in hoc statu est solus summus pontifex*[9]: "There is a certain spiritual holiness according to the state most holy and most spiritual; and in this state is only the highest bishop, that is the pope." And a special statute of *præmunire* in the pope's behalf is written thus: *Papa de homicidio vel adulterio accusari non potest. Unde sacrilegii instar esset disputare de facto suo. Nam facta papæ excusantur, ut homicidia Samsonis,.... furta Hebræorum,.... adulteria Jacob*[10]: "The pope may never be accused neither of advoutery nor of murder. Therefore it were as bad as church-robbing to reason or move matter of any his doings; for, whatsoever he do, it is

Dist. 40. Non nos, in Gloss.

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tus, mox etiam captus, apud Parthos ignobili servitute consenuit. Nam quandiu vixit, rex ejusdem provinciæ, incurvato eo, pedem cervicibus ejus imponens, equum ascendere solitus erat.—Sext. Aurel. Vict. Epit. in Hist. Rom. Script. Var. Par. 1544. p. 172. Conf. Pomp. Læt. Rom. Hist. Comp. ibid. p. 201.]

[1 ...retulimus de Sesostri Ægypti rege superbissimo, qui junctis ad currum regibus triumphare solitus erat.—Gul. Bud. de Ass. et Part. Basil. 1556. Lib. IV. p. 195.]

[2 Prisoners to carry, 1567, 1570.]

[3 Refert quoque historia Henrici tertii, quod quatuor reges Vindelicorum capti, diebus festis et diebus coronationis suæ, lebetes et caldaria in ignominiam eorum ad coquinam ejus ferebant.—Math. a Michov. De Sarmat. Asian. atq. Europ. Lib. I. cap. xii. in Nov. Orb. Basil. 1537. p. 502.]

[4 Joannes 12. pontifex, in adulterio comprehensus, itidem interfectus est.—Ravis. Textor. Offic. Par. 1532. fol. 29. 2. Conf. Plat. De Vit. Pont. Col. 1551. fol. 133. Platina calls this pope John XIII.]

[5 ...Johanni archdiacono...pontificium munus libere cessit: vel (ut quidam affirmant) vendidit... Constat...simulacrum ejus admodum monstruosum post mortem cuidam apparuisse: interrogatumque quid illa horrida imago præ se ferret...Quia (inquit) in vita sine lege et ratione vixi, ideo volente Deo et Petro, cujus sedem omnibus probris fœdavi, simulacrum meum plus feritatis quam humanitatis in se habet.—Plat. De Vit. Pont. Bened. IX. p. 142.]

[6 Eo enim tum pontificatus devenerat, ut qui plus largitione et ambitione, non dico sanctitate vitæ et doctrina valeret, is tantummodo dignitatis gradum bonis oppressis et rejectis obtineret.—Id. Sylvest. III. ibid.]

[7 Artic. contr. Joan. XXIII. in Concil. Constant. Sess. XI. in Crabb. Concil. Col. Agrip. 1551. Tom. II. p. 1058.]

[8 ...peperit nobis tanta licentia peccandi...hæc monstra, hæc portenta: a quibus ambitione et largitione sanctissima Petri sedes occupata est potius quam possessa.—Plat. De Vit. Pont. Bened. IV. p. 128.]

[9 Est autem alia spiritualitas &c.—Corp. Jur. Canon. Lugd. 1624. Extrav. Comm. Lib. I. De Major. et Obed. Gloss. in cap. 1. col. 211.]

[10 Sed quid si constet de ipso quod adulterium commisit, vel homicidium? Dicit Hug. quod licet non possit accusari, inde tamen peccat...unde &c. instar esse &c. Vel dic, quod facta papæ accusantur, ut &c. adulterium &c.—Ibid. Decret. Gratian. Decr. Prim. Pars, Dist. XL. Gloss. in can. 1. col. 194. Conf. Marg. Not. in loc.]

excused, as are the murders committed by Samson; the robberies in Egypt, committed by[11] the Jews; and the advouteries of Jacob." And again: *In papa si desint bona acquisita per meritum, sufficiunt quæ a loci [præ]decessore præstantur*[12]: "In the pope if there want good deeds gotten by his own merits, yet the good deeds done by St Peter, that was his predecessor in that place, are sufficient." The Pope is ever holy. Dist. 40. Non nos.

But St Hierome saith far otherwise: *Non sanctorum filii sunt qui tenent loca sanctorum, sed qui exercent opera eorum*[13]: "They are not always the children of holy men that sit in the places of holy men; but they that do the works of holy men." Dist. 40. Non facile.

Therefore I may say to you, M. Harding, as St Augustine saith to Emeritus the heretic: *Noli, frater, noli, obsecro; non te decet, etsi aliquem...forte deceat, si tamen quicquam deceat malos, Emeritum certe non decet defendere Optatum*[14]: "Do not, my brother; do not, I pray you; it becometh you not, although happily it may become some other man; if any thing may become the wicked, yet verily it becometh not Emeritus to defend Optatus" (in open wickedness). August. Epist. 164. ad Emer.

St Hierome saith: *Si quis hominem qui sanctus non est sanctum esse crediderit, et Dei eum junxerit societati, Christum violat cujus corporis omnes membra sumus. Qui dicit, inquit, justum injustum, et injustum justum, abominabilis est uterque apud Deum. Et rursus, qui dicit sanctum non esse sanctum, et rursus, non sanctum esse sanctum, est abominabilis apud Deum*[15]: "Whoso believeth that man to be holy that is not holy, and joineth the same man to the fellowship of God, doth villany to Christ; for all we are members of his body. It is written, 'Both he that calleth a just man wicked, and he that calleth a wicked man just, are both abominable before God.' Likewise, whoso saith, A holy man is not holy, or, An unholy man is holy, is abominable before God." Hieron. in Epist. ad Philem. Prov. xvii.

The Apology, Chap. viii. Division 2 and 3.

If we be counted traitors, which do honour our princes, which give them all obedience, as much as is due to them by God's word, and do pray for them; what kind of men then be these which have not only done all the things before said, but also allow the same for specially well done? Do they then either this way instruct the people, as we do, to reverence their magistrate; or can they with honesty appeach us as seditious persons, breakers of the common quiet, and despisers of princes' majesty?

Truly, we neither put off the yoke of obedience from us; neither do we disorder realms; nor[16] do we set up or pull down kings; nor do we translate[17] governments; nor give we our[18] kings poison to drink; nor yet hold forth to[19] them our feet to kiss[20]; nor opprobriously triumph over them; nor leap[21] into their necks with our feet[22].

This rather is our profession, this is our doctrine, that every soul, of what calling soever it[23] be, be it[23] monk, be it[23] preacher, be it[23] prophet, be it[23] apostle, ought to be subject to kings and magistrates[24]; yea, Chrysost. in xiii. cap. ad Rom.

[11] In Egypt by, 1567.]

[12] In quo si desunt &c.—Ibid. can. 1. col. 193.]

[13] Hieron. in eod. ibid. can. 2. col. 194.]

[14] August Op. Par. 1679-1700. Ad Emerit. Epist. lxxxvii. 5. Tom. II. col. 210; where *quidquam decet.*]

[15] Quod si quis &c. uterque apud Deum est: similiter qui sanctum dicit esse non sanctum, et rursum non sanctum asserit sanctum, abominabilis apud Deum est.—Hieron. Op. Par. 1693-1706. Comm. in Epist. ad Philem. Tom. IV. Pars I. col. 448.]

[16] Neither, Conf.]

[17] Nor translate, Conf.]

[18] Give our, Conf.]

[19] Hold to, Conf.]

[20] To be kissed, Conf.]

[21] Opprobriously triumphing over them leap, Conf.]

[22] Jewel omits Harding's reply to these paragraphs as containing nothing worthy of notice.]

[23] He, Conf.]

[24] Chrysost. Op. Par. 1718-38. In Epist. ad Rom. Hom. xxiii. Tom. IX. p. 686.]

and that the bishop of Rome himself, unless he will seem greater than evangelists[1], than the prophets, or the apostles, ought both to acknowledge and to call the emperor his lord and master, as[2] the old bishops of Rome, who lived in times of more grace, ever did[3]. Our common teaching also is, that we ought so to obey princes, as men sent of God; and that whoso withstandeth them withstandeth God's ordinance. This is our doctrine[4]; and this is well to be seen, both in our books and preachings[5], and also in the manners and modest behaviour of our people.

Gregor. sæpe in Epist.

M. HARDING.

The doctrine of obedience appertaineth specially to subjects. The bishop of Rome, sitting by due succession in the chair of Peter, [a]in spiritual causes can have no superior. In temporal matters it may be that in one age he hath acknowledged the emperor as the lord of that province where he lived, [b]as before Constantine all the popes did live in subjection; and in another age he may be lord thereof himself. Likewise St Gregory might call Mauritius his lord, either of courtesy or of custom; and yet our holy father, Pius the Fourth, shall not be bound to do the like, in [c]consideration that the custom hath long since been discontinued. Neither did St Gregory by that title of honour prejudicate unto himself in any spiritual jurisdiction. For, that name notwithstanding, he governed the [d]whole church, and complained that Maximus was made bishop of Salonæ, a city in Illyrico, without his authority, not regarding that Mauritius the emperor was thought to have willed it so to be done. And therefore he writeth to Constantia the empress, that, forasmuch as neither he nor his deputy[6] was made privy to it, that the thing had been done which never was done before by any of the princes that were the emperor's predecessors[7]....

[a] Untruth manifest, as it shall appear.
[b] Untruth inclosed. For they were subject likewise afterward.
[c] O grave consideration!
[d] Untruth, evident unto a child.

Lib. iv. Epist. 34.

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

What need you to speak so precisely and so nicely of your causes spiritual, M. Harding? Ye know that your pope hath claimed, and yet claimeth his sovereignty, not only in spiritual causes, but also in temporal, as it shall appear. He will say, ye are an ill proctor, and do him wrong, and go about to abridge his right, that will so lightly exclude that thing that he so greedily will have included.

You say, "The pope can have no superior in spiritual causes." And yet, by the judgment of sundry your doctors, even in causes spiritual the council is superior to the pope, and may summon him, and judge him, and give sentence against him, and depose him[8], as hereafter it shall be declared more at large. Thus it is[9] noted of purpose upon your own decrees: *Cum agitur de fide, tunc synodus major est [quam] papa*[10]: "When the case is moved in a matter of faith (that is to say, in a cause spiritual), then is the council greater than the pope." And your own Panormitane saith, as it is alleged before: *Papa tenetur confiteri; et in illo actu sacerdos est major illo*[11]: "The pope is bound to make his confession; and in so doing the priest is above the pope." Again he saith: *Papa non potest cogere sacerdotem, ut revelet confessionem, quia in illo actu sacerdos est major quam papa*[11]. Children know that faith and confession are spiritual causes, and not temporal.

Concil. Const. Concil. Basil. Dist. 19. Anast. in Gloss.

Extr. de Pœnit. et Remiss. Omnis utriusque. Abb.

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[1] Than the evangelists, Conf. and Def. 1567, 1570.]

[2] Which, Conf.]

[3] Gregor. Magni Papæ I. Op. Par. 1705. Epist. Lib. v. Indict. XIII. Ad Mauric. August. Epist. xx. Tom. II. col. 747. See also below, page 705, notes 16, 17, 18.]

[4] Schooling, Conf.]

[5] And in our preachings, Conf.]

[6] Depute, Conf. and Def. 1567.]

[7] Salonitæ vero civitatis episcopus me ac responsali meo nesciente ordinatus est, et facta res est quæ sub nullis anterioribus principibus evenit.—Id. ibid. ad Constant. August. Epist. xxi. col. 752.]

[8] Sentent. contr. Joan. Pap. XXIII. in Concil. Constant. Sess. XII. in Crabb. Concil. Col. Agrip. 1551. Tom. II. pp. 1065, 6; De Depos. Eugen. Pap. IV. in Concil. Basil. Sess. XXXIV. ibid. Tom. III. pp. 106, 7.]

[9] Is it, 1567.]

[10] ...verum est, ubi de fide agitur: et tunc &c.—Corp. Jur. Canon. Lugd. 1624. Decret. Gratian. Decr. Prim. Pars, Dist. xix. Gloss. in can. 9. col. 87.]

[11] Panorm. sup. Quint. Decretal. Lugd. 1534. De Pœn. et Remiss. Tit. XXXVIII. cap. 12. fol. 161, 2. See before, page 674, note 14.]

Ye see therefore, M. Harding, by the judgment of your own doctors, that the pope may have a superior, even in spiritual causes. The Pope inferior to the Prince.

Now let us weigh the great force of your reason. Thus you say:

"The pope sitteth in Peter's chair; *ergo*, in spiritual causes he can have no superior."

Who taught you thus to piece your arguments? What child, what sophister would so reason? Who ever gave such power and virtue to Peter's chair?

"In temporal matters," ye say, "it may be, that in one age the pope hath acknowledged the emperor as lord of that province where he lived." Graciously considered! It was the pope's courtesy and humility, no doubt, but not his duty. Howbeit, Aaron, the high bishop of[12] Israel, was contented to submit himself to Moses, and of duty to call him lord. Exod. xxxii.

Tertullian saith thus: *Colimus... imperatorem,... ut hominem a Deo secundum,... et solo Deo minorem.... Sic enim [imperator] omnibus major est, dum solo vero Deo minor est*[13]: "We honour the emperor's majesty as a man next unto God. For so is the emperor greater than all men, while he is less than only the true God." Tertull. ad Scapul.

Origen saith: *Petrus et Johannes nihil habebant quod Cæsari redderent. Dixit enim Petrus, Aurum et argentum non habeo: qui hoc non habet nec Cæsari habet quod reddat, nec unde sublimioribus potestatibus subjaceat. Qui vero habet ... pecuniam aut possessiones, aut aliquid in [hoc] seculo,... audiat, Omnis anima potestatibus sublimioribus subjaceat*[14]: "Peter and John had nothing to give unto the emperor. For Peter said, 'Gold and silver I have none;' which whoso hath not hath nothing to give to Cæsar, nor wherein he should be subject to the higher powers. But whosoever hath either money, or lands, or any thing in this world, let him hear what St Paul saith, 'Let every soul submit itself to the higher powers.'" Orig. ad Rom. cap. xiii. Lib. ix. Acts iii.

And, for proof of the practice hereof, pope Leo thus submitteth himself humbly unto Lewis the emperor: *Nos si incompetenter aliquid egimus, et in subditis justæ legis tramitem non conservavimus, vestro admissorum nostrorum cuncta volumus emendare judicio*[15]: "If we have done any thing disorderly, and over our subjects have not kept the due trade and course of law, by your majesty's judgment we will redress all our faults." ii. Quæst. 7. Nos si.

So likewise, long before pope Leo, pope Gregory wrote unto the emperor Mauritius: *Ecce per me, servum ultimum suum et vestrum, respondebit Christus;... sacerdotes meos manui tuæ commisi, &c. Ego quidem, [vestræ] jussioni subjectus, legem vestram per diversas terrarum partes transmitti feci*[16]: "Behold, thus will Christ answer you by me, being both his and your most humble servant: I have committed my priests unto thy hand. As for my part, I, being subject unto your majesty's commandment, have caused your order to be proclaimed through divers parts of the world." Gregor. Lib. ii. Epist. 100. ad Maurit. Imper.

Again he saith: *Christus dominari imperatorem non solum militibus sed etiam sacerdotibus concessit*[17]: "Christ hath given power unto the emperor to bear rule, not only over soldiers but also over priests." Gregor. Lib. ii. Epist. 103.

Again he saith: *Et imperatori obedientiam præbui; et, pro Deo, quod sensi minime tacui*[18]: "I have shewed my duty towards my lord the emperor; and, touching God, I have not concealed what I thought." Gregor. ad Maurit. Imper. Epist. 103.

And this is it that St Paul saith: "Let every soul be subject to the higher powers." Upon which words St Chrysostom saith: *Etiamsi sis apostolus, etiamsi evangelista, etiamsi propheta, sive quisquis tandem fueris. Neque enim pietatem subvertit ista subjectio*[19]: "Though thou be an apostle, though thou be an evangelist, though thou be a prophet, or what one soever else thou be, yet be thou subject to the higher powers. For this subjection is no hinderance to godliness." Chrysost. ad Rom. Hom. 23.

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[12] In, 1567.]

[13] Tertull. Op. Lut. 1641. Ad Scap. 2. p. 86,]

[14] Orig. Op. Par. 1733-59. Comm. in Epist. ad Rom. Lib. ix. 25. Tom. IV. p. 655; where *dicit enim*, and *subjaceat potestatibus*.]

[15] Leon. 4. Lud. August. dict. in Corp. Jur. Canon. Decret. Gratian. Decr. Sec. Pars, Caus. II. Quæst. vii. can. 41. col. 702; where *vestro ac missorum vestrorum*.]

[16] Gregor. Magni Papæ I. Op. Epist. Lib. III. Indict. XI. Ad Mauric. August. Epist. lxv. Tom. II. cols. 676, 7; where *tuæ manui*, and *subjectus eamdem legem per*.]

[17] ...qui...dominari eum non &c.—Id. ibid. ad Theodor. Med. Epist. lxvi. col. 678.]

[18] Id. ibid. ad Mauric. August. Epist. lxv. col. 677.]

[19] Chrysost. Op. Par. 1718-38. In Epist. ad Rom. Hom. xxiii. Tom. IX. p. 686.]

The Pope inferior to the Emperor.

But afterward the popes began to look aloft, and both to say themselves, and also to cause others their parasites to say: *Romanus pontifex est supra reges in temporalibus*[1]: "The bishop of Rome is above kings, even in things temporal." Again: *Papa totius orbis obtinet potestatem*[2]: "The pope hath the power of all the world." Again: *Solus papa est verus dominus temporalium:* "Only the pope is the very true lord of temporal things." And again: *Omnis potestas secularis immediate data est papæ*[3]: "All manner temporal power is given immediately to the pope."

Johan. Major. iv. Sent. Quæst. ii. Dist. 20. Sext. Lib. iii. Tit. xvi. In Gloss. Johan. de Paris. de Potest. Pap. cap. xx.[4]

Ye say: "Pope Gregory might call the emperor Mauritius his lord (not of duty, but) either of custom or of courtesy; yet (say you further) our holy father pope Pius the Fourth shall not now be bound to do the like." Here I beseech you, M. Harding, what strange kind of spiritual power hath pope Pius now gotten, that was not before in pope Gregory? What learning? What virtue? What worthiness? What holiness? What good reason can ye allege wherefore Christ and his apostles, and all other holy fathers and martyrs, should be subject to the prince, and only your late popes and cardinals should stand so free?

Ye say: "This custom hath long sithence been discontinued; and in one age the pope may acknowledge the emperor as the lord of the land where he dwelleth, and in another age he may be lord thereof himself." That is to say: In one age the pope may be subject to the emperor; and in another age the emperor may be subject to the pope. This is your whole and only reason. Thus we see your obedience towards your prince goeth not by God's word, but only by ages. Therefore we may say to you as St Hilary sometime said to the Arian heretics: *Fides temporum est, non evangeliorum*[5]: "Your faith passeth by ages, not[6] by gospels." And yet it is written: *Veritas Domini manet in æternum:* "The truth of our Lord endureth (not for one age or other, but) for ever." It were a high point of learning for an astronomer skilfully to prognosticate between the emperor and the pope, whether of them should be *Dominus anni.* Howbeit, here may I well and justly answer you with these words of St Bernard: *Omnis anima... potestatibus sublimioribus subdita sit. Si omnis, et vestra. Quis vos excipit*[7] *ab universitate? Si quis tentat excipere, conatur decipere. Noli illorum acquiescere consiliis, qui, cum sint Christiani, Christi tamen vel sequi facta vel obsequi dictis probro ducunt. Ipsi sunt qui vobis dicere solent, Servate*[8] *vestræ sedis honorem, &c. Estis vos... vestro prædecessore impotentiores*[9]*? Si non crescit per vos, non decrescat per vos. Hæc illi.* [*At*] *Christus aliter... jussit et gessit. Reddite, inquit, quæ sunt Cæsaris Cæsari, et quæ sunt Dei Deo*[10]: "'Let every soul be subject to the higher powers'. If every soul, then is your soul subject as well as others. For (notwithstanding your dignity, yet) who hath excepted you from this generality? He that would except you from the obedience of the prince seeketh to deceive you. Give no ear to their counsels. For, notwithstanding they be Christians, yet they think it shame[11] either to follow Christ's deeds, or to obey Christ's words. They use to say unto you, 'O sir, maintain the honour of your see, &c. Are not you so good as your predecessor? If your see be not advanced[12] by you, yet let it not be abased by you.' Thus say they. But Christ hath both taught and wrought far otherwise. For he saith, 'Give to Cæsar that belongeth to Cæsar, and give to God that belongeth to God'."

Hilar. ad Const. Imper.

Psal. cxvii.

Bernard. Epist. 42. ad Archiep. Senon.

[1 Apparenter multum definit [Bonifacius VIII.] quod Romanus pontifex est super reges in temporalibus. quod tamen perspicacissimi theologi dicunt esse falsum.—J. Major in Quart. Sentent. Quæst. Par. 1516. Dist. xx. Quæst. Secund. fol. 145.]

[2 ...totius enim orbis papa tenet principatum.—Corp. Jur. Canon. Lugd. 1624. Sext. Decretal. Lib. III. Tit. xvi. Gloss. in cap. unic. col. 556.]

[3 Dicunt enim, quod potestas secularis est penes papam immediate, et secundum primariam auctoritatem.—Johan. de Parrhis. De Potest. Reg. et Papal. cap. xi. in Goldast. Mon. Rom. Imp. Hanov. et Franc. 1612-14. Tom. II. p. 120. Conf. ibid. p. 121. cap. xii. pp. 122, &c.]

[4 1567 introduces the marginal reference *Johan. de Parisiis de Potestate Papæ*, and then adds *Hervæus de Potest. Pap. ca.* 19.]

[5 ...facta est fides temporum potius quam evangeliorum.—Hilar. Op. Par. 1693. Ad Constant. August. Lib. II. 4. col. 1227.]

[6 Ages and not, 1567, 1570.]

[7 Excepit, 1567, 1570.]

[8 Servatæ, 1570.]

[9 Impotentior, 1567.]

[10 Bernard. Op. Par. 1690. De Offic. Episc. seu Epist. xlii. ad Henric. Senon. Arch. cap. viii. 31. Vol. I. Tom. II. col. 474; where *nolite, opprobrio ducunt, et vos, impotentior, hæc isti,* and *reddite ait.*]

[11 It a shame, 1567.]

[12 Avaunced, 1567, 1570.]

The Pope limited to a part.

Likewise he saith again unto pope Eugenius: *A te tamen mos iste, vel potius mors ista, non cœpit; utinam in te desinat!... Vides omnem ecclesiasticum zelum fervere sola pro dignitate tuenda? Honori totum datur; sanctitati nihil, vel parum. Si, causa requirente, paulo submissius agere ac socialius te habere tentaveris, Absit, inquiunt; non decet; tempori non congruit; majestati non convenit; quam geras personam attendito*[13]: "But ye will say, this manner, or rather this death, began not of you: would God it might end in you! Do ye not see that all your ecclesiastical zeal and care standeth only in maintenance of honour? Upon honour all together is bestowed; upon holiness either nothing, or very little. If upon occasion ye would somewhat submit yourself and deal familiarly, 'O do not so,' say they; 'it is not meet; it is not agreeable to[14] the time; it is not convenient for your majesty; consider well what state ye bear'." Such good lessons, M. Harding[15], ye have wherewith to nurture and to train the pope. And if he happen of himself to be a fool, by such schooling ye are able to make him mad. Bernard. de Consid. Lib. iv.

"But Gregory," ye say, "being pope, governed the whole church of God. For he complaineth that Maximus was made bishop of Salonæ in Illyrico without his allowance[16]." This authority is answered in my former Reply[17]. But how holdeth this argument, M. Harding? "Gregory complaineth that Maximus was made bishop of Salonæ in Illyrico without his allowance;" *ergo*, Gregory ruled the whole church. Gregor. Lib. iv. Epist. 78. Art. iv. Div. 25.

What school will allow you such conclusions? It is known that in the Nicene council the charge of the whole church was committed to three principal patriarchs; whereof the patriarch of Rome was the first; the second of Alexandria; the third of Antioch. And each of these three was limited severally to his own peculiar portion. Nilus, a Greek writer, saith: *Cum aliæ regiones assignatæ sint Romano, aliæ Alexandrino, aliæ Constantinopolitano, non magis hi sub illo sunt, quam ille sub hisce*[18]: "Forasmuch as certain countries are limited to the bishop of Rome, certain to the bishop of Alexandria, and certain to the bishop of Constantinople, they are now no more under him than he under them." Nil. de Primat. Rom. Pont.

As for the churches of Illyricum, they were specially appointed to the bishop of Rome, as it appeareth by the epistle of pope Damasus, written to the bishops of Illyricum: *Par est omnes qui sunt in orbe Romano magistros consentire*[19]: "It is meet that all the teachers that be within the Roman province agree together." Sozom. Lib. vi. cap. xxiii. So saith Athanasius: *Roma est metropolis Romanæ ditionis*[20]: "Rome is the mother church (not of the whole world, but) of the province of Rome." Athanas. ad Sol. Vit. Agent. Nicephorus saith: *Justinianus decrevit ut Justiniana prima haberet locum sedis apostolicæ Romæ; utque esset caput sibi ipsi cum plena potestate*[21]: "Justinianus the emperor appointed that the city called *Justiniana Prima* should have the place of the apostolic see of Rome, and that with full power it should be head unto itself." Niceph. Lib. xvii. cap. xxviii. Neither durst your forged and counterfeit Anacletus to claim the jurisdiction of all the whole world, but only a portion of the same. For thus he saith: *Omnes episcopi qui hujus apostolicæ sedis ordinationi subjacent*[22]: "All bishops (not through the world, but) that are subject to the ordination of this apostolic see of Rome." Anacl. Epist. 3. Dist. 93. Juxt. Sanct. So likewise St Gregory, in his complaint unto the empress touching this same Maximus the bishop of Salonæ, speaketh not of all the bishops that were throughout the whole church of God, but only of such bishops as were limited unto his particular charge. For thus he maketh his complaint: *Si* Gregor. Lib. iv. Epist. 34.

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[13] Id. de Consid. ad Eugen. Lib. IV. cap. ii. 5. col. 437; where *in te utinam desinat*, and *nihil aut parum*.]

[14] *To* is not in 1611.]

[15] 1567 omits *M. Harding*.]

[16] Gregor. Magni Papæ I. Op. Par. 1705. Epist. Lib. v. Indict. XIII. Ad Constant. August. Epist. xxi. Tom. II. col. 752. See before, page 704, note 7.]

[17] See Vol. I. page 409.]

[18] Nil. Thessal. Lib. de Primat. Rom. Pont. Franc. 1555. fol. B 8. 2.]

[19] Soz. in Hist. Eccles. Script. Amst. 1695-1700. Lib. VI. cap. xxiii. p. 542.]

[20] Athanas. Op. Par. 1698. Hist. Arian. ad Monach. 35. Tom. I. Pars I. p. 364.]

[21] Γέρας δ' ἐξαίσιον καὶ Ἀχριδῷ τῇ πατρίδι νέμων ὁ Ἰουστινιανὸς, εἰς ἀρχιεπισκοπὴν ταύτην ἐτίμα, καὶ αὐτοκέφαλον ἐκκλησίαν καθίστα, πρώτην Ἰουστινιανὴν ὀνομάσας.—Niceph. Call. Eccles. Hist. Lut. Par. 1630. Lib. XVII. cap. xxviii. Tom. II. pp. 779, 80.]

[22] Anaclet. et Zach. in Corp. Jur. Canon. Decret. Gratian. Decr. Prim. Pars, Dist. xciii. can. 4. col. 441.]

episcopi mei me despiciant, &c.[1]: "If mine own bishops (lying within mine own peculiar jurisdiction) shall despise me."

Therefore your divinity wanted logic, M. Harding, when ye framed your argument in this sort: "Gregory complained of Maximus, &c. *Ergo*, Gregory governed the whole church."

The Apology, Chap. ix. Division 1 & 2.

But where they say, we have gone away from the unity of the catholic church; this is not only a matter of malice, but besides, though it be most untrue, yet hath it some shew and appearance of truth. For the common people and ignorant multitude give not ear only to[2] things true and of certainty, but even to such things also, if any chance, which may seem to have but a resemblance of truth. Therefore we see that subtle and crafty persons, when they had no truth on their side, have ever contended[3] and hotly argued with things likely to be true, to the intent they which were not able to espy the very ground of the matter might be carried away at least with some pretence and probability or likelihood of the truth[4]. In times past, whereas[5] the first Christians, our forefathers, in making their prayers to God did turn themselves towards the east, as for the most part the manner was[6]; there were that said, they worshipped
Tertull. in Apolog. the sun, and reckoned the same as their [7]god[8]. Again, where our forefathers said that, as touching immortal and everlasting life, they lived by none[9] other means but by the flesh and blood of that Lamb without[10] spot, that is to say, of our Saviour Jesus Christ; the envious creatures, and enemies[11] of Christ's cross, whose only care was to bring christian religion into slander by all manner of ways, made the people[12] believe that they
Ibid. were wicked persons, that they sacrificed men's flesh, and drunk men's blood[13]. Also, where our forefathers said that before God "there is neither man, nor woman", and that for[14] attaining to the true righteousness there is no distinction at all of persons; and whereas they called one[15] another indifferently by the name of sisters and brothers; there wanted not men with[16] forged false tales upon the same, saying that the Christians made
Ibid. no difference among themselves, either of age or of kind; but, like brute beasts, without regard, had to do one with another[17]. And whereas, to pray together[18], and to hear[19] the gospel, they met often together in secret and by-places; because rebels sometime were wont to do the like, therefore[20] rumours were everywhere spread abroad, that[21] they made privy confederacies, and took counsel together[22] either to kill the magistrates, or to subvert the commonwealth. And whereas in[23] celebrating

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[1 Gregor. Magni Papæ I. Op. Par. 1705. Epist. Lib. v. Indict. XIII. Ad Constant. August. Epist. xxi. Tom. II. col. 752.]

[2 Not credit alone to, Conf.; not credit only to, Def. 1567, 1570.]

[3 Contented, Def. 1570.]

[4 Probability thereof, Conf.]

[5 Where, Conf.]

[6 These eight words are not in Conf. and Def. 1567.]

[7 Reckoned it as God, Conf.]

[8 Alii plane humanius et verisimilius solem credunt Deum nostrum...inde suspicio, quod innotuerit nos ad orientis regionem precari.—Tertull. Op. Lut. 1641. Apolog. 16. p. 17.]

[9 No, Conf.]

[10 Lamb who was without, Conf.]

[11 Foes, Conf.]

[12 Made people, Conf.]

[13 Tertull. ibid. 7, &c. pp. 8, &c.]

[14 Woman nor for, Conf.]

[15 And that they did call one, Conf.]

[16 Which, Conf. and Def. 1567, 1570, 1609.]

[17 Tertull. ibid. 2, 8. pp. 2, 9.]

[18 Def. 1567 omits *together*.]

[19 And where for to pray and hear, Conf.]

[20 *Therefore* is not in Conf.]

[21 How, Conf.]

[22 And counselled together, Conf.]

[23 And where in, Conf.]

the holy mysteries after Christ's institution they took bread and wine, they were therefore[24] thought of many to worship, not Christ, or God, but[25] Bacchus and Ceres[26]; forsomuch as those vain gods were worshipped of the heathens[27] in like sort, after a profane superstition, with bread and wine. These things were believed of many, not because they were true indeed (for what could be more untrue?) but because they were like to be true, and, through a certain shadow of truth, might the more easily deceive the simple. On this fashion likewise do these men slander us as heretics, and say that we have left the church and fellowship of Christ; not because they think it is true, (for they do not much force of that,) but because to ignorant folk it might perhaps some way appear true[28].

Departing from the Pope.

August. contr. Faust. Lib. xx. cap. xiii.

We have, indeed, put ourselves apart, not, as heretics are wont, from the church of Christ, but, as all good men ought to do, from the infection of naughty persons and hypocrites. Nevertheless, in this point they triumph marvellously, that they be the church; that their church is Christ's spouse, the pillar of truth, the ark of Noe; and that without it there is no hope of salvation. Contrariwise, they say that we be renegates; that we have torn Christ's seat; that we are plucked quite off from the body of Christ, and have forsaken the catholic faith. And when they leave nothing unspoken, that may never so falsely and maliciously be said against us, yet this one thing are they never able truly to say, that we have swerved either from the word of God, or from the apostles of Christ, or from the primitive church. Surely we have ever judged the primitive church of Christ's time, of the apostles, and of the holy fathers, to be the catholic church; neither make we doubt to name it Noe's ark, Christ's spouse, the pillar and upholder of all truth, nor yet to fix therein the whole mean of our salvation. It is doubtless an odious matter for one to leave the fellowship whereunto he hath been accustomed, and specially of those men, who, though they be not, yet at least seem to be, and be[29] called Christians. And, to say truly, we do not despise the church of these men (howsoever it be ordered by them now-a-days), partly for the name's[30] sake itself, and partly for that the gospel of Jesus[31] Christ hath once been therein truly and purely set forth. Neither had we departed therefrom, but of very necessity, and much against our wills.

M. HARDING.

We grant that in old time slanders were made upon the faithful. But no like slander is made by us upon you in the matter whereof ye speak. For let us grant that ye have indeed put yourselves apart, and are gone from the contagion of naughty persons and hypocrites. This is the very thing we lay to your charge. For, though we were such, as for a great number ye shall never be able to prove, yet by Christ's own sentence ye must do that[a] *which they that sit in the chair of Moses bid you do, although they be hypocrites, as the scribes and Pharisees were, of whom Christ spake,* &c.... *But it shall be enough for you to do as the successors of Peter bid you to do, and so to follow their saying*[32]*, and not their doings....*

[a] The same scribes and Pharisees commanded the people to refuse Christ's

[24] *Therefore* is not in Conf.]

[25] Many not to worship Christ but, Conf.; many to worship not Christ but, Def. 1567.]

[26] ...pejus desipiens quam nonnulli, qui nos propter panem et calicem Cererem ac Liberum colere existimant?—August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. Contr. Faust. Lib. xx. cap. xiii. Tom. VIII. col. 342.]

[27] Heathen, Conf. and Def. 1567.]

[28] Jewel omits Harding's reply to the preceding paragraph.]

[29] Seem and be, Conf.]

[30] Name, Conf.]

[31] Jesu, Conf.]

[32] Sayings, Conf. and Def. 1567.]

Departing from the Pope.

The primitive church is continued with our time by the successors of St Peter, for whose faith never to fail Christ prayed, and whom[b] *only he made shepherd to feed all his flock of sheep and lambs....Christ*[c] *now requireth of you not to obey Peter and Paul, but to obey him who sitteth in their chair. Where ye say it is an odious matter to forsake us, and yet have forsaken us; where ye confess that ye despise not the church we be of, and yet grant that ye have departed from it; how standeth this together? Remember ye what ye say? Know ye what ye do? Who will regard your word, which with one*[1] *breath say and unsay? If it be odious, why do ye it? If ye despise not the church, why depart ye from it?*

company, John ix. and xii. And was the people bound to follow them?

b Untruth. For Christ never gave Peter any such special privilege.

c A strange kind of divinity, such as Peter and Paul never knew.

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

Christ saith: "The scribes and Pharisees sit in Moses' chair: do that they say, but do not that they do." Ergo, say you, we may not depart away from the pope. Howsoever it fare with your conclusion, M. Harding, verily in your premises ye compare the pope and his cardinals with the scribes and Pharisees. And yet the scribes and Pharisees sat in the chair and taught the law: your pope and cardinals sit still, and teach nothing. Notwithstanding, let us well allow of this comparison. Ye may remember that Christ also saith: "Woe be unto you, ye scribes and Pharisees, that shut up the kingdom of heaven before men; and neither do you enter in yourselves, nor will you suffer others that fain would enter. Woe be unto you, ye blind guides. Woe be unto you that have taken away the key of knowledge." Likewise he saith of them unto his disciples: "Beware of the leaven of the scribes and Pharisees:" "Let them go: blind they are, and the leaders of the blind."

Matt. xxiii.

Matt. xvi. Matt. xv.

To sit in Moses' chair was truly and rightly to instruct the people, and to open unto them the law of Moses. St Augustine saith: *Hoc ipsum quod bona dicebant, et ea quæ dicebant utiliter audiebantur et fiebant, non erat ipsorum. Cathedram enim, inquit, Mosi sedent*[2]*:* "That they spake good things unto the people, and that the things that they said were profitable to the hearers and doers of the same, it was not of themselves. For Christ saith they sit upon Moses' chair." Again, he saith: *Sedendo super cathedram Mosis legem Dei docent. Ergo per illos Deus docet. Sua vero illi si velint docere, nolite audire, nolite facere. Certe enim tales sua quærunt, non quæ Jesu Christi*[3]*:* "Sitting upon Moses' chair, they teach the law of God: therefore it is God that teacheth by the mean of them. But if they will teach you things of their own, then hear them not, then do it not. For certainly such men seek their own, and not the things that pertain to Christ Jesus." Ye see, therefore, M. Harding, we are bound to hear the pope and his cardinals and other like scribes and Pharisees, not absolutely, or without exception, whatsoever they list to say; but only so long as they teach the law of God. Further than that, St Augustine saith we may neither hear them nor follow their counsel.

August. de Serm. Dom. in Mont. Lib. ii.

August. in Johan. Tract. 46.

Hereunto ye thought it good to add more force, as a supply to aid your wants. Christ said unto Peter: "I have prayed for thee that thy faith shall never fail." Ergo, say you, the pope can never err. This way of reasoning, I trow, ye learned of Peter de Palude, a worthy doctor of your side: for so he reasoneth: *Ego rogavi pro te, Petre, ut fides tua non deficiat. Ex quo habetur quod Romana ecclesia in fide errare non potest; nec de ejus fide dubitare licet; sed in omnibus est sequenda*[4]*:* "Peter, I have prayed for thee that thy faith may not fail. By these words we are taught that the church of Rome cannot err in faith. Neither is it lawful to doubt of the faith of that church; but in all causes we are bound to follow it." But St Augustine saith: [*Nunquid*] *pro Petro rogabat;... pro Johanne et Jacobo non rogabat? Ut ceteros taceam*[5]*:* "To leave the rest, did

Petr. de Palud. de Potest. Pap. Art. 4.

August. de Quæst. Nov. Test. Quæst. 75.

[1 On, 1611.]

[2 August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. De Serm. Dom. in Mont. sec. Matt. Lib. II. cap. xxiv. 79. Tom. III. Pars II. col. 233; where *erat illorum: super cathedram.*]

[3 Id. in Johan. Evang. cap. x. Tractat. xlvi. 6. col. 604; where *sedendo enim cathedram Moysi.*]

[4 Petr. de Palud. De Caus. Immed. Eccles. Potest. Par. 1506. De Potest. Pap. Art. Quart. fol. d iii. 2; where *ut non deficiat fides tua.*]

[5 August. Op. Quæst. ex Nov. Test. Quæst. lxxv. Tom. III. Append. cols. 73, 4; where *Jacobo et Johanne.*]

Christ pray for Peter; and did he not pray for John and James?" Again he saith: *Hac nocte postulavit Satanas vexare vos, sicut triticum; et ego rogavi [Patrem] pro vobis, ne deficiat fides vestra*[6]: "This night hath Satan begged to thresh you as if it were wheat; but I have prayed to my Father (not for Peter only, but) for you, that your faith may not fail." So saith Origen: *Nunquid audebimus dicere, quod adversus unum Petrum non prævalituræ sint portæ inferorum; adversus ceteros autem apostolos ac præfectos ecclesiæ sint prævalituræ?... An Petro soli dantur a Christo claves regni cœlorum? Nec alius beatorum quisquam eas accepturus est?... Omnia quæque prius dicta sunt, quæque sequuntur, velut ad Petrum dicta, sunt omnium communia*[7]: "May we dare to say that the gates of hell shall not prevail only against Peter, but shall prevail against the other apostles and rulers of the church? Were the keys of the kingdom of heaven given only to Peter? and shall no holy man else receive the same? Nay, all the things both that were said before, and also that follow after, as spoken to Peter, are common, and belong unto all." Therefore, as ye say of the church of Rome, so may we say likewise of the church of Hierusalem, where St James was; and of the church of Ephesus, where St John was; and of other the like apostolic churches, notwithstanding they be now in the possession of the Turk, and have received the religion of Mahomet; yet, because Christ hath once prayed for them, the faith of them shall never fail.

Departing from the Pope.

August. de Verb. Dom. in Evang. sec. Luc. Serm. 36.

Orig. in Matt. Tract. 1,

Now, if the churches of Galatia, Corinth, Ephesus, Hierusalem, and of infinite other noble cities and countries planted by Paul, by John, by James, and by Christ himself, may fail from the faith; what special privilege then may we imagine hath the church of Rome planted by Peter, that it only, of all others, can never fail? For Christ prayed indifferently, as well for the rest of his apostles as for Peter, that their faith should never fail[8].

Further ye tell us: "It shall be enough for you to do as the successors of Peter bid you to do." "Christ now," you say, "requireth[9] not of you to obey Peter and Paul, but to obey him that sitteth in their chair." If this way be as sure as it is short, then is there no doubt but all is well. Though we believe neither Peter nor Paul, nor whatsoever is written in God's word, yet, say you, If we follow the pope, we cannot err. For thus much, M. Harding, ye are able to warrant us by your gospel, that Christ requireth not us now to be obedient to Peter and Paul, but only to the pope's holiness, that keepeth residence in their chair. This is your divinity; these are your words. If ye ever recant the same, ye mar the flower of your market. We need not now to say, "Thus saith the Lord;" it shall be sufficient for us to say, "Thus saith the pope." Yet St Paul so far adventureth the truth and certainty of his doctrine, that he doubteth not to say: "If an angel from heaven preach unto you any other gospel than we have preached, accursed be he." Upon which words St Chrysostom hath noted thus: *Non dixit, Si contraria annuntiaverint aut totum evangelium subverterint; verum, Si paulum evangelizaverint præter evangelium quod accepistis, etiamsi quidvis labefactaverint, anathema sint*[10]: "St Paul saith not, If they preach contrary to the gospel, or overthrow the whole gospel; but, 'If they preach any little thing besides the gospel that ye have received; if they overthrow any thing, whatsoever it be, accursed be they.'" Therefore St Hierome saith: *Ea doceat episcopus quæ a Deo... didicerit, non ex proprio corde, &c.*[11]: "Let the bishop teach those things that he hath learned of God, and not of his own heart or fancy."

Gal. i.

Chrysost. in i. cap. ad Gal.

Dist. 36. cap. final.

Chrysostom saith: *Plus aliquid dicam: ne Paulo quidem obedire oportet, si quid dixerit proprium, si quid humanum; sed apostolo Christum in se loquentem*

Chrysost. in 2 Tim. Hom. 2.

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[6] Id. de Verb. Evang. Luc. xviii. Serm. cxv. 1. Tom. V. col. 575; where *pro te Petre ne deficiat fides tua.* But earlier editions agree with bishop Jewel's reading. Conf. Op. Basil. 1543. Tom. XII. col. 137.]

[7] Orig. Op. Par. 1733-59. Comm. in Matt. Tom. XII. 11. Tom. III. pp. 524, 5.]

[8] This paragraph is not in 1567.]

[9] Now requireth, 1567.]

[10] Chrysost. Op. Par. 1718-38. In cap. i. Epist. ad Galat. Comm. Tom. X. p. 670.]

[11] Sed illa doceat, quæ &c.—Hieron. in Corp. Jur. Canon. Lugd. 1624. Decret. Gratian. Decr. Prim. Pars, Dist. xxxvi. can. 3. col. 180. The following observation is added in a note to this canon: Citatur ex. B. Hieronymo, et extat in homilia sexta Origenis in Leviticum, quas quidem homilias...B. Hieronymus Latinas fecit, &c.]

Departing from the Pope.

circumferenti[1]: "I will tell you a greater matter; we may not obey, no not St Paul himself, if he speak[2] any thing of his own, or if he speak only as a man; but we must believe the apostle of Christ, carrying Christ about speaking within him."

De Elect. et Elect. Potest. Signif. Abb.

And therefore Panormitane saith: *In concernentibus fidem, etiam dictum unius privati esset præferendum dicto papæ; si ille moveretur melioribus rationibus novi et veteris testamenti, quam papa*[3]: "In matters concerning faith, the saying of one private man were to be heard before the saying of the pope, if the same private man were moved with better reasons of the new and old testament than the pope." But that we should no longer obey Peter and Paul, but give ear only to him that is cropen into their chair, it is such divinity as neither Peter nor Paul ever taught us.

Last of all, as upon some good advantage ye begin to triumph: "Remember ye (say ye) what ye say? Know ye what ye do? Who will regard your word, which with one breath say and unsay? If it be odious to leave our fellowship, why do ye it? If ye despise not the church, why depart ye from it?" To say and unsay, it is your property, M. Harding; it is not ours. Ye have said and unsaid, and yet, were it not for shame, it is thought ye would be contented[4] to say again. We despise not the church; it is the house of God: but we mislike your defacing and disordering of the church. Christ reproved the priests and Pharisees for that they had turned the "temple of God into a cave of thieves;" and yet nevertheless he despised it not, but said it was his "Father's house." To leave the wicked fellowship of them that bear a name and shew of godliness, it seemeth odious before men; but before God it is not odious. St John saith: "Whosoever is such a one, bid him not God speed. For whoso saith God speed unto him, is partaker of his ill." St Paul saith: "I warn you that you receive no meat with any such." And God himself saith: "Come out from her, O my people, lest ye be partakers of her sins, and lest ye receive of her plagues." Thus we say not and unsay again, as you say, M. Harding: for the same thing we said before we say still[5].

Matt. xxi.

2 John.

1 Cor. v.

Rev. xviii.

The Apology, Chap. ix. Division 3.

But I put case, an idol be set up in the church of God, and the same desolation, which Christ prophesied to come, stood openly in the holy place. What if some thief or pirate invade and possess Noe's ark? These folks, as often as they tell us of the church, mean thereby themselves alone, and attribute all these titles to their own selves, boasting as they did in times past, that cried out, "The[6] temple of the Lord, the temple of the Lord;" or as the Pharisees and scribes did, which cracked they were Abraham's children. Thus with a gay and jolly shew deceive they the simple, and seek to choke us with the bare[7] name of the church: much like as if a thief, when he hath gotten into another man's house, and by violence either hath thrust out or slain the owner, should afterward assign the same house to himself, casting forth of possession the right inheritor; or, if antichrist, when he had once[8] entered into "the temple of God," should afterward say, This house is mine own; and Christ hath nothing to do withal. For these men now, after they have left nothing remaining in the church of God that hath any likeness of his church, yet will they seem the patrons and the valiant maintainers of the church. Verily[9] like as Gracchus amongst the Romans stood

[1 Chrysost. Op. Par. 1718-38. In II. Epist. ad Tim. cap. i. Hom. ii. Tom. XI. p. 669.]

[2 Spake, 1611.]

[3 Panorm. Sup. Prim. Prim. Decretal. Lugd. 1534. De Elect. Tit. vi. cap. 4, fol. 122.]

[4 Content, 1567.]

[5 The sentences after *plagues* are not in 1567.]

[6 Past which cried The, Conf. and Def. 1567.]

[7 Very, Conf.]

[8 Antichrist, after he hath once, Conf.]

[9 Very, Conf. and Def. 1567.]

sometime in[10] defence of the treasury, notwithstanding with his prodigality and fond expenses he had utterly wasted the whole stock of the treasury. And yet was there never any thing so wicked, or so far out of reason, but lightly it might be covered and defended by the name of the church. For the wasps also make honeycombs as well as bees, although there be no honey in them[11]; and wicked men have companies like to the church of God: yet, for all that, they be not straightway the people of God, which are called the people of God; neither be they all Israelites, as many as are come of Israel the father. The Arians, notwithstanding they were heretics, yet bragged they that they alone were the[12] catholics[13], calling all the rest, now Ambrosians, now Athanasians, now Johannites. And Nestorius, as saith Theodoret, for all that he was[14] an heretic, yet covered he himself τῆς ὀρθοδοξίας προσχήματι[15], that is to wit, with a certain cloke and colour of the true and right faith. Ebion, though he agreed in opinion with the Samaritans, yet, as saith Epiphanius, he would needs be[16] called a Christian[17]. The Mahometists[18] at this day, for all that all histories make plain mention, and themselves also cannot deny, but they took their first beginning of Agar the bondwoman, yet, for the very name and stock's sake, choose they rather to be called Saracens, as though they came of Sara the free woman, and Abraham's true and lawful [20]wife[21]. So likewise the false prophets of all ages, which stood up against the prophets of God, and[22] resisted Esaias, Jeremy, Christ, and the apostles, at no time cracked of any thing so much as they did of the name of the church. And for none other[23] cause did they so fiercely vex them, and call them renegates and apostates[24], than for that they had forsaken their[25] fellowship, and kept not the ordinances of the elders. Wherefore, if we would follow the judgments of those men only, who then governed the church, and would respect nothing else, neither God, nor his word; it must needs be confessed that the apostles were rightly and by just law condemned of them to death, because they fell from the bishops and priests, that is, you must think, from the catholic church; and because they made new[26] alterations in religion, contrary to the bishops' and priests' wills, yea, and for all their spurning so earnestly against it.

August. in Serm. contr. Arian. Tom. VI.[19]

August. in Epist. 48. ad Vincent[19].

Epiph. Lib. i. Hæres. 30.[19]

Sozom. Lib. vi. cap. xxxviii.[19]

M. HARDING.

... What a foolish put case, and what a fond "what if" is that, to say, "What if a pirate invade the ark of Noe?" [a]As though God sat not at the stern, and had the helm in his own hand....

[a] As though St Paul had not warned us that antichrist

[10] Stood in, Conf. and Def. 1567.]

[11] The last seven words are not in Conf. and Def. 1567.]

[12] *The* is not in Conf.]

[13] ...nos tamquam opprobrio novi nominis Homousianos vocant.—August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. Lib. contr. Serm. Arian. cap. xxxvi. 34. Tom. VIII. col. 646.

... nobis persuadere conaris, solos remansisse Rogatistas, qui catholici recte appellandi sint.—Id. ad Vincent. Rogat. Epist. xciii. cap. vii. 23. Tom. II. col. 240.]

[14] All he was, Conf.]

[15] Theodor. Op. Lut. Par. 1642-84. Hæret. Fab. Lib. IV. cap. xii. Tom. IV. p. 244.]

[16] Would be, Conf.]

[17] Σαμαρειτῶν μὲν γὰρ ἔχει τὸ βδελυρὸν...Χριστιανῶν βούλεται ἔχειν τὴν προσηγορίαν.—Epiph. Op. Par. 1622. Adv. Hær. Lib. I. Hær. xxx. Tom. I. p. 125.]

[18] Mahomytes, Conf.]

[19] Conf. has only the second of these four marginal references.]

[20] Abraham's wife, Conf.]

[21] ...ἀποτριβόμενοι δὲ τοῦ νόθου τὸν ἔλεγχον, καὶ τῆς Ἄγαρ τῆς Ἰσμαηλ μητρὸς τὴν δυσγένειαν, δούλη γὰρ ἦν, Σαρράκηνοὺς σφᾶς ὠνόμασαν, ὡς ἀπὸ Σάρρας τῆς Ἀβραὰμ γαμετῆς καταγομένους.—Soz. in Hist. Eccles. Script. Amst. 1695-1700. Lib. VI. cap. xxxviii. p. 569.]

[22] Which, Conf.]

[23] No nother, Conf.]

[24] Runaways and apostatas, Conf.; apostatas, Def. 1567.]

[25] They forsook their, Conf. and Def. 1567.]

[26] Made many new, Conf.]

To sit in the place of Christ.

shall sit and shew himself in the place of Christ.

[b] Ergo, antichrist shall sit in the pope's chair.

[c] But what if Christ's vicar himself be antichrist?

[d] Untruth, malicious and slanderous.

[e] Ergo, ye belie us, although not greatly.

[b] *Antichrist cannot sit in the temple of God* [c] *until the vicar of Christ, who keepeth possession, be thrown out; and then will Christ come with his angels to destroy the wicked man with the breath of his mouth. Ye, that are the harbingers of antichrist, are not yet able to cast out the lieutenant of Christ. Ye heave*[1] *at the under-ministers. Your master will accomplish all iniquity, and he shall be the desolation that Christ spake of. We understand what ye shoot at; but ye are ashamed to utter plainly your blasphemy.* [d] *Ye would say (as it may seem), if ye durst, that Christ is the desolation, and that antichrist is the true God.* [e] *In effect I do not greatly belie you....* 2 Thess. ii. Matth. xxiv.

Neither, if the apostles might go from the bishops of Moses' law, therefore may ye depart from the vicar of Christ. For the law of Moses is changed, and the priesthood of Aaron is transferred; but the law and priesthood of Jesus Christ tarrieth for ever, as David said, "Thou art a priest[2] *for ever according to the order of Melchisedech." Ye halt too manifestly....*

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

2 Thess. ii.

"Antichrist (ye say) cannot sit in the temple of God until the vicar of Christ, who keepeth possession, be thrown out." What say you, M. Harding? Doth Christ's vicar keep possession for antichrist? As for Christ himself, I doubt not but he is able to keep his own possession. But[3] so the old Trojans sometime said, their city could never miscarry while their *palladium* remained amongst them. But who told you these strange news, M. Harding? Who made the pope Christ's vicar-general throughout the whole church? Or who made[4] him keep possession instead of Christ? Must we needs think that the whole state of Christ's church hangeth only of the pope? Or that, if the pope were not the pope, the church of Christ were not the church? Or must your simple word now be taken for a prophecy, that antichrist shall never enter into God's temple before the pope be thrown out? This fable would have been better furnished with more credit.

Verily, whereas we say, "We put case an idol be set up in the church of God;" or, "What if some thief or pirate invade and possess Noe's ark?" neither is this "what if" so fond as you would seem to make it; nor this "put case" so impossible. For St Paul saith: "Antichrist shall sit in the church of God, and shew himself above all that is worshipped or called God:" that is to say, being a "thief" and a "pirate," he shall enter perforce into "Noe's ark."

Now, M. Harding, if antichrist may sit in the place of God, much more may he sit in the place of Peter. I will not say the pope is antichrist. God will reveal him in his time, and he shall be known. St John saith: "This is the wisdom: whoso hath understanding, let him reckon the number of the beast." Upon which words Irenæus, well-near fifteen hundred years ago, saith thus: "The name of antichrist, expressed by the[5] number, shall be Latinus:" and he addeth further: *Hoc valde verisimile est, quoniam verissimum regnum hoc habet vocabulum*[6].

Rev. xiii.

Iren. Lib. v. cap. ult.

Gregor. Lib. iv. Epist. 38. Sacerdotum paratus est exercitus.

Iren. Lib. v. cap. penult.

Joach. Abb.

St Gregory saith: "He is antichrist that shall claim to be called the universal bishop, and shall have a guard of priests to attend upon him[7]." Again Irenæus saith: *Antichristus, cum sit servus, tamen adorari vult ut Deus*[8]: "Antichrist, notwithstanding he be but a slave, yet he will be worshipped as if he were God." Joachimus Abbas saith: *Antichristus jampridem natus est Romæ, et altius extolletur in sede apostolica*[9]; "Antichrist is long sithence born in Rome, and yet shall be higher advanced[10] in the apostolic see."

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[1] Have, Def. 1570.]

[2] Art priest, Conf. and Def. 1567, 1570, 1609.]

[3] The sentences from *thrown out* are not in 1567.]

[4] Bade, 1567, 1570, 1609.]

[5] That, 1567, 1570, 1609.]

[6] Iren. Op. Par. 1710. Contr. Hær. Lib. v. cap. xxx. 3. p. 329. See Vol. II. page 915, note 12. Conf. Iren. Op. Basil. 1526. p. 337; which exhibits Jewel's reading.]

[7] Gregor. Magni Papæ I. Op. Par. 1705. Epist. Lib. v. Indict. XIII. Ad Johan. Episc. Epist. xviii. Tom. II. col. 744. See Vol. I. page 345, note 7.]

[8] Iren. Op. Contr. Hær. Lib. v. cap. xxv. p. 322. See Vol. II. page 905, note 7.]

[9] Rog. Hoveden. Annal. in Rer. Anglic. Script. Lond. 1596. Pars Post. Rich. prim. fol. 388. 2. See Vol. II. page 915, note 13.]

[10] Avaunced, 1567, 1570.]

Thus is he described, that shall sit in the place of Christ, and shall maintain possession against Christ. But "Christ shall come with his holy angels," "and shall destroy him with the breath of his mouth," which is the holy word of the living God[11]. 2 Thess. ii.

That ye allege of the priesthood of Melchisedech serveth you here to small purpose. We know, that not the pope, but Christ alone is a priest for ever according to the order of Melchisedech." St Augustine saith: *Ipse est... sacerdos noster in æternum secundum ordinem Melchisedech, qui se[met]ipsum obtulit holocaustum pro peccatis nostris, et ejus sacrificii similitudinem celebrandam in suæ passionis memoriam commendavit*[12]: "Christ is our priest for ever after the order of Melchisedech, which hath offered up himself a sacrifice for our sins, and hath delivered unto us a similitude or likeness of that sacrifice, to be done in remembrance of his passion." Therefore if ye will say, The pope is a priest for ever after the order of Melchisedech; then must you also say, The pope hath offered himself a sacrifice for the sins of the world[13]. August. in Lib. lxxxiii. Quæst. Quæst. 61.

Likewise again he saith: *Holocausti ejus imaginem ad memoriam passionis suæ in ecclesia celebrandam dedit, ut esset sacerdos in æternum, non secundum ordinem Aaron, sed secundum ordinem Melchisedech*[14]: "Christ hath given an image or resemblance of that sacrifice, to be kept in the church in remembrance of his passion, that he might be a priest for ever, not after the order of Aaron, but after the order of Melchisedech." In eadem Quæst.

Howbeit, touching this whole matter, I have answered more at large in my former reply[15]. Art. 17. Div. xv.

THE APOLOGY, Chap. ix. Division 4.

Wherefore, like as it is written that Hercules in old time was forced, in striving with Antæus, that huge giant, to lift him quite up from the earth, that was his mother, ere he could conquer him, even so must our adversaries be heaved from their mother, that is, from this vain colour and shadow of the church, wherewith they so disguise and defend themselves; otherwise they cannot be brought to yield unto the word of God. And therefore saith Jeremy the prophet, "Make not such great boast that the temple of the Lord is with you." "This is but a vain confidence: these are but lies[16]." The angel also saith in the Apocalypse: "They say they be Jews, but they be the synagogue of Satan." And Christ said to the Pharisees, when they vaunted themselves[17] of the kindred and blood of Abraham: "Ye are of your father the devil;" for you resemble not your father Abraham: as much to say as[18], Ye are not the men ye would so fain be called: ye beguile the people with vain titles, and abuse the name of the church to the overthrowing of the church. John viii.

M. HARDING.

...Heave at us whiles ye will, and whiles ye may; ye shall never remove us[19]: *in which stedfastness we trust to stand by God's grace to the last breath. Heave at us with all the forces*[20] *of your cunning, of your malice, of your flattery, of your policies, and with whatsoever engines ye have; ye shall never be able to overthrow the house of our consciences, builded upon the sure rock. Let the gourders*[21] *of rain come down from you and all other heretics, let* Matth. vii.

[11] The last nine words are not in 1567.]
[12] August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. Lib. de Div. Quæst. Octog. Trib. Quæst. lxi. 2. Tom. VI. col. 34.]
[13] This sentence is not in 1567.]
[14] Id. ibid. col. 35.]
[15] See Vol. II. pages 736, &c.]
[16] Confidence, for these are lies, Conf.]
[17] Themself, Conf.]
[18] *As* is not in, Conf.]
[19] Conf. omits *us*.]
[20] All forces, Conf.]
[21] Gourders: probably, whirlpools or violent rushings, from the old French term *gourd*.]

the floods of worldly rages thrust, let the winds of Satan's temptations blow their worst; this house shall not be overthrown....

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

Rom. xi. O M. Harding, St Paul saith unto you, *Noli altum sapere, sed time*: "Presume not of yourself, but stand in awe." Such words would rather have becomed Jer. xliv. them that said sometime unto the prophet Jeremy, *Verbum quod locutus es nobis in nomine Domini non audiemus; sed faciendo faciemus omne verbum quod egredietur de ore nostro:* "We will never hear the word that thou speakest unto us in the name of the Lord. But we will surely do whatsoever thing Luke xix. shall pass out of our own mouths." Thus it is written of them that said: "The Lord shall not bear rule over nor master us." With like mildness of spirit the οὐ ... πείσεις, οὐδὲ ἂν πείσῃς. wilful philosopher said: *Non persuadebis, etiamsi persuaseris*[1]: "Ye shall not make me believe it, no, though I do believe it."

As constancy in good things is a virtue, so frowardness and wilfulness is a vice. Vow not thus your own destruction. He that is fallen may rise again. The Lord is able to raise you up, and to make you a vessel of his glory. Ye know not to what good purpose God hath appointed you. Speak not overmuch of the strength of your mount. You know upon how light occasions it Phil. ii. hath been moved. Follow rather St Paul's counsel, and "with fear and trem- Jer. x. bling work your own salvation." The way ye walk in is not your own. Your heart is in the hand of God. Suffer God's truth to prevail, and understand Luke xi. that the kingdom of God is come unto you.

THE APOLOGY, Chap. x. Division 1.

So that these men's part had been, first to have clearly and truly proved that the Romish church is the true and right-instructed church of God; and that the same, as they do order it at this day, doth agree with the primitive church of Christ, of the apostles, and of the holy fathers, which we doubt not but was indeed the true[2] catholic church.

M. HARDING.

Ye would us to prove that the Roman church is the true church of God. Ye grant that once it was the true church of God. And the gospel sheweth that Christ prayed for it in St Peter, who made his successors there. Luke xxii.

* This is a very vain hope. For Christ prayed for the other apostles no less than for Peter.

**What followeth hereof but that it must needs abide as true as ever it was, except Christ's prayer were not heard? St Paul likewise witnesseth that the Roman faith is preached in the universal world, giving a manifest prophecy, that the Roman faith and the catholic faith should be all one. St Cyprian calleth the agreeing with the bishop of Rome, and communicating with him,* Catholicæ ecclesiæ unitatem, &c.[3]; *"The allowing and firm holding of the unity of the catholic church." And, writing to Antonianus in the same book, he accounteth it for one thing to communicate with Cornelius the bishop of Rome, and to communicate with the catholic church*[4]. Rom. i. Lib. iv. Epist. 8.

* Untruth. For where did the Holy Ghost ever make such promise?

*For you it is vain to say that it hath erred, *when the Holy Ghost hath signified that it cannot err....*

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

I will not say, Where were your wits, M. Harding, when ye wrote these things? But well I may[5] say, Where was your logic? As for divinity, it ap-

[1 Aristoph. Plut. 581.]

[2 Indeed true, Def. 1570.]

[3 ...tuam, id est, catholicæ &c. — Cypr. Op. Oxon. 1682. Ad Cornel. Epist. xlviii. p. 91.]

[4 Scripsisti ... ut exemplum ... ad Cornelium... transmitterem, ut... sciret, te secum, hoc est, cum catholica ecclesia communicare. — Id. ad Anton. Epist. lv. p. 101.]

[5 May I, 1567, 1570, 1609.]

peareth by your reckoning ye make no great account of it. "Christ," say you, "prayed for Peter:" *ergo*, "the Roman faith can never fail." Few children would willingly make such arguments. Ye presume very much of the simplicity and ignorance of your reader. For think you that Christ prayed only for Peter, and for nobody else? Or think you that Christ's prayers took place in none other of all the apostles but only in Peter? Awake for shame, and shake off these dreams. Christ himself saith: "O Father, I pray not only for these, but also for them that by their word shall believe in me." And St Augustine thus reporteth the same prayer, as it is alleged before: *Ego rogavi Patrem pro vobis, ne deficiat fides vestra*[6]: "I have prayed unto my Father," not for Peter only, but, "for you, that your faith may not fail." Again he saith: [*Nunquid*] *pro Petro rogabat;...pro Johanne et Jacobo non rogabat*[7]: "Did Christ pray for Peter, and did he not pray for John and James?" Certainly Origen saith, as likewise I have before alleged: *Omnia, quæque prius dicta sunt, quæque sequuntur, velut ad Petrum dicta, sunt omnium communia*[8]: "All the things that either past before, or follow after, as spoken unto Peter, are common unto all the apostles."

I have prayed for thee, Peter, &c.

John xvii.

August. de Verb. Dom. in Evang. sec. Luc. Serm. 36.

August. in Quæst. Nov. Test. Quæst. 75.

Orig. in Matt. Tract. 1.

But St Paul saith unto the Romans: "Your faith is spoken of throughout the world." And St Cyprian saith: "The agreeing with the bishop of Rome was the unity of the catholic church." And yet it may please you to be remembered by the way, that the same St Cyprian reproved Cornelius and Stephanus, both bishops of Rome, and told them they were both deceived; and therefore would not agree unto them. Nevertheless hereof ye conclude thus: *ergo*, "the Holy Ghost hath signified that the church of Rome cannot err." It pitieth me, M. Harding, in your behalf, to see into how strait and miserable holes ye are fain to creep. For what if the faith and the constancy of the Romans in old times, for the nobility of that empire and city, were then published throughout the whole world? Yet where did the Holy Ghost ever tell you that therefore the church of Rome should never err? By what word? By what promise? By what revelation? Ye say: "The faith of the Romans was heard of throughout the whole world." So was the great capitol there: so was the beauty of their princely buildings: which notwithstanding are now made smooth and even with the ground. So likewise is it written of Hierusalem: *De Sion exibit lex, et verbum Domini de Hierusalem:* "The law shall come forth from Sion, and the word of God from Hierusalem." So in the city of Antioch the faithful were first called Christians; and therefore Chrysostom calleth the same city, *Caput totius orbis*[9]: "The head of the whole world." Thus was Eusebius Samosatensis called *Regula fidei*[10]: "The rule and standard of the faith." Thus was Athanasius called *Orbis oculus et fundamentum fidei*[11]: "The eye of the world and the foundation of the faith." Would ye hereof conclude, M. Harding, that therefore the faith of these churches can never fail? Ye know that, all this notwithstanding, the churches as well of Hierusalem and Antioch, as also of Asia, Syria, Græcia, and of all the East, are now subject to the Turk, and scarcely a few left there that dare to profess the name of Christ.

Rom. i.

Isai. ii.

Chrysost. ad Popul. Antioch. Hom. 3.

Nazian. Epist. 74. ad Heron.

As St Paul saith to the Romans, "Your faith is spoken of throughout all the world," even so saith he to the Thessalonians, "Your faith is carried abroad into all places:" *In omni loco fides vestra quæ est in Deum dimanavit.* The words be like; the sense is one. Will you therefore tell us, The Thessalonians' faith shall never fail? Verily at this day there is no sparkle of faith left there. For the Christians are banished and thrust out, and the city is fully possessed with Jews, which are the enemies of the cross of Christ[12].

1 Thess. i.

What a fond paradise is this to say, because ye had once the faith of Christ,

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[6] August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. De Verb. Evang. Luc. xviii. Serm. cxv. 1. Tom. V. col. 575. See before, page 711, note 6.]

[7] Id. Quæst. ex Nov. Test. Quæst. lxxv. Tom. III. Append. col. 73. See before, page 710, note 5.]

[8] Orig. Op. Par. 1733-59. Comm. in Matt. Tom. XII. 11. Tom. III. p. 525. See before, page 711.]

[9] Chrysost. Op. Par. 1718-38. Ad Pop. Ant. Hom. iii. Tom. II. p. 36.]

[10] Gregor. Naz. Op. Par. 1778-1840. Ad Euseb. Samos. Episc. Epist. xliv. Tom. II. p. 39.]

[11] Id. in Laud. Heron. Orat. xxv. 11. Tom. I. p. 462.]

[12] The preceding paragraph is not in 1567.]

therefore now ye can never err! Such a fantastical paradise had they built unto themselves, that cried out in old times, even as you do now, "The temple of God! the temple of God!" "We are the children of Abraham." But whosoever well considereth the story of the time shall soon find that then they cried most, "The temple of God," when they had most shamefully abused and defaced the temple of God; and that then they claimed most to be called the children of Abraham, when they had forsaken both the faith and life of Abraham, and, as Christ saith unto them, "were become the children of the devil."

Jer. vii. Matt. iii. John viii.

Such a fantasy had they that said: *Non peribit lex a sacerdote; nec consilium a sapiente; nec verbum a propheta:* "The law shall not depart from the priest; nor counsel from the wise; nor the word from the prophet." But God saith unto them: *Obstupescent sacerdotes, et prophetæ terrebuntur. Lex peribit a sacerdote, et consilium a senioribus. Nox vobis erit pro visione; et tenebræ pro divinatione:* "Your priests shall be amazed, and your prophets shall be at their wits' end. The law shall perish from the priest, and counsel shall want in the elders." "Ye shall have night instead of a vision, and darkness instead of prophecy."

Jer. xviii. Ezek. vii. Mic. iii.

St Paul saith unto the Galatians: "Ye began well; who hath thus bewitched you, that ye should not obey the truth?" St Peter saith: "As there were false prophets amongst the people in old time, even so among you there shall be false prophets, bringing in sects of perdition." Of such a change the prophet Esay complaineth: *Quomodo facta est meretrix civitas fidelis!* "How is this faithful city now become an harlot!" Deceive not thus yourself, M. Harding, with vain hope. Hearken rather to the voice of our Lord. Put nothing to his word; take nothing from the same; turn neither to the right hand nor to the left; so shall ye be sure ye shall not err.

Gal. iii. 2 Pet. ii. Isai. i.

THE APOLOGY, Chap. x. Division 2.

God's word mutable.

For our parts, if we could have judged ignorance, error, superstition, idolatry, men's inventions, and the same commonly disagreeing with the holy scriptures, either to please God[1], or to be sufficient for the obtaining of everlasting[2] salvation; or, if we could ascertain ourselves that the word of God was written but for a time only, and afterward again ought to be abrogated and put away; or else, that the sayings and commandments of God ought to be subject to man's will, that whatsoever God saith and commandeth, except the bishop of Rome will and command[3] the same, it must be taken as void and[4] unspoken; if we could have brought ourselves to believe these things, we grant there had been no cause at all why we should have left these men's company.

M. HARDING.

God forbid that either ye or any christian man should judge that ignorance, error, superstition, idolatry, men's inventions contrary to the scriptures, either pleased God, or to be sufficient to salvation. Because ye lay this to the catholic church, [a]*we can say no less of you but that ye be false liars and devilish slanderers. And* *[*]*who teacheth that God's word was written but for a time only?* *[*]*That his commandments be subject to man's will?* *[*]*That God's sayings and precepts be void, except the bishop of Rome ratify them? Here would I say unto you at least, Fie for shame, but that I think I should prevail no more than if I said to an impudent and common harlot, Fie for shame. Who may not plainly see the scripture verified on you,* Frons mulieris meretricis facta est vobis? *"Ye have gotten to you the impudent face of an harlot."*... Jer. iii.

[a] Untruth inclosed, known, and wilful. Read the answer.
[*] Thus partly M. Hard. doctors say; partly M. Hard. himself; as it shall appear.

[1] Either pleased God, Conf.]
[2] Obtaining everlasting, Conf.]
[3] Willeth and commandeth, Conf.]
[4] An, Conf.]

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

God's word mutable.

Here, M. Harding, it hath pleased you to bestow large liveries of your "false liars," "devilish slanders[5]," "impudent faces," "common harlots," with "fies" and "shame[6]," &c. Wherein no man may justly grudge you to be so liberal of your own. First, that, by your doctrine, ignorance highly pleaseth God, and is sufficient to salvation, besides the general practice of your whole church, ye may soon call to mind, that one of your dearest friends, in most honourable audience, not long sithence openly published the same, in the name and behoof of all his brethren, as a secret mystery and the very bottom of your divinity; "Ignorance is the mother of devotion[7]." You know, M. Harding, that a great many both worthy and honourable are able to witness that this is neither "false lie" nor "devilish slander." You know that cardinal Cusanus teacheth you, *Obedientia... irrationalis est consummata obedientia et perfectissima, scilicet, quando obeditur*[8] *sine inquisitione rationis, sicut jumentum obedit domino suo. Si igitur videas pontificem tuum non communicare alicui, neque tu illi communices. Ecce quantum peccant, qui detrahunt pontifici, &c.*[9]: "Obedience without reason is the full and most perfect[10] obedience; I mean, when a man is obedient to do whatsoever he is commanded, without requiring of any reason, even as a horse is obedient to his master. Therefore, if thou see thy bishop to refuse the communion of any man, refuse thou to communicate with the same. O how much they offend that slander their bishop!" This, M. Harding, is your doctrine of simple ignorance[11]. Concerning superstition and idolatry, what need we many words? The thing itself is too well able to prove itself. Whoso but looketh into your churches may easily, not only see it with his eyes, but also feel it with his fingers. That God's holy word by your learning is mutable, and serveth only for a time, your own doctor cardinal[12] Cusanus would soon have taught you; notwithstanding, it may scarcely seem lawful for you, being so learned a man in the substance of your own doctrine, to plead ignorance. Cardinal Cusanus' words be these: *Scripturæ adaptatæ sunt ad tempus et varie intelliguntur; ita ut uno tempore secundum currentem universalem ritum exponantur, mutato ritu iterum sententia mutetur*[13]: "The scriptures are applied unto the time, and may have sundry understandings; so that at one time they may be expounded (one way) according to the universal current order (of the church), and that, the same order being broken, the meaning of the scriptures may be changed." Look better on your books, M. Harding, and ye shall see that herein is neither lie nor slander. That the holy scriptures of God by your divinity be not authentical, farther than they be ratified by the pope, ye might have learned of your Sylvester Prierias, master of the pope's palace. Thus he writeth: *A doctrina Romanæ ecclesiæ et Romani pontificis sacra scriptura robur trahit et auctoritatem*[15]: "The holy scripture taketh strength and authority of the doctrine of the Roman church and of the bishop of Rome." Again he saith: *Indulgentiæ auctoritate scripturæ non innotuere nobis, sed auctoritate Romanæ ecclesiæ Romanorumque pontificum, quæ major est*[16]: "Pardons are not known to us by the authority of the scriptures, but by the authority of the Roman church and of the bishops of Rome, which is greater than the authority of the scriptures."

Nicol. Cusan. Excit. Lib. vi. Ubi Ecclesia.

Card. Cusan. ad Bohem. Epist. 2.[14]

Sylv. Prier. contr. Luther.

If ye say these be lies and slanders, ye offer great wrong to your own doctors, making them the authors of lies and slanders[17]. Nevertheless, if ye shall happen to cry out in the impatience of your choler, Fie for shame; impudent faces; common harlots; remember what you yourself have written immediately before

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[5] Slanderers, 1567, 1570.]
[6] Shames, 1567, 1570.]
[7] See Vol. I. page 57.]
[8] Obeditus, 1570.]
[9] Nic. de Cusa Op. Basil. 1565. Excit. Lib. VI. Tom. II. p. 547; where *si igitur vides*.]
[10] Perfite, 1570.]
[11] The paragraph from *slander* is not in 1567.]
[12] Cardinalis, 1567, 1570.]
[13] ...scripturasque esse ad tempus adaptatas, et varie intellectas, ita &c. exponerentur, &c. mutaretur.—Id. ad Bohem. Epist. ii. p. 833.]
[14] Cardinal. Cusanus De Authoritate Eccle. et Concilii supra et contra Scripturam, 1567.]
[15] Sylvest. Prier. In Luth. Concl. Dial. in Luth. Op. Witeb. 1552-80. Tom. I. fol. 159. 2. See Vol. I. page 216, note 4.]
[16] Id. ibid. fol. 166. See Vol. I. page 76, note 3.]
[17] These eight words are not in 1567.]

touching the same. These be your own words; recant them ye may; but deny them ye may not. Thus you say: "Christ now requireth of you not to obey Peter and Paul (that is to say, the word of God), but to obey him who sitteth in their chair[1]." We forge not these words, M. Harding; they are your own. Folks will think ye have no modest matron's face if ye speak willingly against yourself.

M. Hard. fol. 192. b. [Conf.]

Now ye see, M. Harding, who teacheth you that God's word was written only for a time; and that God's commandments are no further authentical but as they be ratified by the pope. Therefore, henceforth ye may spare these "lies" and "slanders," and cry out "fie" and "shame" when some occasion shall be offered. Indeed, Cardinal Cusanus saith: *Veritas adhæret cathedræ. Quare membra cathedræ unita, et pontifici conjuncta, efficiunt ecclesiam*[2]: "The truth cleaveth fast to the pope's chair. Therefore the members united unto that chair, and joined unto the pope, make the church."

Card. Cusan. ad Bohem. Epist. 2.[3]

THE APOLOGY, Chap. xi. Division 1.

The Church of Rome may err[4].

As touching that we have now done, to depart from that church, whose errors were proved and made manifest to the world, which church also had already evidently departed from God's word; and yet not to depart so much from itself as from the errors thereof, and not to do this disorderly or wickedly, but quietly and soberly; we have done nothing herein against the doctrine either of Christ, or of his apostles. For neither is the church of God such as it may not be dusked with some spot, or asketh not sometime reparation. Else what need[5] there so many assemblies and councils, without the which, as saith Egidius, the christian faith is not able to stand? "For look," saith he, "how often councils are discontinued, so often is the church destitute of Christ[6]."

In Concil. Later. sub Julio II.

M. HARDING.

.... *That the .... church, in points of our faith necessary to salvation, erreth, we deny it; and* upon warrant of Christ's promise we tell it you all, assuredly ye shall never be able to prove it.*

* Untruth. Ye make your own warrant. For Christ never made such promise to the church of Rome.

Councils are kept, and bishops be made by the same providence of God, which provideth partly by that means, and partly by other, that the Roman faith, chair, and rock, shall stand for ever. Ad quos (*saith St Cyprian, speaking of them of Rome*) perfidia non potest habere accessum[7]*. "*To the which unfaithfulness cannot have access.*" *He saith not only, shall not have access, but, cannot have access....*

* Untruth grounded upon gross ignorance. For M. Hard. foully mistaketh St Cyprian's whole meaning.

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

It seemeth, M. Harding, ye have been brought up under some poor unskilful chirurgeon[8]: for ye apply one salve to every sore. Whatsoever be alleged against you, it is sufficient for you to answer, The church of Rome erreth not; the church of Rome hath not erred; the church of Rome cannot err[9]. And to this purpose ye have brought us in certain words of St Cyprian, far besides the author's meaning. Whereby it appeareth that sometimes ye allege authorities of the fathers, not considering neither to what end they spake, nor what they meant.

For whereas St Cyprian saith, "Unto the Romans unfaithfulness can have no access," he speaketh not of the unfaithfulness of faith or doctrine, as you

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[1 See before, page 710.]

[2 ...veritas enim cathedræ adhæret. Quare &c. ecclesiam efficiunt.—Nic. de Cusa Op. Ad Bohem. Epist. ii. Tom. II. p. 833.]

[3 Cardin. Cusan. De Authorita. Eccle. et Concil. supra et contra Scripturam, 1567.]

[4 The Church of Rome cannot err, 1567, 1570.]

[5 Needeth, Conf.]

[6 ...quoties a synodis habendis cessatum est, toties vidimus divinam sponsam a sponso derelictam.—Ægid. Viterb. Orat. Synod. Later. in Crabb. Concil. Col. Agrip. 1551. Tom. III. p. 524.]

[7 See below, note 11.]

[8 Surgeon, 1567, 1570.]

[9 Erreth not, hath not erred, cannot err, 1567.]

by error have imagined, but only of the unfaithfulness of report. The cause of writing that epistle, in short, was this: certain lewd fellows, refusing to stand to the judgment of the bishops of their own country of Africa, appealed further, and fled to Rome, with many untrue and forged tales, to win some credit to their cause. Hereunto St Cyprian saith, The Romans be godly and wise men: they will soon be able to espy their falsehood[10]. "For unfaithful reports and lewd tales can have no access unto them." If ye had considered either the occasion of the writing, or the whole drift of the letter, or the very bare words as they lie, ye might easily have seen that this only was St Cyprian's meaning.

His words be these: *Post ista, adhuc insuper pseudoepiscopo sibi ab hæreticis constituto, navigare audent, et ad Petri cathedram,... unde unitas sacerdotalis exorta est, a schismaticis et profanis literas ferre; nec cogitare eos esse Romanos, quorum fides, apostolo prædicante, laudata est; ad quos perfidia habere non possit accessum*[11]: "After this, having a false bishop appointed unto them by heretics, they dare to take shipping, and unto Peter's chair, and unto that principal church, from whence the priestly unity grew first, to carry letters from schismatics and lewd men; neither consider they that the Romans are that people whose faith is praised by St Paul the apostle, unto whom unfaithfulness (of reports and tales) can have no access." Cypr. Lib. i. Epist. 3.

If ye doubt of this exposition, read these words touching the same, going before in the same epistle: *Romam cum mendaciorum suorum merce navigarunt. Quasi veritas post eos navigare non posset; quæ mendaces linguas rei certa probatione convinceret*[12]: "They sail to Rome with the merchandise of their lies; as though the truth could not sail after them, that by proof of the certainty might control their lying tongues." This is that unfaithfulness that St Cyprian speaketh of, and not the unfaithfulness of faith and doctrine. In eadem Epist.

Now, touching this appealing and fleeing to Rome, lest ye should think, by occasion of these words, that St Cyprian alloweth it, or thinketh well of it, ye shall find in the same epistle that he utterly misliketh it, and condemneth it. For thus he saith: *Æquum est pariter et justum, ut uniuscujusque causa illic audiatur, ubi crimen admissum est*[13]: "It is meet and right that every man's cause be pleaded in that country where the fault was committed, &c." Again: *Oportet... eos, quibus præsumus, non circumcursare*[14]: "It is not meet that they over whom we have jurisdiction should run about the world:" he meaneth, to Rome. Cypr. in eadem Epist.

And again: *Nisi... paucis desperatis et perditis minor videtur esse auctoritas episcoporum in Africa constitutorum, &c.*[15] "Unless a few desperate and wicked men think the authority of the bishops of Africa is less than the authority of the bishops of Rome." By these words St Cyprian maketh the bishop of Rome equal in authority with himself and other bishops. Wherefore I must conclude, with other words of St Cyprian in the same epistle: *Hæc est, frater, vera dementia, non cogitare.... quod mendacia non diu fallant; noctem tam diu esse, quoad illucescat dies*[16]: "O my brother, this indeed is very madness not to think that lies cannot long deceive: the night lasteth no longer but until the day begin to spring."

The Apology, Chap. xii. Division 1 and 2.

Or, if there be no peril that harm may come to the church, what need is there to retain to no purpose the names of bishops? For so it is[17] now commonly used among them. The names only they bear, and do nothing[18]. For, if there be no sheep that may stray, why be they called shepherds? If there be no city that may be betrayed, why be

[10] Falsehead, 1567, 1570.]

[11] Cypr. Op. Oxon. 1682. Ad Cornel. Epist. lix. pp. 135, 6.

[12] Id. ibid. p. 133; where *navigaverunt*, and *rei certæ*.]

[13] ...æquum sit pariter ac justum, &c. est crimen admissum.—Id. ibid. p. 136.]

[14] Id. ibid.]

[15] Id. ibid. pp. 136, 7.]

[16] Id. ibid. p. 133; where *quamdiu illuscescat*.]

[17] Bishops as is, Conf.]

[18] This sentence is not in Conf. and Def. 1567.]

The Church in few.

they called watchmen? If there be nothing that may run to ruin, why be they called pillars? Anon after the first creation of the world, the church of God began to spread abroad, and the same was instructed with the heavenly word, which God himself pronounced with his own mouth. It was also furnished with divine ceremonies. It was taught by the Spirit of God, by the patriarchs and prophets, and continued so even till the time that Christ shewed himself to us in the flesh. Thus[1] notwithstanding, how often, O good God, in the mean while, and how horribly was the same church darkened and decayed[2]!

Where was that church then "when all flesh upon earth had defiled his[3] own way?" Where was it when amongst the number of the whole world there were only eight persons (and neither they all chaste and good neither) whom[4] God's will was should be saved alive from the[5] universal destruction and mortality? when Elie the prophet so lamentably and bitterly[6] made his moan[7], that only himself was left of all the whole world which did truly and duly worship God? and when Esay said: "The silver" of God's people (that is, of the church) was "become dross!" and that the same "city which aforetime had been faithful, was now become an harlot;" and that in the same there was[8] "no part sound throughout the whole body, from the head to the foot?" or else, when Christ himself said, that the house of God was made by the Pharisees and priests "a den of thieves?" Of a truth, the church, even as a corn-field, except it be eared, manured, tilled, and trimmed, will instead of wheat bring[10] forth thistles, darnel, and nettles. For this cause did God send ever among both prophets and apostles, and last of all his own Son, who might bring home the people into the right way, and repair anew the tottering church after she had erred.

1 Kings xix. Isai. i. Matt. xxi.[9]

M. HARDING.

These and the like places have been already alleged of old time against the catholics by the Donatists, as St Augustine sheweth, and of late years by your school-master, John Calvin, of Geneva. We need not to study for new answers to the argument, made out of these and such other places, much fitter for this purpose than these are, sith that the same is so well answered by St Augustine. "Often-times," saith he, "God's word rebuketh the wicked sorts of the church so as though all were such, and none at all remained good. For thereby we are warned, them in their certain number to be called all, as much to say, all the children of hell[11]." .... *But, sirs, what if the church at the beginning of the world, and at the general drowning, was of small number? And what if the synagogue were sometime quite extinguished? Must it therefore follow that the church also, after that God hath given to Christ his Son the ends of the world to be his possession, may now be brought to a few, and to fail altogether?... "Where was the church," say ye, "when of all the world there were but eight persons, and they only saved alive from the universal destruction?" Forsooth, they were in Noe's ark. And*

De Unitate Ecclesiæ, cap. xii.

Psal. ii.

[1 This, Conf. and Def. 1567, 1570.]

[2 Jewel omits Harding's reply to this paragraph, in which he asserts that to say the whole church errs is to follow the ancient heretics.]

[3 Their, Conf.]

[4 And they neither all chaste and good whom, Conf.]

[5 That, Conf. and Def. 1567, 1570.]

[6 Utterly, Def. 1570.]

[7 Made moan, Conf.]

[8 Same was, Conf.]

[9 Conf. omits xxi.]

[10 Instead of wheat it will bring, Conf.]

[11 Plerumque enim sermo divinus impias turbas ecclesiæ...sic redarguit, tamquam omnes tales sint, et nullus bonus omnino remanserit. Inde quippe admonemur, in suo quodam numero eos dici omnes, id est, omnes filios gehennæ, quo eos Deus pertinere præscivit.—August. Op. Par. 1679-1700.—Contr. Donatist. Epist. cap. xiii. 34, Tom. IX. col. 361.]

now have we our Noe's ark also, in which whosoever abideth not the same is drowned....* The Church in few.

.... Neither were the prophets and apostles sent, nor Christ came himself, to repair anew the church which had in faith wholly erred; but both they were sent, and he came, that it should not wholly err....

* But the same ark is not the church of Rome.

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

It is true that ye say, In the holy scriptures this word "all" is often used instead of many. And thus, ye say, it fared with the synagogue of the Jews; for that then the faithful were sometimes brought unto a small number, sometimes were utterly decayed and consumed to nought. And in this sense," ye say, Elias complained that the prophets of God were all slain, and he only left alive. 1 Kings xix.

"But now," ye say, "the church may not be brought to a few; for God hath given to Christ his Son the ends of the world to be his possession." Yet Christ himself, M. Harding[12], that best knew the reach and limits of his possession, saith thus: "When the Son of man shall come, think you he shall find faith in the world?" Whereupon St Ambrose saith: *Tunc fides rara; ut ipse quasi addubitans Dominus [ista] dixerit*[13]: "Then shall faith be geason; so that our Lord spake these words as doubting thereof, whether there should be any faithful left or no." And St John in his Revelations saith: *Mulier fugit in solitudinem, ubi habet locum paratum a Deo:* "The woman" (whereby is meant, not the synagogue of the Jews, but the church of Christ) "fleeth into the wilderness, where she hath a place provided of God." *By which words is meant, that in time of ignorance and persecution the church is without countenance, and unknown. St Paul saith:* "Before the day of the Lord there shall be a departing from the faith of Christ." By these it appeareth the[15] decay of the church shall be universal, and that the remanents shall not be many. Therefore Vincentius Lirinensis putteth the case on this wise: *Quid si novella aliqua contagio jam non portiunculam tantum, sed totam pariter ecclesiam commaculare conetur? Tunc item providebit, ut antiquitati inhæreat*[16]: "What if some new corruption go about to invade, not only some portion of the church, but also the whole universal church altogether? Then must a christian man settle himself to cleave to antiquity:" that is to say, to follow the primitive church of the apostles and ancient fathers. This case would he never have moved, unless he thought[17] the whole universal church might happen by some error to be deceived[18]. Surely St Chrysostom, speaking of the state of the church that he saw in his time, saith thus: *Videtur ecclesia hodie mulieri, quæ mansuetudine veteri exciderit, similis; quæque symbola tantum felicitatis illius quædam referat; arcas et scrinia rerum pretiosissimarum adhuc retinens, thesauro destituta. Huic mulieri ecclesia hodie videtur similis*[19]: "The church this day is like unto a woman that hath quite lost all her old modesty, and that beareth only certain badges and tokens of her former felicity, and that, being utterly bereft of the treasures, keepeth only the cases and boxes of the precious things she had before." To such a woman the church this day may be likened.

Luke xviii. Ambros. in Luc. Lib. x. cap. xxi.[14] Rev. xii. 2 Thess. ii. Vincent. Lirin. Chrysost. in 1 ad Cor. Hom. 36.

Likewise St Hierome, speaking of that he saw by experience in his time, saith thus: [*Ecclesia*] *postquam ad christianos principes pervenit, potentia quidem et divitiis major, sed virtutibus minor facta est*[20]: "The church, after that she is come to christian princes, indeed is greater in wealth and riches; but in virtue and holiness she is less than she was before." Therefore saith Chrysostom: *Hæc dico ne quis miretur ecclesiam propter multitudinem; sed ut ipsam probatam reddere studeamus*[21]: "Thus much I tell you, not that we should advance[22] the church

Hieron. in Vit. Malch. Chrysost. ad Pop. Ant. Hom. 4.

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[12] 1567 has not *M. Harding.*]

[13] Ambros. Op. Par. 1686—90. Expos. Evang. sec. Luc. Lib. x. 19. Tom. I. col. 1508.]

[14] *Cap. xxi.* is not in 1567, 1570.]

[15] Appeareth that the, 1567, 1570.]

[16] Vincent. Lirin. Contr. Hær. 1591. cap. iv. p. 7.]

[17] He had thought, 1567, 1570.]

[18] Corrupted, 1567, 1570.]

[19] Chrysost. Op. Par. 1718-38. In Epist. I. ad Cor. Hom. xxxvi. Tom. X. p. 339.]

[20] Hieron. Op. Par. 1693-1706. Vit. Malch. Monach. Tom. IV. Pars II. col. 91; where *principes venerit*, and *facta sit.*]

[21] Chrysost. Op. Ad. Pop. Ant. Hom. iv. Tom. II. pp. 56, 7.]

[22] Avaunce, 1567, 1570.]

The Church in few.

because of the multitude and increase of people, but that we should endeavour to adorn her with virtue."

Now, where ye say the church now can never be brought to few, St Bernard saith thus unto God by way of moan: *Conjurasse videtur contra te universitas populi christiani, a minimo usque ad maximum: a planta pedis usque ad verticem non est sanitas ulla. Egressa est iniquitas a senioribus judicibus, vicariis tuis, qui videntur regere populum tuum*[1]: "O Lord, the universal company of christian people seemeth to have conspired against thee, from the lowest unto the highest. From the sole of the foot unto the crown of the head there is no whole place: iniquity and wickedness is gone forth from thy elder judges, that be thy vicars, that are thought to rule thy people."

Bernard. in Conv. Paul. Serm. 1.

Again, he saith: *Intestinalis et insanabilis est plaga ecclesiæ*[2]: "The wound of the church is inward, and past recovery[3]." Likewise, Baptista Mantuan complaineth unto pope Leo:

Citat. ab Holcot. in Sapient. Lect. 23.

Bapt. Mant. Fast. 4.

Sancte Pater, succurre, Leo: respublica Christi
Labitur, ægrotatque fides jam proxima morti[4].

"Help, holy father Leo: Christ's commonwealth (that is the church) is falling down. The faith is sick, and like to die."

So likewise saith he that wrote the Fort of Faith: *Etsi in hoc*[5] *dæmonum bello cadant religiosi principes, et milites, et prælati ecclesiastici, et subditi, tamen semper manent aliqui, in quibus salvatur veritas fidei et justificatio bonæ conscientiæ: et si non nisi duo homines fideles remanerent*[6] *in mundo, in eis salvaretur ecclesia, quæ est unitas fidelium*[7]: "In this battle of devils, notwithstanding the godly princes, the soldiers, the ecclesiastical prelates and subjects be overthrown; yet evermore some remain in whom the truth of faith and the righteousness of a good conscience is preserved. And, although there remained but two faithful men[8] in the world, yet in the same two the church of God should be saved; which church is the unity of the faithful." The church of God is often compared to the moon, which sometimes is full, and round, and bright, and glorious; sometimes is wholly shadowed and drowned in darkness; and yet notwithstanding is not consumed, but in substance remaineth still[9]. St Augustine saith: *Aliquando in solo Abel ecclesia erat; et expugnatus est a fratre malo et perdito Cain*[10]. *Aliquando in solo Enoch ecclesia erat; et translatus est ab iniquis*[11]: "Sometime the church was in only Abel; and he was destroyed by his brother, wicked Cain[10]. Sometime the church was only in Enoch; and he was translated from the wicked." Your own Panormitane saith: *Possibile est, quod vera fides Christi remaneret in uno solo; atque ita verum est dicere, quod fides non deficit in ecclesia... Hoc patuit post passionem Christi: nam fides remansit tantum in beata virgine; quia omnes alii scandalizati sunt. Tamen Christus ante passionem oraverat pro Petro, ut non deficeret fides sua. Ergo* [*ecclesia*] *non dicitur deficere, nec etiam errare, si remanet vera fides in uno solo*[12]: "It is possible the true faith of Christ may remain in one alone; and so it is true to say that faith faileth not in the church. This thing appeared after Christ's passion; for then the faith remained only in the blessed virgin: for all the rest (both the apostles and others) were offended; yet had[13] Christ prayed for Peter before his passion that his faith should not fail. Therefore we may not say, the church faileth or erreth, if the faith remain but in one alone." Again, St Augustine saith: *Non tamen propter hos remanebit Christus sine hære-*

Fortal. Fid. Lib. v.

August. Epist. 48.

August. in Psal. cxxviii.

Extr. de Elect. Signif. Abb.

August. in Psal. lxxxviii.

[1 Bernard. Op. Par. 1690. In Conv. S. Paul. Serm. i. 3. Vol. I. Tom. III. col. 956.]

[2 R. Holkot in Lib. Sapient. Lect. xxiv. p. 87. Conf. Bernard. Op. Ad Prælat. in Concil. Serm. 7. Vol. II. Tom. v. cols. 747, 8. In this place there are similar ideas expressed; but the work in which they occur is not really by Bernard.]

[3 Recover, 1567, 1570.]

[4 Bapt. Mant. Libr. de Sacr. Dieb. Argent. 1518. Lib. IV. De Sanct. Leon. vv. 173, 4. fol. i ii. 2.]

[5 Hoc in, 1567.]

[6 Homines remanerent, 1567.]

[7 Sed licet...in hoc &c. milites prælati ac ecclesiastici subditi...semper tamen manent &c. duo viri fideles &c.—Fortal. Fid. Nurm. 1494. Lib. v. Consid. iv. fol. 281.]

[8 Two men, 1567.]

[9 The editor has not found this comparison very distinctly expressed in the epistle referred to; but see August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. Ad Inq. Jan. Lib. II. seu Epist. lv. cap. vi. 10. Tom. I. col. 131.]

[10 Caim, 1567, 1570, 1609.]

[11 Id. in Psalm cxxxviii. Enarr. 2. Tom. IV. col. 1448.]

[12 Panorm. sup. Prim. Primi Decretal. Lugd. 1534. Tit. vi. De Elect. cap. 4. fol. 122; where *ita quod* instead of *atque ita*, and *remansit duntaxat in.*]

[13 Hath, 1611.]

ditate.... Novit Dominus qui sint sui, &c.[14] "Yet shall not Christ, because of the wicked, remain without his inheritance. The Lord knoweth who be his own." The Church of Rome may err.

THE APOLOGY, Chap. xiii. Division 1.

But lest some man should say that the foresaid things happened only in the time of the law[15], of shadows, and of infancy; when the truth[16] lay hid under figures and ceremonies; when nothing as yet was brought to perfection; when the law was not graven in men's hearts, but in stone, (and yet were that but a foolish distinction[17]; for even at those days there was[18] the very same God that is now, the same Spirit, the same Christ, the same faith, the same doctrine, the same hope, the same inheritance, the same covenant[19], and the same efficacy and virtue of God's word: Eusebius also saith: "All the faithful, even from Adam until Christ, were indeed very[20] Christians[21]," though they were not so termed; but, as I said, lest men should thus say[22] still) Paul the apostle found the like faults and falls even then in the prime and chief of the gospel, in the greatest perfection and in the light[23]; so that he was compelled to write in this sort to the Galathians, whom he had well before instructed: "I fear me," quoth[24] he, "lest I have laboured amongst you to small purpose, and[25] lest ye have heard the gospel in vain." "O my little children, of whom I travail anew, till Christ be fashioned again in you." And as for the church of the Corinthians, how foully it was defiled, it is[26] nothing needful to rehearse. Now tell me, might the churches of the Galathians and Corinthians go amiss, and the church of Rome alone may not[27] fail, nor go amiss?

M. HARDING.

*... We answer, that in parts of the church faults may be found, and sundry men that seem to be of the church, and be in the church indeed, may fall and perish: all this we grant. *But that the whole catholic and universal church, whose faith we profess, may err, fall, and fail, that we deny utterly, which had been this defender's part to prove, else he talketh to no purpose. And where St Paul reproveth all the Galathians in general, as though all had forsaken their faith, he doth it after the wont of the prophets, both in that and other epistles, for the greater part's sake reprehending all, though some deserve praise.... As for the Corinthians, though many among them were faulty, yet who considereth how he beginneth his epistle to them shall find that he *acknowledgeth*[28] *a church among them. For thus he writeth: "Paul by vocation an apostle, &c. to the church of God which is at Corinth," &c....*

* We speak not of the whole universal church, but only of the church of Rome.

* But the same church this day is subject to the religion of Mahomet, and is no church.

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

"That in any particular church faults may be found, that," ye say, "ye will confess; but that the whole catholic universal church may err and fail, that," you say, "ye deny utterly."

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[14] August. Op. In Psalm lxxxviii. Enarr. Serm. ii. 4. Tom. IV. col. 947; where *qui sunt ejus.*]

[15] Happened in the time of the law only, Conf.]

[16] When truth, Conf.]

[17] And yet is that but a foolish saying, Conf.]

[18] Was there, Conf.]

[19] League, Conf.]

[20] In very deed, Conf.]

[21] Πάντας δ' ἐκείνους δικαιοσύνῃ μεμαρτυρημένους, ἐξ αὐτοῦ τοῦ Ἀβραὰμ ἐπὶ τὸν πρῶτον ἀνιοῦσιν ἄνθρωπον, ἔργῳ Χριστιανοὺς, εἰ καὶ μὴ ὀνόματι, προσειπών τις οὐκ ἂν ἐκτὸς βάλοι τῆς ἀληθείας.—Euseb. in Hist. Eccles. Script. Amst. 1695-1700. Lib. I. cap. iv. p. 11.]

[22] Speak, Conf.]

[23] In chief perfection and in light, Conf.]

[24] Quod, Conf. and Def. 1567, 1570.]

[25] You in vain and, Conf.]

[26] Defiled is, Conf.]

[27] May it not, Conf. and Def. 1567, 1570.]

[28] Acknowledged, Conf. and Def. 1567, 1570.]

The Church of Rome may err.

Notwithstanding, it is certain that the churches of Corinth, and Galathia, and sundry others, are now not in any particular portion, but thoroughly departed from the faith, and are now wholly subject to the Turk.

This, therefore, must needs be your meaning, that, albeit all other particular churches throughout the world happen to err, yet the church of Rome, that is to say, the pope and his cardinals, can never err. This lesson, I trow, ye learned of Petrus de Palude; for neither Christ nor any of his apostles ever taught it you.

Petr. de Palud. de Potest. Curat. Art. 6.

This worthy doctor saith thus: *Tota ecclesia Petri non potest a fide deficere. Omnes autem ecclesiæ apostolorum omnium possunt deficere a fide totaliter, indigentes ab ecclesia Petri confirmari*[1]*:* "The whole church of Peter cannot wholly fail from the faith. But all the other churches of all the apostles may fail wholly from the faith, having need to be confirmed by the church of Peter."

M. Harding, fol. 16. b. [Conf.]

And to this end you yourself call the Roman faith the catholic faith[2], making no manner difference between either other, as if Roman and catholic were all one[3].

Dist. 22. Omnes.

And therefore pope Nicolas thus advanceth[4] and thundereth out his own authority: *Non... quælibet terrena sententia, sed illud verbum quo constructum est cælum et terra, per quod denique omnia condita sunt elementa, Romanam fundavit ecclesiam*[5]*:* "Not any worldly sentence, but the self-same word whereby heaven and earth was made, and whereby all the elements were created, was it that founded the church of Rome." By which words he meaneth that the Roman faith shall stand as fast as the foundations of heaven and earth. Even so Peter assured

Matt. xxvi.

his promise unto Christ: "Although," said he, "all others deny thee, yet I alone will not deny thee." "No, though I should presently die with thee, yet I only will never deny thee." Nevertheless, when it came to trial, the same Peter denied him first.

Now, that the church of Rome, which you call the catholic church, may err and be forsaken of God, it is evident by the plain words of St Paul. For thus

Rom. xi.

he writeth even unto the church of Rome: *Quod si aliqui ex ramis fracti sunt, &c.:* "If any of the boughs be broken off, and thou, being a wild olive-tree, art graffed into the natural olive, and made partaker of the root and of the fatness thereof, boast not thyself[6] against the boughs. If thou boast, (remember) thou bearest not the root, but the root beareth thee. Thou wilt say, The boughs are broken off, that I may[7] be graffed in. Well, they are broken off for their infidelity; but thou standest fast by faith. Be not high-minded, but stand in awe, seeing God hath not spared the natural boughs, lest happily he spare not thee. See therefore the goodness and the sharpness of God: his sharpness towards them that are fallen away; but his goodness towards thee, if thou

Alioqui et tu excideris.

continue and remain in goodness. Otherwise thou" (being the church of Rome) "shalt likewise be smitten off." Hereby it is plain that the church of Rome may fail and fall from God, no less than other like churches: for otherwise this advertisement of St Paul had been in vain.

Hormisd. pp. ad Episc. Hisp.

Therefore Hormisda, being himself the bishop[8] of Rome, writeth thus: *Dilectissimi fratres, continuas preces ad Dominum fundamus, et jugi deprecatione poscamus, ut et institutione et opere illi, cujus esse membra cupimus, adhæreamus, nec unquam ab illa via, quæ Christus est, devio tramite declinemus; ne ab eo juste, quem impie reliquerimus, deseramur*[9]*:* "My dearly beloved brethren, let us pray unto God, that both by profession and by order of life we may cleave to him whose members we desire to be; and that by any crooked path we never turn from that way, which is Christ, lest we" (being the church of Rome) "be justly forsaken of him, whom wickedly we have forsaken." Thus would not the pope

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[1 ... sola ecclesia &c. deficere totaliter. Omnis autem ecclesia apostolorum omnium potest a fide deficere totaliter indigens ab &c.—Petr. de Palud. De Caus. Immed. Eccles. Potest. Par. 1506. De Potest. Curat. Art. Sext. fol. gi. 2.]

[2 See Vol. III. page 195.]

[3 These last eight words are not in 1567.]

[4 Avaunceth, 1567, 1570.]

[5 Nicol. Papa II. in Corp. Jur. Canon. Lugd. 1624. Decret. Gratian. Decr. Prim. Pars, Dist. xxii, can. 1. cols. 99, 100; where *verbum per quod constructum.*]

[6 Theeself, 1567, 1570.]

[7 Might, 1567, 1570, 1609.]

[8 Himself bishop, 1567, 1570.]

[9 Jungamus igitur, dilectissimi fratres, continuas ...preces, et ... jugi &c. hæreamus: nec &c. impie relinquimus, deseramur.—Hormisd. Epist. ad Episc. per Hisp. const. in Crabb. Concil. Col. Agrip. 1551. Tom. I. p. 1038.]

himself have written in the behoof of the church of Rome, if he had thought the same church could never have erred.

Abomination of Desolation.

To be short, Chrysostom saith: *Ecclesia, quocunque modo egerit contra voluntatem Christi, abjici digna est. Non autem abjicitur propter longanimitatem Christi, nisi sola causa transgressionis*[10]: "The church, by what way soever she do against the will of Christ, is worthy to be given over. Yet through the patience of Christ she is never given over, but only for breaking his commandments." Chrysost. de var. loc. in Matt. Hom. 20.

THE APOLOGY, Chap. xiii. Division 2.

Surely Christ prophesied long before of his church, that the time should come when desolation should stand in the holy place. And St Paul[11] saith that antichrist should once set up his own tabernacle and stately seat in the temple of God; and that the time should be "when men should not away with wholesome doctrine, but be turned back unto fables and lies," and that within the very church. Peter likewise telleth how there should be teachers of lies in the church of Christ. Daniel the prophet, speaking of the latter[13] times of antichrist: "Truth," saith he, "in that season shall be thrown under foot, and trodden upon in the world." And Christ saith, the[14] calamity and confusion of things shall be so exceeding great, "that even the chosen, if it were possible, shall be brought into error;" and that these[15] things shall come to pass not amongst the gentiles[16] and Turks, but even in[17] the holy place, in the temple of God, in the church, and in the company and fellowship of those which profess the name of Christ.

2 Thess. ii. Dan. viii.[12] 2 Pet. ii. Dan. viii. Matt. xxiv.

M. HARDING.

Dan. ix.[18] Matt. xxiv.[18] *The prophecy of Daniel concerning the abomination of desolation, whereof Christ spake in the gospel, we think with the *best-learned divines, that it is to be referred, not to the end of the world, nor to the driving away of the faith by antichrist, as ye imagine, but to the consummation and final ending of the synagogue.*

* Untruth. For the best-learned divines have thought otherwise, as it shall appear.

*Touching that ye say of antichrist, it maketh nothing against the catholics, against whose faith he prevaileth not. Marry, many good men think that he hath already begun to set up his tabernacle and stately seat in the hearts of many which ought to be the temple of God, by his forerunners, Martin Luther, Zuinglius, Calvin, and you their scholars, with the rest of that wicked rabble.... Where ye add, "and that within the church," it is *more than ye found in St Paul. But we understand your good will, though we find you without ever a good reason. And yet we grant "ye came out from us," as St John saith, "but ye were not of us. For, if ye had been of us, ye would have tarried with us." So may the saying of St Peter be referred to you, and likewise that of Daniel which ye allege, though the words be not in Daniel. For your school-masters and you are a limb of antichrist, and ye labour what ye can to overthrow and tread under foot the true faith of the church, and the catholic religion....*

* Untruth. For St Paul saith plainly, He shall sit in the temple of God. 2 Thess. ii.

1 John ii.[18]

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

What needed you, M. Harding, to talk so much in the favour of antichrist? Or why should you be grieved to hear him called the "abomination of desolation?" St Paul calleth antichrist, "The man of sin." Some say, "He shall be wholly

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[10] Chrysost. Op. Lat. Basil. 1547. Ex Var. in Matt. Hom. Hom. xxi. Tom. II. col. 1216; where *contra voluntatem egerit Christi.*]

[11] And Paul, Conf.]

[12] This reference is inserted from Conf. and Def. 1567, 1570.]

[13] Later, Conf. and Def. 1567, 1570.]

[14] Saith how the, Conf.]

[15] And how these, Conf.]

[16] Amongst gentiles, Conf.]

[17] But that they should be in, Conf.]

[18] These references are inserted from Conf. and Def. 1567, 1570. The last has 1 *John i.*]

Abomination of Desolation.

possessed of the devil[1]." Your own Hippolytus saith: "He shall be the devil himself[2]." Yet have few men found themselves grieved with such sayings.

I know the words of Christ and of Daniel by divers expositions have been diversly applied. Yet may ye not well thus condemn all their judgments that have applied the same to antichrist. Origen, one of the most ancient fathers of the church, entreating of antichrist, contrary to your exposition, saith thus: *Ipse est abominatio desolationis*[3]: "Antichrist is the abomination of desolation."

2 Thess. ii. Nic. Lyra. Hieron. ad Algas. Hippol. Mar. Orig. in Matt. Tract. 29. Chrysost. in Op. Imperf. Hom. 49.

St Chrysostom saith: *Hic ... antichristus dicitur abominatio desolationis; quia multorum Christianorum animas facturus est desolatas a Deo*[4]: "This antichrist is called the abomination of desolation; for that he shall cause the souls of many Christians to be desolate and forsaken of God." Gregorius Nazianzenus saith: *Antichristus veniet in desolatione mundi. Est enim abominatio desolationis*[5]: "Antichrist shall come in the desolation of the world. For he is the abomination of desolation." St Hierome saith: *Abominatio desolationis intelligi potest ... omne dogma perversum*[6]: "By the abomination of desolation we may understand any manner perverse doctrine;" whereof no doubt in antichrist shall want no store. And again, speaking namely of the "man of wickedness, the adversary of Christ, which is antichrist, that lifteth up himself above all that is called God," he saith: *Abominatio desolationum erit in templo usque ad consummationem temporis*[7]: "The abomination of desolation shall stand in the church until the consummation or end of time."

Greg. Naz. Signif. in Ezech. βδέλυγμα γὰρ ἐστὶ τῆς ἐρημώσεως. Hieron. in Matt. cap. xxiv.

St Ambrose saith: *Abominatio ... desolationis execrabilis adventus antichristi est*[8]: "The abomination of desolation is the cursed coming of antichrist."

Ambros. in Luc. Lib. x. cap. xxi.

St Hilary expounding the[9] self-same words of Christ, "When ye shall see the abomination of desolation standing in the holy place," saith thus: *De antichristi ... temporibus hæc loquutus est*[10]: "Christ spake these words of the time of antichrist." Likewise saith Theodoretus writing upon the prophet Daniel, *Abominationem desolationis ipsum vocat antichristum*[11]. And besides others, the most ancient and most catholic fathers, likewise saith Eusebius Emissenus in a special homily to this purpose[12].

Hilar. in Matt. Can. 25. Theodor. in Dan. cap. xii. Euseb. Emiss.

Now, M. Harding, whereas ye so certainly assure yourself that these words of Christ may in no wise be taken of the confusion and horror that shall be at the end of the world; besides all these learned and godly fathers, I beseech you, consider the whole drift and circumstance of the place, and the words that Christ spake immediately before. The apostles demanded him this question: "What is the token of thy coming (to judgment), and of the end of the world?" To this question Christ answereth in this wise: "Take heed that no man deceive you. Many shall come in my name, and shall say, I am Christ, and shall deceive many. Ye shall hear of wars, and talks of wars. But be not ye troubled. All these things must happen: yet this is not the end," &c. "Many false prophets shall rise, and shall deceive many. Iniquity shall increase: charity shall wax cold. Whoso continueth unto the end, he shall be saved. And this gospel of the kingdom shall be preached in all the world for a witness

Matt. xxiv.

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[1] Habebit enim antichristus dæmonem privatum &c.—Bibl. cum Gloss. Ord. et Expos. N. de Lyra, Basil. 1502. Ad. Thess. II. cap. ii. Pars VI. fol. 115.

Cujus opera Satanæ sunt opera. Et sicut in Christo plenitudo divinitatis fuit corporaliter: ita et in antichristo omnes erunt fortitudines et signa et prodigia; sed universa mendacia.—Hieron. Op. Par. 1693-1706. Ad Algas. Quæst. xi. Tom. IV. Pars I. col. 210.]

[2 ... ὁ διάβολος ἐκ μιαρᾶς γυναικὸς ἐξελεύσεται ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, κ. τ. λ.—Hippol. De Consum. Mund. in Biblioth. Gr. Lat. Vet. Patr. Par. 1624. Tom. II. p. 352.]

[3 Orig. Op. Par. 1733-59. In Matt. Comm. Ser. 42. Tom. III. p. 860.]

[4 Chrysost. Op. Par. 1718-38. Op. Imperf. in Matt. Hom. xlix. ex cap. xxiv. Tom. VI. p. cciii.]

[5 Gregor. Naz. Op. Par. 1778-1840. Signif. in Ezech. Tom. I. Append. p. 872. This piece is considered spurious.]

[6 Hieron. Op. Comm. Lib. IV. in Matt. cap. xxiv. Tom. IV. Pars I. col. 115.]

[7 *Et erit in templo abominatio desolationis, et usque ad consummationem et finem perseverabit desolatio*.....usque ad consummationem mundi, et finem perseverabit desolatio.—Id. Comm. in Daniel. Proph. cap. ix. Tom. III. cols. 1109, 17. Conf. ibid. col. 1114.]

[8 Ambros. Op. Par. 1686-90. Expos. Evang. sec. Luc. Lib. x. 15. Tom. I. col. 1507.]

[9 These, 1567, 1570.]

[10 Hilar. Op. Par. 1693. Comm. in Matt. cap. xxv. 3. col. 729.]

[11 Theodor. Op. Lut. Par. 1642-84. Comm. in Daniel. cap. xii. Tom. II. p. 696.]

[12 Quum (inquit) videritis abominationem desolationis, quum videritis abominandum et desolandum antichristum, &c.—Euseb. Emiss. Hom. in Evang. Par. 1554. Domin. xxvii. post Pent. fol. 183. Most of the homilies formerly attributed to this writer were the work of other authors. See Oudin, De Eccles. Script. Lips. 1722. Tom. I. p. 392.]

unto all nations; and then shall come the end." The next words that follow are these: "Therefore, when ye shall see the abomination of desolation, that was spoken of by Daniel," &c. Thus may ye see, M. Harding, by the very course and tenor of Christ's answer, that, if the judgment be the judgment, if the end be the end, if the world be the world, then must these words needs have relation to the end of the world; whatsoever any of your best-learned divines, of whom ye have hitherto named none, have taught or said to the contrary. Whereas we say, "Antichrist shall stand even within the church," that (ye say) we "find not in St Paul. Notwithstanding our good will (ye say) ye understand; although ye find in us never a good reason." As for the goodness of our reasons, we will not strive. But whether St Paul say, that "antichrist shall stand in the church," or no, let us be judged by St Paul. His words be plain: *Adeo ut in templo Dei sedeat, tanquam Deus:* "So that he will sit in the church of God, as if he were God." If the "church of God" be the "church," then doth St Paul say, "Antichrist shall sit within the church." In like sense Christ saith: "Antichrist shall sit in the holy place." By which words many of the best-learned fathers have expounded, "the church of God[13]." St Augustine saith: *Non enim templum alicujus idoli, aut dæmonis, templum Dei apostolus diceret*[14]*:* "For the temple of an idol, or of a devil, the apostle would never call the temple of God." And he addeth further: *Quidam putant rectius Latine dici, sicut in Græco est, non in templo Dei, sed in templum Dei sedeat; tanquam ipse sit templum Dei, quod est ecclesia; sicut dicimus, sedet in amicum, id est, velut amicus*[15]: "Some men think we should better read it in Latin, as it is in the Greek, not, 'He sitteth in the temple of God,' but, 'he sitteth for,' or, 'as the temple of God'; as if he himself were the temple of God, which is the church: as we say, 'he sitteth for a friend,' that is, he sitteth as a friend." Here St Augustine saith, Antichrist shall not only sit in the church, but also shall shew himself in outward appearance as if he himself were the church itself. Now, M. Harding, who this should be, I report me to your own doctors, of whom one hath written thus: *Papa quodammodo virtualiter est tota ecclesia*[16]*:* "The pope in a manner, by way of virtue or power, is the whole universal church." St Hierome saith: *Antichristus stabit in loco sancto, id est, in ecclesia, et se ostendet ut Deum*[18]*:* "Antichrist shall stand in the holy place, that is to say, in the church; and shall shew himself as if he were God." St Chrysostom saith: *Incident in abominationem desolationis, quæ stat in sanctis ecclesiæ locis*[19]*:* "They shall fall into the abomination of desolation, that standeth in the holy places of the church."

Abomination of Desolation.

Antichrist standing in the church of God. 2 Thess. ii.

Matt. xxiv.

August. de Civ. Dei. Lib. xx. cap. xix. In eod. cap. 2 Thess. ii. εἰς τὸν ναὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ καθίσαι.

Herv. de Potest. Papæ. His præmissis[17]. Hieron. in cap. xxiv. Matth.

Chrysost. in Op. Imp. Hom. 49.

St Hilary saith: *Unum moneo, cavete antichristum. Male enim vos parietum amor cepit: male ecclesiam Dei in tectis ædificiisque veneramini.... Anne ambiguum est in eis*[20] *antichristum esse sessurum*[21]*?* "One thing I read you, beware of antichrist. For it is not well that ye should be thus in love with walls: it is not well that ye should honour the church in houses and buildings. Is there any doubt but antichrist shall sit in the same?" St Paul saith: *Mysterium iniquitatis operatur:* (Satan) "worketh the mystery of iniquity." That is to say, he openeth not himself, but whatsoever he doth, he doth it in covert. Upon which words Anselmus saith: *Iniquitas eorum est mystica, id est, pietatis nomine palliata*[22]*:* "The iniquity of them is mystical, that is to say, it is cloked and covered with the name of godliness."

Hilar. contr. Auxent.

2 Thess. ii.

Anselm.

Therefore St Chrysostom saith: *Christiani, qui sunt in Christianitate, volentes accipere firmitatem fidei veræ, ad nullam rem fugiant, nisi ad scripturas, &c.*[23] "The

Chrysost. in Op. Imp. Hom. 49.

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[13] 1567 omits *of God.*]

[14] August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. De Civ. Dei, Lib. xx. cap. xix. 2. Tom. VII. col. 597.]

[15] Id. ibid.; where *rectiusque putant etiam Latine.*]

[16] Herv. de Potest. Eccles. et Papal. Par. 1506. fol. EE. i. 2.]

[17] 1567 has *cap. xxiii.* for *his præmissis.*]

[18] ... quum viderimus stare in loco sancto, hoc est, in ecclesia, et se ostendere Deum.—Hieron. Op. Comm. Lib. IV. in Matt. cap. xxiv. Tom. IV. Pars I. col. 115.]

[19] Chrysost. Op. Imperf. in Matt. Hom. xlix. ex cap. xxiv. Tom. VI. p. cciv.]

[20] Iis, 1567, 1570, 1609.]

[21] Hilar. Op. Lib. contr. Auxent. 12. col. 1269; where *in his.*]

[22] Anselm. Op. Col. Agrip. 1612. In Epist. ii. ad Thess. cap. ii. Tom. II. p. 342. See Vol. I. page 315, note 11.]

[23] ... Christiani &c. volentes firmitatem accipere &c. Alioqui si ad alia respexerint, scandalizabuntur,

Christians that be in Christendom, willing to have the stedfastness of the true faith, let them fly[1] to none other thing but only to the scriptures. Otherwise, if they look to any thing else, they shall be offended, and perish, not knowing which is the true church; and so shall they fall into the abomination of desolation, that standeth in the holy places of the church."

THE APOLOGY, Chap. xiv. Division 1 and 2.

Albeit these same warnings alone may suffice a wise man to take heed he do not suffer himself rashly to be deceived with the name of the church, and not to stay to make further inquisition thereof by God's word; yet, beside all this, many fathers also, many learned and godly men, have often and carefully complained how all these things have chanced in their life-time. For even in the midst of that thick mist of darkness God would yet there should be some, who, though they gave not a clear and bright light, yet should kindle[2] were it but some spark, which men being in the darkness might espy[3].

Contr. Auxent. Hilarius, when things as yet were almost uncorrupt and in good case too: "Ye are ill deceived," saith he, "with the love of walls: ye do ill worship the church, in that ye worship it in houses and buildings: ye do ill bring in the name of peace under roofs. Is there any doubt but antichrist will have his seat under the same? I rather reckon hills, woods, pools, marishes, prisons, and quavemires, to be places of more safety; for in these the prophets, either abiding of their accord, or forced thither by[4] violence, did prophesy by the Spirit of [5]God[6]."

Greg. Lib. iv. ad Maurit. Gregory, as one which perceived and foresaw in his mind the wrack of all things, wrote thus of[7] John, bishop of Constantinople, the[8] first of all others that commanded himself to be called by this new name, the "universal bishop of Christ's whole[9] church": "If the church," saith he, "shall depend upon one man, it will soon fall[10] down to the ground." Who is he that seeth not how this is come to pass long sithence[11]? For long agone hath the bishop of Rome willed to have the whole church depend upon himself alone. Wherefore it is no marvel, though it be clean fallen down long agone.

M. HARDING.

*... Ye make a foul lie, sir Defender, upon St Gregory. The words you recite be your own, not his. Is it not enough to lie yourself, as you do very often, but that you father lies also upon the doctors? Thanks be to God, that so ye bewray the weakness of your cause. *Neither in any epistle to John bishop of Constantinople, as you say in your Apology, nor in any to Mauritius the emperor, as you have noted in the margent, writeth Gregory *that, "if the church shall depend upon one man, the whole shall fall to the ground[12]." I see well you would fain Gregory*

* Untruth. For he writeth it often. Read the answer.

et peribunt, non intelligentes quæ sit vera ecclesia. Et per hoc incident &c.—Chrysost. Op. Par. 1718-38. Op. Imperf. in Matt. Hom. xlix. ex cap. xxiv. Tom. VI. p. cciv.]

[1 Flee, 1567, 1570.]

[2 Should they kindle, Conf.]

[3 Espy being in the darkness, Conf.]

[4 Or drowned by, Conf.]

[5 Hilar. Op. Par. 1693. Lib. contr. Auxent. 12. col. 1269. See above, page 729, note 21. Hilary goes on: Montes mihi, et silvæ, et lacus, et carceres, et voragines sunt tutiores: in his enim prophetæ aut manentes, aut demersi, Dei Spiritu prophetabant.]

[6 Harding's reply to these two paragraphs, which Jewel omits, consists of a denial that the church was in good case in Hilary's time, and a quotation from Augustine for answer to that from Hilary.]

[7 To, Conf.]

[8 Who was the, Conf.]

[9 Whole Christ's, Conf. and Def. 1567.]

[10 Will at once fall, Conf.]

[11 Since, Conf.]

[12 To ground, Conf. and Def. 1567, 1570, 1609.]

had so written. And if he had, yet your argument had been naught. For you take not the right minor, which should have been this, The church doth depend upon one man, if you would make your reason good, and after the rules of logic. For, where your minor speaketh only of the pope's will, thereof your conclusion followeth not. Dispose your propositions in the form of a syllogism, and you shall espy your own feeble reason. And if you make that your minor, then grant you that which you deny.

The words whereof you gather this pretensed saying of Gregory, as I suppose, be these: "If any man hath caught unto himself that name (of universal bishop) in that church (of Constantinople), then the whole church (which God forbid) fell from his state, when he that is called universal fell[13]*."* *Epist. Lib. iv. ad Maurit. Epist. xxxii.*

Gregory understandeth by the name, "universal bishop," as himself declareth in many places, [a] *such a one as is a bishop altogether and only, so as there be no other bishop besides him. Now, if it were granted that the bishop of Constantinople were this one and only universal bishop, this inconvenience would follow, that with the fall of that universal bishop the universal church also fell. For where the church is there be bishops, and where be bishops there is the church; and a* [b] *universal bishop*[14] *by Gregory is as much as all bishops. That, this being granted, the whole church is fallen from the faith, thus he proveth: "For," saith he, "the bishops of Constantinople have fallen into the gulph of great and detestable heresies; as Nestorius, who thinking Christ to be two persons, and believing that God could not be made man, ran to a Jewish infidelity; and as Macedonius, who denied the Holy Ghost to be God. Wherefore, if the bishop of Constantinople be the universal bishop, according to the sense aforesaid, then at the fall of him from the faith, as when those two before named fell, the church also falleth, as then by this reason when they were bishops it fell." Thus reasoneth St Gregory in that epistle to Mauritius. But, because to Gregory it seemeth very far from reason and incredible that the church should fall from the faith, and fail, therefore he inveigheth against John the bishop of Constantinople for challenging that name of universal bishop, and concludeth that the* [c] *bishop of that see in any wise cannot so be.*

[a] A manifest untruth, without wit.

[b] Untruth, more peevish than the former.

[c] Untruth, fond and wilful. For St Gregory speaketh these words no more of the bishop of Constantinople, than of the bishop of Rome.

But if the word "universal" signify a sovereignty of charge and supremacy of government over the whole church, [d] *which Christ committed to Peter, and in Peter to his successors the bishops of Rome, when he said, "Feed my sheep;" in this sense it is not impious, nor erroneous, nor contrary to the mind of St Gregory, to call the successor of Peter, Christ's vicar in earth, the universal bishop;* [e] *that is to say, the highest of all, and having power over all other bishops, and bishop of the universal church. And, as Christ gave to St Peter and his successors, for the benefit of his church, a supreme authority and power, so for the same church's sake, for whose love he delivered himself to death, by petition made to his Father he obtained for him and his successors the privilege of this supreme and most excellent grace, that their faith should never fail. In consideration of which singular privilege, obtained by Christ and* [f] *granted to the see apostolic, and to none other, Gregory rebuketh John the bishop of Constantinople so much, as one that presumptuously usurped that new name of universal bishop against the statutes of the gospel, and against the decrees of the canons.*

John xxi.[15] John xiv.[15] Luke xxii.[15]

[d] Untruth. For Christ never gave out any such commission.

[e] This same was it that Gregory reproved: for thus he writeth: *Cuncta Christi membra tibi... conaris universalis appellatione supponere.* Greg. Lib. iv. Epist. 38.[16]

[f] Untruth, utterly void of shame.

To conclude, if either Gregory or any other man should say that the church dependeth upon one man, he might seem to say truth, meaning rightly, and that not alone, nor without good authority. For such a saying we find uttered by St Jerome: "The safety of the church," saith he, "dependeth upon the dignity of the highest priest, who if he have not authority peerless and above all other, there will be so many schisms in the church as there be priests[17]*." Which peerless authority above all other as St Hierome in that place doth attribute to* [g] *the bishop*

Contra Luciferian.[15]

[g] Here M. Harding re-

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[13] Si igitur illud nomen in ea ecclesia sibi quisquam arripit, quod apud bonorum omnium judicium fecit; universa ergo ecclesia, quod absit, a statu suo corruit, quando is qui appellatur universalis cadit.—Gregor. Magni Papæ I. Op. Par. 1705. Epist. Lib. v. Indict. XIII. Ad Mauric. August. Epist. xx. Tom. II. cols. 748, 9.]

[14] Bishop universal, Conf. and Def. 1567, 1570.]

[15] These references are inserted from Conf. and Def. 1567, 1570, 1609.]

[16] Id. ibid. ad Johan. Episc. Epist. xviii. col. 742; where *cuncta ejus membra.*]

[17] Hieron. Op. Par. 1693-1706. Adv. Lucifer. Tom. IV. Pars II. col. 295. See Vol. I. page 372, note 3.]

canteth his error. For before he said, These words belong only to the pope.

of every diocese directly, so consequently to Peter's successor, to whom it was said, "Feed my sheep." For, by what reason in each diocese it behoveth one priest to be highest over other priests, by the same and in like proportion no less it behoveth that in the whole church one bishop be highest over other bishops, I mean for avoiding schisms.

John xxi.[1]

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

The Universal Church falleth.

If ye had better looked on your books, M. Harding, ye would not have been so hasty in dealing lies. We falsify not that good father's words, but report them truly as we find them. For thus he writeth in sundry places of John the bishop of Constantinople, that first advanced[2] himself above all his brethren, and required to be called the universal bishop of all the world: *Universa... ecclesia a statu suo corruit, quando is, qui appellatur universalis, cadit*[3]: "The whole universal church falleth from her state, when he falleth that is called the universal bishop." This is no lie, M. Harding: confer the places, and ye shall find the words as we report them. It standeth not neither with your profession, nor with your modesty, so uncourteously to use your tongue. We neither lie ourselves, nor father lies upon the doctors. God be thanked, his cause is such as may well be maintained without lies.

Gregor. Lib. iv. Epist. 76.

But, to put you further out of doubt, the sense of these words ye may find often uttered by St Gregory in other places. Unto Anastasius, the bishop of Antioch, he writeth thus: *Ut de honoris vestri injuria taceam, si unus episcopus vocatur universalis, universa ecclesia corruit, si unus universus cadit*[4]: "To dissemble the injury done to your honour, if one bishop be called universal, then, if that one universal bishop fall, the whole universal church goeth to ground."

Gregor. Lib. vi. Epist. 188.

Again, he saith in the same epistle: *Vos... eandem causam nullam... dicere non debetis; quia si hanc æquanimiter portamus, universæ ecclesiæ fidem corrumpimus*[5]: "Ye may not say, This is a matter of no importance. For, if we patiently bear these things, we destroy the faith of the universal church."

Gregor. in ead. Epist.

Again he saith: *In isto... scelesto vocabulo consentire, nihil aliud est quam fidem perdere*[6]: "To consent unto this wicked name is nothing else but to lose the faith."

Gregor. Lib. iv. Epist. 83.

Again: *Flens dico: gemens denuntio: Quia cum sacerdotalis ordo intus cecidit, foris... diu stare non poterit*[7]: "I speak it with tears: I tell it with sigh of heart. For, seeing the order of priesthood is fallen within, it cannot now stand long without."

Gregor. Lib. iv. Epist. 99.

Again: [*Diabolus*] *ita valide in quibusdam ecclesiæ necessariis membris dentes figit, ut nulli sit dubium quin, nisi unanimiter, favente Domino, cunctorum provida pastorum turba concurrat, omne* (*quod absit*) *citius ovile dilaniet*[8]: "The devil so strongly fasteneth his teeth in the necessary members of the church that, unless, by God's grace, the provident company of all bishops join together, there is no doubt but he will soon destroy the whole flock; which God forbid."

Gregor. Lib. iv. Epist. 30.

And, again, he compareth the pride of this name with the pride of antichrist, and saith that the one shall work the confusion of the church, no less than the other. Thus he saith: *Nunquid non, cum se antichristus veniens Deum dixerit, frivolum valde erit? Sed tamen nimis perniciosum. Si quantitatem vocis attendimus, duæ sunt syllabæ; si... pondus iniquitatis, universa pernicies*[9]: "When antichrist shall come, and call himself God, shall it not be a very trifle? Yet shall it be marvellous hurtful (to the church). If ye weigh the quantity of the word, it standeth in two syllables: if ye consider the weight of the wickedness, it is an universal destruction." These are no lies, as it liketh you to call them, M. Harding; they are very plain words: it is the undoubted meaning of St Gregory. And therefore he calleth this claim of universal power a superstitious, a profane, an ungodly, and a wicked title, a name of hypocrisy, and a name of blasphemy.

Gregor. Lib. vi. Epist. 194. Deus.

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[1] This reference is inserted from 1567,1570,1609.]

[2] Avanced, 1567, 1570.]

[3] Gregor. Magni Papæ I. Op. Par. 1705. Epist. Lib. v. Indict. XIII. Ad Mauric. August. Epist. xx. Tom. II. col. 749.]

[4] Id. Lib. VII. Indict. XV. Ad Anastas. Episc. Epist. xxvii. col. 873.]

[5] Id. ibid.]

[6] Id. Lib. v. Indict. XIII. Ad Sabin. Diac. Epist. xix. col. 747; where *nihil est aliud*.]

[7] Id. ibid. Ad Johan. Episc. Epist. lvii. col. 788.]

[8] Id. ibid. Ad Eulog. et Anastas. Episc. Epist. xliii. col. 773; where *quia nisi*.]

[9] Id. Lib. VII. Indict. XV. Ad Mauric. August. Epist. xxxiii. col. 881; where *quantitatem sermonis*. Conf. Vol. I. page 345.]

To avoid these authorities, being so pregnant and so clear, ye are fain to fancy sundry pretty shifts, such as neither John nor Gregory was ever able to understand. One only bishop.

First, ye say, this John, the bishop of Constantinople, meant by this title utterly to disgrade all bishops and patriarchs whatsoever, and to make himself the only bishop of all the world. It is a childish labour to seek a knot in a rush, and to imagine doubts where the case is clear. It is certain that the bishop of Constantinople meant none other universal authority than that now is claimed by the pope. Therefore it is thus noted in the book called *Chronicon Eusebii: Institutum fuit ut Romana ecclesia caput esset ecclesiarum omnium; cum prius Constantinopolitana id usurpare tentasset*[10]: "Order was taken that the church of Rome should be the head of all churches; whereas before the church of Constantinople had attempted to usurp the same." Which thing is also noted by Matthias Palmerius of Florence, and that without any manner difference or change of words. Sabellicus saith: *Bonifacius III. egit ab initio administrationis suæ cum Phoca, ut Romana ecclesia esset omnium aliarum caput. Estque id ægre nec sine multa contentione apostolicæ sedi datum. Græci, id ad se decus trahentes, ibi christianæ pietatis arcem esse oportere aiebant, ubi et imperii*[11]: "Pope[12] Bonifacius the third, at the first entry into his office, was an earnest suitor unto the emperor Phocas, that the church of Rome might be the head of all other churches. Which thing hardly and with great labour was granted to the apostolic see of Rome. The Grecians, drawing the same honour unto themselves, said it was necessary the head of christian religion should be there, where as was the head of the empire, which was at Constantinople."

Chronic. Euseb. anno 607. Matthias Palmer. Sabell. Ennead. viii. Lib. vi.

Thus it plainly appeareth that the bishop of Constantinople and the bishop of Rome craved both for one thing: which thing, being wicked in the one, cannot well be godly in the other[13].

Likewise writeth Urspergensis: "At the request and suit of pope Boniface, Phocas the emperor appointed the see of the apostolic church of Rome to be the head of all churches. For before that time the church of Constantinople wrote herself the first or chief of all others[14]."

Ursperg. in Phoca.

By these it may appear, M. Harding, it was great folly for you thus to cavil at the name. For the power and jurisdiction then claimed by the bishop of Constantinople, and afterward usurped by the bishops of Rome, was all one. Therefore St Gregory saith to John the bishop of Constantinople: *Tu quid Christo, universalis ... ecclesiæ capiti, in extremi judicii dicturus es examine, qui cuncta ejus membra tibimet conaris universalis appellatione supponere*[15]? "What answer wilt thou make, at the trial of the last judgment, unto Christ the head of the universal church, which thus, by the name of universal bishop, seekest to make all his members subject unto thee?" Even the self-same universal power claimeth now the bishop of Rome, and seeketh to make all other bishops through the world, and the whole universal church of Christ, thrall and subject unto himself[16].

Gregor. Lib. iv. Epist. 32.

The bishops of Constantinople fell sometimes into heresies, and were deceived. But Christ hath prayed for Peter that his faith should not fail; *ergo*, say you, The bishop of Rome can never possibly be deceived. O M. Harding, let shame once force you to refrain these vanities. I doubt not but hereafter, in place convenient, I shall be able to shew that there have been more heretics placed in St Peter's chair, even in the see of Rome, than you are able to find in any one see within Europe.

Verily St Gregory's reason, touching the danger and confusion of the church, weigheth no more against the bishop of Constantinople, than against the bishop

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[10] Chronic. Euseb. &c. Basil. 1536. fol. 102. 2; where *ecclesia Romana.* Matthæus Palmerius Florentinus was one of the continuators of this chronicle.]

[11] Bonifacius ejus nominis tertius...Egit is ab initio suæ administrationis cum Phoca: &c.—Sabell. Rapsod. Hist. Par. 1509. Ennead. VIII. Lib. VI. Pars III. fol. 37. 2.]

[12] *Pope* is not in 1567.]

[13] This paragraph is not in 1567.]

[14] ...Bonifacius. Cujus rogatu Phocas constituit sedem Romanæ et apostolicæ ecclesiæ caput esse omnium ecclesiarum: nam antea Constantinopolitana ecclesia se scribebat primam omnium.—Chronic. Abbat. Ursperg. Argent. 1537. p. 158.]

[15] Gregor. Magni Papæ I. Op. Epist. Lib. v. Indict. XIII. Ad Johan. Episc. Epist. xviii. Tom. I. col. 742; where *es dicturus.*]

[16] Him, 1567.]

The Pope himself disclaimeth, &c.

of Rome. For thus he saith: "If he that is called the universal bishop happen to err, then needs must the whole universal church fall together with him into error." And therefore, if ye had perused the council of Basil, ye should have found this self-same reason alleged there, not against the bishop of Constantinople, but against the pride and arrogancy of the bishop of Rome. The words be these: *Alioqui, errante pontifice, sicut sæpe contigit et contingere potest, tota erraret ecclesia*[1]: "Otherwise, whensoever the pope erreth, as he hath often erred and may err again, the whole church should err with him." Thus wrote the bishops, and, by your own judgment, catholic bishops, in the council of Basil; yet had they not forgotten the prayer that Christ made for St Peter.

Concil. Basil. in Epist. Synod.

And therefore Franciscus Zabarella[2], a notable canonist, and cardinal of the[3] church of Rome, seeing the great enormities that grew hereof, saith thus: *Papæ faciunt quicquid libet, etiam illicita, et sunt plusquam Deus. Ex hoc infiniti sequuti sunt errores; quia papa occupavit omnia jura inferiorum ecclesiarum, ita ut inferiores prælati sint pro nihilo: et, nisi Deus succurrat statui ecclesiæ, universalis ecclesia periclitatur*[4]: "The popes do now whatsoever they list to do, yea, although it be unlawful, and are become more than God. Hereof have followed infinite errors: for the pope hath invaded and entered upon all the right of the inferior churches; so that the inferior bishops may go for nought. And, unless God help the state of the church, the universal church is in danger." Thus hitherto, M. Harding, ye have found no lie.

Francis. Zabarell.[2] citat. ab Illyric. de Sect.

Now, where ye would seem to say, Gregory so reproved the bishop of Constantinople, that nevertheless he claimed the same title and universal authority to himself; may it therefore please you herein to stand to the judgment of St Gregory himself, of whom, I reckon, ye do not doubt but he understood his own meaning. Doubtless, if ye had so diligently considered St Gregory as ye bear us in hand, ye should have found that, touching any his own right herein, he disclaimeth this title and refuseth it utterly. For so he writeth to the emperor Mauritius: *Nunquid ego in hac re, piissime domine, propriam caussam defendo*[5]? "O my most gracious lord, do I herein quarrel for mine own right?" Again he saith: *Non mea caussa, sed Dei est; ... Non ego solus, sed tota turbatur ecclesia: quia piæ leges, quia venerandæ synodi, quia ipsa ... Domini nostri Jesu ... mandata, superbi atque pompatici cujusdam sermonis inventione turbantur*[6]: "It is God's cause, it is not mine. Not I only am troubled therewith, but also the whole church. For the godly laws, the reverend synods, and the very commandments of our Lord Jesu are broken by the invention of a certain proud and pompous name." Again: *Nullus* [*Romanorum pontificum*] ... *hoc singularitatis nomen assumpsit*[7]: *Nullus ... [pre]decessorum*[8] *meorum hoc tam profano vocabulo uti consensit; ... nos hunc honorem nolumus oblatum recipere*[9]: "None of all the bishops of Rome ever took upon him this name of singularity, to be called the universal bishop[10]: none of my predecessors ever consented to use this ungodly style: we ourselves will not receive this honour though it were offered." Thus it appeareth, by the judgment of St Gregory, that this universal authority is utterly unlawful, not only in other bishops, but also even in the bishop of Rome.

Gregor. Lib. iv. Epist. 76.

In ead. Epist.

In ead.

Gregor. Lib. iv. Epist. 80.

Touching the place of St Hierome, I see, ye are content to give over, and to recant your former error. For in your first book ye say, "These words are notable above others, and therefore might not be dissembled." And where St Hierome saith, "The safety of the church hangeth of the dignity of the high priest" (meaning thereby every several bishop within his own limits), ye thought

M. Harding fol. 80. [Answ.]

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[1] Concil. Basil. Resp. Synod. in Crabb. Concil. Col. Agrip. 1551. Tom. III. p. 148; where *alioquin*, and *contingit*.

[2] Zarabella, 1567.]

[3] Cardinal the, 1570.]

[4] Francis. de Zabarell. De Schism. Pont. in Auth. Var. de Jurisd. Autor. et Præem. Imper. a Schard. Basil. 1566. pp. 703, 4. See Vol. II. page 992, note 3. Conf. Flac. Illyr. De Sect. &c. Basil. 1565. p. 116; where *et sint plusquam*, and *ex hoc enim*.]

[5] Gregor. Magni. Papæ I. Op. Par. 1705. Epist. Lib. v. Indict. XIII. Ad Mauric. August. Epist. XX. Tom. II. col. 748. See Vol. I. page 346, note 8.]

[6] Id. ibid.; where *causa mea*, and *non solus ego*.]

[7] Id. ibid. col. 749. See Vol. I. page 346, note 1.]

[8] Decessorum, 1567, 1570, 1609.]

[9] Id. ibid. Ad Eulog. et Anastas. Episc. Epist. xliii. col. 771.]

[10] The last six words are not in 1567.]

it good thus to lard the same by a proper parenthesis, with certain other special stuff of your own provision; "he meaneth the pope, Peter's successor:" as if this high priest of whom St Hierome writeth could be none other but the bishop of Rome[11]. Now upon some better advice, and by way of retractation, ye say thus: "This peerless authority above all others St Hierome doth attribute to the bishop of every diocese[12];" which indeed was the very meaning of St Hierome. Certainly, if St Hierome by these words meant only the bishop of Rome, as ye told us before, then he meant not the "particular bishop of every diocese," as ye tell us now. Therefore ye must needs confess that either now or before ye have sought means to beguile your reader. As for the pope, Peter's successor, St Hierome meant[13] no more of him than of any other bishop. If it shall likewise hereafter please you to call in other your like oversights, ye shall publish more truth and encumber your reader with less error.

The Apology, Chap. xiv. Division 3.

Bernard the abbat, above four hundred years past, writeth thus: "Nothing is now sincere and pure amongst[14] the clergy: wherefore it resteth that the man of sin should be revealed[15]." The same Bernard, in his treaty[16] of the conversion of St Paul[17]: "It seemeth now," saith he, "that persecution hath ceased: no, no, persecution seemeth but now to begin, and that[18] even from them which have chief pre-eminence in the church. Thy friends and neighbours, O God, have[19] drawn near, and stood up against thee: from the sole of the[20] foot to the crown of the[20] head there is no part whole. Iniquity is proceeded from the elders, the judges and deputies, which pretend to rule thy people. We cannot say now, Look, how the people is[21], so is the priest: for the people is[21] not so ill as is the priest[22]. Alas! alas! O Lord God, the self-same persons be the chief in persecuting thee, which seem to love the highest place, and bear most rule in thy church[23]!" The same Bernard again, upon the Canticles, writeth thus: "All they are thy friends, yet are they all thy foes; all thy kinsfolk, yet are they all thy adversaries. Being Christ's servants, they serve antichrist. Behold in my rest my bitterness is most [24]bitter[25]."

The Apology, Chap. xv. Division 1.

Roger Bacon also, a man of great fame, after he had in a vehement oration touched to the quick the woful state of his own time: "These so many errors," saith he, "require and look for antichrist[26]." Gerson com- In Libello de Idiom. Linguarum.

[11] See Vol. I. page 372.]

[12] See before, pages 731, 2.]

[13] Successor he meant, 1567.]

[14] Now of sincerity and pureness amongst, Conf.]

[15] Ipsa quoque ecclesiasticæ dignitatis officia in turpem quæstum et tenebrarum negotium transiere: &c. Superest jam ut reveletur homo peccati.—Bernard. Op. Par. 1690. In Psalm. Qui habitat, Serm. vi. 7. Vol. I. Tom. III. col. 838.]

[16] Work, Conf.]

[17] Of Paul, Conf.]

[18] Conf. omits *and that.*]

[19] Neighbours have, Conf.]

[20] Thy, Conf.]

[21] Be, Conf.]

[22] As the priest is, Conf.]

[23] Videbatur jam cessasse persecutionis tempus: sed, ut palam factum est, nunquam deest persecutio Christiano, sed neque Christo. Et nunc, quod gravius est, ipsi Christum persequuntur, qui ab eo utique Christiani dicuntur. Amici tui, Deus, et proximi adversum te appropinquaverunt et steterunt. Conjurasse, &c. See before, page 724. Non est jam dicere, Ut populus, sic sacerdos; quia nec sic populus, ut sacerdos. Heu, heu! Domine Deus, quia ipsi sunt in persecutione tua primi, qui videntur in ecclesia tua primatum diligere, gerere principatum.—Id. in Convers. S. Paul. Serm. i. 3. cols. 955, 6.]

[24] Omnes amici, et omnes inimici: omnes necessarii, et omnes adversarii: omnes domestici, et nulli pacifici:...Ministri Christi sunt, et serviunt antichristo ...Ecce in pace amaritudo mea amarissima.—Id. in Cantic. Serm. xxxiii. 15, 16. Tom. IV. col. 1393.]

[25] Jewel omits Harding's reply to this paragraph: it is very short, containing nothing of moment.]

[26] The work of Bacon referred to was, as Harding rejoins, at this time unprinted. Among the writings of this author we find one entitled *De Utilitate Linguarum;* which seems to have formed the third part of his *Opus Majus.* See Bacon Op. Majus ad

plaineth that[1] in his days all the substance and efficacy of sacred divinity was brought unto[2] a glorious contention, and ostentation of wits, and very[3] sophistry[4]. The poor men called *pauperes a Lugduno*, men[5], as touching the manner of their life, not to be misliked, were wont boldly to affirm that the Romish church (from whence alone all counsel and order[6] was then sought) was the very same harlot of Babylon and rout of devils, whereof is prophesied so plainly in the Apocalypse.

M. HARDING.

...Now cometh me he in with a new band, which consisteth of tag and rag, and a weak company, God knoweth, they be to shew their faces against the catholic church, which (as the Holy Ghost speaketh by Salomon) is "terrible, like an army of men set in battle ray."...

First, friar Bacon, the conjurer and necromancer, as commonly they say of him, he is set in the forward, a man of great fame forsooth....

Then cometh in the good plain father Gerson, a writer in our grandfathers' time; he complaineth that friars and students gave themselves too much to the unprofitable subtility of scholastical questions. What maketh this against the faith of the church?

After these, this defender placeth in an out-wing the false brethren of Lyons, commonly called Waldenses, or pauperes de Lugduno, *notorious heretics condemned of the church.... These being detestable heretics condemned of the church, we reckon*[7] *not what they say, no more than what Luther saith, what Zuinglius, what Calvin, what these defenders themselves say, what antichrist, what Satan saith. For the enemies of God's truth may not be admitted to give witness against the truth.*

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

Of these last authorities which ye call "tag and rag," we never made any great account. Notwithstanding, both Johannes Gerson and Rogerus Bacon were notable and famous in their times, and in all respects comparable then with the best. "Plain father Gerson" (for by such words ye thought it best to quail his credit, being otherwise counted a subtle disputer and a profound school-doctor) was chancellor of the university of Paris; and for his wisdom and learning was thought worthy to be the director of all the bishops in the council of Constance, that is to say, all the bishops of the world. Such a "poor simple plain father" was father Gerson[8].

Rogerus Bacon, as it appeareth by his book, *De Idiomate Linguarum*, was able to judge of the Latin, Greek, and Hebrew tongues; and, besides divers other books, writeth also sundry epistles unto pope Clement[9]; wherein he much complaineth of the ruin and confusion of the church. Certainly the weakest of these both hath more weight and substance than either your Amphilochius, or your Abdias, or your Hippolytus, or your Leontius, or your Anacletus, or your pope Clemens, whom ye so often call the "apostles' fellow."

Howbeit, there is no man so simple but may bear witness to the truth. Clemens Alexandrinus, Lactantius, Arnobius, Eusebius, St Augustine, and other holy

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Clement. Quart. Lond. 1733. pp. 44, &c. Conf. Præf. fol. e. 2. But the passage here quoted does not appear in that place.]

[1 How, Conf.]

[2 Into, Conf.]

[3 And to very, Conf.]

[4 Perhaps the passage intended may be the following: Fabulæ, et non sanæ doctrinæ sunt, quæ *in persuasibilibus humanæ sapientiæ verbis*, 1 Cor. ii. 4. vel in sublimitate sermonum, aut secundum zelum, et contentionem, aut inanem gloriam, non in revelatione Spiritus Sancti, sed secundum traditionem hominum consistunt.—J. Gerson. Op. Antw. 1706. Serm. de Calam. Eccles. et de Sign. Fut. Jud. Tom. II. Pars. II. col. 313.]

[5 The friars of Lyons men, Conf.]

[6 Orders, Conf.]

[7 Reck, Conf. and Def. 1567.]

[8 The words from *Constance* are not in 1567.]

[9 There are some letters of Bacon to pope Clement, inserted by Hody in his work De Biblior. Text. Original. Vers. Gr. et Lat. Vulg. Oxon. 1705. pp. 419, &c. 428, &c. In them he exposes the errors and corruptions of the Vulgate translation, affording sufficient proof of his own acquaintance with the original tongues.]

fathers, thought it no prejudice to their cause, to allege the witness of the frantic sibyls. St Paul allegeth the authorities of the heathen poets, Aratus, Menander, Epimenides, that never knew God. Christ thought it no scorn to receive witness at infants' mouths. No, he refused not the devils, when they bare[10] witness with him, and said, "We know that thou art Christ the Son of the living God." *Pauperes a Lugduno* found fault with the pride of the pope, with the lewd life of the clergy, with purgatory, with holy water, with pardons, and with other your like deceivings of the people. They translated the bible, and prayed in their natural known mother-tongue[11]. Æn. Sylv. in Hist. Bohem.

These were their errors; therefore were they called "detestable heretics;" therefore were they condemned by your church of Rome. But, God's name be blessed for ever, sithence that time the pope's painted power hath still abated, and these "poor detestable condemned heretics" have still increased.

THE APOLOGY, Chap. xv. Division 2.

I know well enough the authority of these[12] foresaid persons will be[13] but lightly regarded amongst these men. How then if I call forth those for witness[14], whom they[15] themselves have used to honour? What if I say that Adrian, the bishop of Rome, did frankly confess that all these mischiefs brast out first from the high throne of the pope of Rome[16]? Rome the root of ill.

M. HARDING.

...Here have we a man of straw set up, whom this defender nameth Adrian the B.[17] of Rome. He giveth him a waze of straw in his hand, that afar off seemeth to be a sore weapon, taken out of the armoury of Platina[18], [a]as is pretended. But, when ye come near, and behold what fellow this is, and confer with Platina touching his weapon, ye see it to be a feigned thing. For there is no such saying by Platina attributed to any of the [b]six Adrians bishops of Rome, [b]whose lives he writeth: and more there were not. Therefore where you say, "What if I say, that Adrian," &c., I answer thereto, that, if you so say[19], you say a false lie.

[a] A great folly. For Platina was dead three-score years before Adrian VI. was pope.
[b] Untruth, vain and unadvised. For Platina writeth not one word of Adrian the VI.

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

Touching this pretty fancy of a man of clouts, and a waze of straw, I see well, M. Harding, ye thought it good policy to clout up the matter, and to satisfy your reader with a strawen answer. The straw was in your eyes, M. Harding, and not in the man. Ye stood too far aloof: your eyes dazzled; and therefore ye knew not what ye saw. If ye had drawn near, ye should soon have found your own error. It was no "man of straw," but pope Adrian the sixth and last that we speak[20] of; unless ye think the pope's holiness to be a man of straw. For thus he pronounced at Norinberg in Germany, in the great assembly of the empire, by the mouth of Cheregatus his legate *a latere: A sacerdotibus iniquitatem populi dimanare; multis nunc annis graviter multisque modis peccatum esse Romæ; et inde a pontificio culmine malum hoc atque luem ad inferiores omnes ecclesiarum præfectos defluxisse*[21]: Thus pope Adrian bade his legate say: "That the J. Sleid. Lib. iv. Anno 1523.

[10] So 1567. Other editions *bear*.]
[11] Æn. Sylv. Op. Basil. 1551. Hist. Bohem. cap. xxxv. p. 103.]
[12] The, Conf.]
[13] Persons is, Conf.
[14] Witnesses, Conf. and Def. 1567.]
[15] Conf. omits *they*.]
[16] Conf. and Def. 1567 omit *of Rome*.]
[17] Adrian bishop, Conf. and Def. 1567, 1570, 1609.]
[18] *Platina* was in the margin of the original edition of the Apology; but Jewel (see before, page 636) seems to disclaim the marginal notes.]
[19] Say so, Conf.]
[20] Spake, 1567.]
[21] J. Sleid. Comm. Argent. 1572. Lib. iv. fol. 32. 2; where *dimanare nam certe plurimis nunc annis*. The importance of Adrian's admission may justify the transcription of some sentences from his instructions to the legate as printed in the original contemporary pamphlet: Scimus in hac sancta sede, aliquot jam annis, multa abominanda fuisse, abusus in spiritualibus, excessus in mandatis, et omnia denique in perversum mutata. Nec mirum, si ægritudo a capite in membra, a summis pontificibus in alios inferiores prælatos descenderit. Omnes nos (id est prælati et

iniquity of the people grew from the priests; and that now for the space of many years there have been great and grievous offences committed in Rome; and that all this plague and mischief hath flowed unto all the inferior rulers of the church, even from the high throne of the pope's holiness." This same story is also extant, printed at Colaine, in a book called *Fasciculus rerum Sciendarum.*

Fasc. Rer. Sciend.

Thus therefore once again we say, M. Harding, that pope Adrian the sixth frankly confessed that all these mischiefs proceeded first even from the throne or seat of the pope's holiness; and, saying the same, notwithstanding your uncivil speech, we say no lie.

And, lest ye should think this legate Cheregatus, either of forgetfulness or of malice, did his errand otherwise than he had in commission, the like words have sithence been uttered in your own late chapter at Trident by Cornelius the bishop of Bitonto. These they be[1]: *Effecerunt tandem, ... ut pietas in fucum et hypocrisim, &c.*[2] "They[3] have brought to pass that godliness is turned into hypocrisy, and that the savour of life is turned into the savour of death. Would God they were not gone wholly with general consent from religion to superstition, from faith to infidelity, from Christ to antichrist, from God to Epicure; saying with wicked heart and filthy mouth, 'There is no God.' Neither hath there been this great while any pastor or pope that regarded these things. For they all (both pope and others) sought their own; and not so much as one of them (neither pope nor cardinal) sought for the things that pertain to Jesus Christ."

Cornel. Bitont. in Concil. Trident.

Therefore, M. Harding, ye may henceforth spare your unsavoury and bitter speeches: for in these reports there is no lie.

THE APOLOGY, Chap. xv. Division 3.

Errors in the mass.

Pighius acknowledgeth herein to be a fault, that many abuses are brought in, even into the very mass[4], which mass otherwise he would have seem to be a most reverend[5] matter. Gerson saith, that through the number of most fond ceremonies all the virtue of the Holy Ghost, which ought to have full operation in us, and all true godliness, is utterly quenched and dead[6]. Whole Græcia and Asia complain, how the bishops of Rome with the marts of their purgatories and pardons have both tormented men's consciences, and picked their purses.

M. HARDING.

... Indeed Pighius in his sixth controversy, speaking of private masses[7]*, denieth not but certain abuses be crept into that most holy and most healthful thing; for so he speaketh. And adding further: "We know," saith he, "to what man, and to what men it pertaineth the same to correct. And let each man acknowledge his own measure, and understand his duty*[8]*." As who should say, It is not*

ecclesiastici) declinavimus, unusquisque in vias suas, nec fuit jam diu, qui faceret bonum, non fuit usque ad unum...Qua in re, quod ad nos attinet, polliceberis nos omnem operam adhibituros, ut primum curia hæc, unde forte omne hoc malum processit, reformetur, ut sicut inde corruptio in omnes inferiores emanavit, ita etiam ab eadem sanitas et reformatio omnium emanet.—fol. b ii. of a tract with the following title: In hoc libello Pontificii Oratoris continetur legatio, in cõuentu Norẽbergensi, Anno. M.D. xxij. inchoato, sequenti vero finito exposita, vna cũm instructione ab eodẽ legato consignata, necnon responsione Cæsareæ Maiestatis, ac reliquorum principũ et procerum nomine reddita. Noremb. 1523. A copy is in the Bodleian Library, Oxford, under the title Norimberga. Conf. in Fasc. Rer. Expet. et. Fug. Lond. 1690. Tom. I. p. 345.]

[1 These be his words, 1567.]

[2 Effecerunt &c. hypocrisim,...vitæ odor in mortis odorem infelicissime commigraverit...Utinam &c.—Cornel. Episc. Bitont. Orat. in Concil. Trident. in Crabb. Concil. Col. Agrip. 1551. Tom. III. p. 979. See Vol. II. page 900, note 5.]

[3 The, 1570.]

[4 See below, note 8.]

[5 A reverend, Conf.]

[6 See J. Gerson. Op. Antw. 1706. Lib. de Vit. Spirit. Anim. Lect. ii. Tom. III. Pars. i. col. 17; where a similar complaint is made.]

[7 Indeed in his sixth controversy speaking of private masses he, Conf.]

[8 Quod si qui abusus in rem sacratissimam, et saluberrimam irrepserunt, ut irrepsisse plerosque non diffitemur, scimus ad quem et quos pertineat eosdem corrigere.—Alb. Pigh. Explic. Cathol. Controv. Par. 1586. Contr. vii. De Miss. Priv. fol. 123. 2.]

meet for every man to take upon him to amend any thing that is amiss about the mass. For he meaneth not that the mass itself is erroneous, as full well there he declareth; but that men be faulty in abusing that most holy sacrifice. For many come to the altar unworthily. Many be present at it that ought not to come within the church-doors. Some priests be of so lewd lives, and of so unreverent behaviour at it, as it were better they abstained. Albeit, I think he meant rather such abuses as the learned fathers of the provincial council of Colaine would to be amended; to wit, certain peculiar offices of masses devised by men of late years, besides the ordinance of the ancient forefathers[9]....

Errors in the Mass.

As for the other great troop ye bring with you out of Greece and Asia, first we require you to make them agree with yourselves, and with the catholic church, about the procession of the Holy Ghost; and then we shall answer both you and them concerning your grievous matter of purgatory and pardons. It is not our manner to take the sayings of heretics for good and sufficient authority.

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

Indeed, M. Harding, here ye hew over high. Ye take upon you to make us understand Pighius' meaning; and yet by your own confession it appeareth ye never knew yourself what he meant. Ye say: He found fault with the unworthiness either of the priests or of the people, ye know not whether; or with somewhat else noted in the late chapter of Colaine, ye know not what. Yet, whatsoever it shall please you to imagine, ye think you have wrong if we believe you not immediately upon your word. But Pighius himself, whose tale ye would so fain tell, saith not, as you would make him say, "Abuses have crept into the priest, or people;" but plainly and simply he saith, "Errors have crept into the mass."

Howbeit, "These errors," ye say, "whatsoever they be, no man may redress, but only the pope." And good cause why. For your doctors say: *Papa ex nihilo potest facere aliquid:* "The pope of nothing can make something." And, whatsoever he do, no man may say unto him, *Domine, cur ita facis*[10]? "Sir, why do you so?" And the very heart and root of all your divinity of Lovaine is this: "Christ hath prayed for Peter;" *ergo,* "The pope can never err." But, if ye mean plainly, and if there be no dissimulation nor hypocrisy in your words, tell me, I beseech you, even as you desire to be believed, of all the errors that Pighius meant, for the space of these forty years what one error hath the pope redressed?

Extr. de Translat. Episc. Quant. in Gloss. Extr. de Concess. Præb. Prop. in Gloss.

There is no plainness in this dealing, M. Harding. Your mind is not to seek redress, be the fault never so evident; but still to continue yourselves in credit, and the world in error.

All the Christians of Græcia and Asia, ye say, be heretics; and therefore ye reckon[11] not what they say. No doubt: for they say, "The pope is not the head of the church;" "which thing whosoever denieth," saith pope Nicolas, "must needs be holden as an heretic[12]." Thomas Aquinas, for that good affection and reverence he bare towards the pope, saith thus: *Dicere papam non habere universalis ecclesiæ primatum* [*est error similis*] *errori dicentium, Spiritum Sanctum a Filio non procedere*[13]: "To say that the pope hath not the primacy of the universal church, it is an error like unto the error of them that (maintain heresy touching the holy Trinity, and) say, The Holy Ghost proceedeth not from the Son of God." Of your readiness herein Ludovicus Vives writeth thus: *Augustinum vetustas sua tuetur. Qui si... revivisceret cum Paulo, certe... ille contemptui*

Dist. 22. Omnes.

Ludov. Vives in Lib. xiii. de Civit. Dei. cap. xxiv.

[9 Censur. pro Abus. Emend. 18. &c. in Concil. Provinc. Colon. in Crabb. Concil. Tom. III. pp. 923, 4.]

[10...et de nullo potest aliquid facere...nec est, qui ei dicat, cur ita facis?—Corp. Jur. Canon. Lugd. 1624. Decretal. Gregor. IX. Lib. I. Tit. vii. Gloss. in cap. 3. col. 217. Conf. ibid. Lib. III. Tit. viii. Gloss. in cap. 4. col. 1071.]

[11 Reck, 1567, 1570.]

[12 Qui autem Romanæ ecclesiæ privilegium ab ipso summo omnium ecclesiarum capite traditum auferre conatur, hic proculdubio in hæresim labitur. —Nicol. Papa II. in eod. Decret. Gratian. Decr. Prim. Pars, Dist. xxii. can. 1. col. 100.]

[13 Similis autem error est dicentium Christi vicarium Romanæ ecclesiæ pontificem non habere &c.—Aquinat. Op. Venet. 1595. Contr. Error. Græc. Opusc. I. Tom. XVII. p. 18.]

esset rhetorculus aut grammaticulus; Paulus vero vel insanire vel hæreticus videretur[1]: "St Augustine is safe now because of his age. But if he and Paul were alive again, he should be shaken off as a bad rhetorician, or a poor grammarian; but St Paul should be taken either for a madman, or for an heretic." We may say of this generation as St Augustine said of certain in his time: *Quicquid amant, volunt esse veritatem*[2]: "Whatsoever thing they fancy, be it what it may be, the same they will have to be the truth[3]." Now judge you, M. Harding, what church of yours is this, where as "St Paul the apostle of Christ, if he were now alive, should go for an heretic." Vesputius, as I remember, after he had travelled far, and had seen the manners and religions of many countries, saith thus: *Græci implicati sunt multis erroribus:* "The Greeks are entangled with many errors;" but he addeth withal: *Faxit Deus, ne et Latinis multæ irrepserint stultitiæ:* "God grant there be not many follies entered also into the church of Rome."

August. Conf. Lib. x. cap. xxiii.

Surely the christian men that be this day in Græcia and Asia utterly abhor the pope, with all the deformities of his church. The Greek emperor Michael Palæologus, for that he had submitted himself to the pope in the late council of Florence, was therefore afterward abhorred and hated of his people while he lived, and being dead was forbidden christian burial[4]. Isidorus, the archbishop of Kiovia in Russia, for that, being returned from the said council, he began, for unity's sake, to move the people to the like submission, was therefore deposed from his bishoprick, and put to death[5]. In such reverence the churches of Asia and Græcia have this day the church of Rome[6].

Paul. Æmil. Pantaleon.

Math. a Michov. in Nov. Orb.

The Apology, Chap. xvi. Division 1.

As touching the tyranny of the bishops of Rome, and their barbarous Persian-like pride, to leave out others, whom perchance they reckon for enemies because they freely and liberally find fault with their vices, the same[7] men which have led their life at Rome in the holy city, in the face of the most holy father, who also were able to see all their secrets, and at no time departed from the catholic faith; as, for example, Laurentius Valla, Marsilius Patavinus, Francis Petrarch, Hierome Savanorola, abbat Joachim, Baptist of Mantua, and, before all these, Bernard the abbat, have many a time and much complained of it[8], giving the world also sometime to understand that the bishop of Rome himself (by your leave) is very antichrist. Whether they speak[9] it truly or falsely, let that go. Sure I am they spake it plainly. Neither can any man allege that those authors were Luther's or Zuinglius' scholars; for they lived[10] not only certain years, but also certain ages, ere[11] ever Luther or Zuinglius' names were heard of.

M. HARDING.

If this defender were compared to a mad dog, some perhaps would think it rude, and an unmannerly comparison. Let the man be as he is, whosoever he be; verily

[1] August. De Civ. Dei, cum Comm. Lod. Viv. Basil. 1522. Lib. XIII. cap. xxiv. p. 411.]

[2] ... ut... hoc quod amant velint esse veritatem. —August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. Confess. Lib. x. cap. xxiii. 34. Tom. I. col. 183.]

[3] This sentence with the reference is not in 1567.]

[4] P. Æmyl. de Reb. Gest. Franc. Par. 1544. Lib. VIII. fol. 166. 2.

Pantal. Chronogr. Basil. 1561. p. 116. This last author does not however say any thing of the Greek emperor's being refused christian burial.]

[5] Isidorus metropolitanus olim Kioviēn. lingua et doctrina Græcus peritissimus... hunc Moscovitæ obedientiam Romanam eis prædicantem spoliaverunt, et in necem extremam impulerunt—Math. a Michov. De Sarmat. Europ. Lib. II. cap. i. in Nov. Orb. Basil. 1537. p. 517. But according to some authorities Isidorus was not put to death.]

[6] The last sentence is not in 1567.]

[7] The self-same, Conf.]

[8] See Excerpt. Quæd. ex Bernard. Joh. Gerson. &c. de Corrupt. Eccles. Rom. in Fasc. Rer. Expet. et Fug. Lond. 1690. Tom. II. pp. 886, &c.]

[9] Spake, Conf. and Def. 1567, 1570, 1609.]

[10] Were, Conf.]

[11] Or, Conf.]

the manner and fashion of both is like, howsoever I be content his person be honoured with the due regard of a man. For, as the mad dog runneth up and down, here and there, and now biteth one thing, and then another, snappeth at man and beast, and resteth not in one place; so this defender, to deface the church, sheweth himself to have a very unquiet head.... Now he runneth at the bishop of Rome, then at the whole clergy. Now he barketh at errors in doctrine, and sheweth none; then he snappeth[12] *at manners, and backbiteth men's lives. Now he bringeth forth scriptures, and them he stretcheth and racketh, but they reach not home: then cometh he to the doctors, and maketh them of his side, whether they will or no. From doctors he runneth to conjurers, to rhyming poets, and to heretics themselves. I think they had rather run to the Turks, than the catholic faith should be received. And here, leaving that he took in hand to prove, that the church erreth in necessary doctrine, he flingeth at the tyranny and pride of the bishops of Rome, and bringeth in for witness against them white and black, good and bad. So he hurt them, he careth not how, by what means, ne by what persons.*

First, to get credit he uttereth a manifest lie, saying of them all, they led[13] *their life at Rome in the holy city, under the nose of the most holy father, and might see all his secrets, and never forsook the catholic faith. His witnesses be these: Laurentius*[14] *Valla, Marsilius of Padua, Francis Petrarch, Hierome Savanorola, Joachim Abbat, Baptist of Mantua, and St Bernard, whom of spite he calleth Bernard the abbat. Now let us see how many lies here be made at once. Whereas of all these* [a]*never a one led*[13] *his life at Rome but Laurence Valla, who was a canon of Lateran, and this defender saith that all did, there is one lie. That all these might see the pope's secrets, there be two lies. That none of these forsook the catholic faith,* [b]*there be three lies. As for Laurence Valla, he was not in every point very sound, as it appeareth in his book of free will, and in his annotations upon the new testament: in all things he handled he shewed himself new-fangled rather than groundedly learned, as well in grammar and logic as in divinity.*

[a] Untruth. For Mantuan dwelt in Rome: Petrarcha was made poet in Rome: Savanorola was often in Rome, &c.
[b] Untruth. Otherwise shew wherein they forsook the faith.

But Marsilius of Padua, to please the emperor Ludovicus Bavarus, who lived about two hundred years past, through malice conceived against pope John XXII.[15]*, of whom the said Ludovicus was for just causes excommunicate, went so far in schism* [c]*as at length he fell into heresy. And abbat Joachim, whiles he reproved Peter Lombard,* [d]*uttered heresy contrary to the catholic faith, touching the Trinity; and therefore his book was condemned by the church, though his person was not condemned, because he submitted himself and his writings to the judgment of the holy Roman church, as we find in the Decretals*[16]*. That all these have greatly and often complained of the bishops of Rome their tyranny and pride,* [e]*there be four lies. That they declared the pope himself to be very antichrist,* [f]*there be five lies. And, whereas to make this shameless lie you ask leave, so we ask leave of you to tell it you, and to challenge you of a lie, and say plainly unto you that, speaking of them all, you belie them, and that you shall never be able to prove that you say of them.*

[c] Untruth. Otherwise shew in what article he was an heretic.
[d] This is uncertain. Read Luther touching the same.

Extra de Summ. Trin. et Fide Cathol. cap. 2.

[e] Untruth. For this will soon appear.
[f] Untruth. For by most express words they call him antichrist.

Francis Petrarch, the Italian poet, and Baptist of Mantua, the Latin poet, speak like poets, each of them once in their works against the evil manners of the court of Rome. But what proof maketh all this that the Roman church, that is to say, the West church, which only remaineth, and ever hath remained whole and sound of faith, erreth in doctrine? Or what argument can you gather out of all these, I will not say against the life, but against the office, authority, and dignity of the bishop of Rome? The argument you can make hereupon is this: poets reprehend the vices of the court of Rome; ergo, *the pope is antichrist. Or,* ergo, *the catholic church erreth, and is to be forsaken. What force is in this reason, every reasonable man, be he never so mean of wit, may soon judge.*

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

Your comparison of mad dogs, M. Harding, becometh well the rest of your

[12] Snappereth, Conf. and Def. 1567.]
[13] Lead, Conf.; leadde, Def. 1567, 1570.]
[14] Laurence, Conf. and Def. 1567, 1570.]
[15] John the XXII. Conf. and Def. 1567, 1570, 1609.]
[16] Innoc. III. in Concil. Gen. in Corp. Jur. Canon. Lugd. 1624. Decretal. Gregor. IX. Lib. I. Tit. i. cap. 2. cols. 11, &c.]

Anti-christ. courteous eloquence. Whoso shall mark how vainly you snap at whatsoever ye can imagine is in your way, now at our logic, now at our rhetoric, now at our Greek, now at our Latin, now at our lameness, now at our lean cheeks, now at our thin beards, now at our superintendentships, now at our ministerships, now at our masterships, now at our mashipps (for this is the sobriety and gravity of your speech); and further, how greedily and eagerly ye fasten your teeth and feed yourself with wind, and are still snapping, and catch nothing; although in regard of manhood he spare to call you a "mad dog," as it liketh you to call others, yet he may well think you scarcely to be a sober man.

Christ found fault, sometime with the bishops, sometime with the priests, sometime with the scribes, sometime with the Pharisees, sometime with the people, sometime with their religion, sometime with their traditions, sometime with their ignorance, sometime with their prayers, sometime with their fastings, sometime with their life, sometime with their hypocrisy, sometime with their cruelty; and thus, in your fantasy, "he ran hither and thither, up and down." Yet, I trow, ye will not touch him with your comparisons, nor say therefore as ye say to us, "He had a very unquiet head."

Whoso hath eyes to see, and considereth the miserable abuses of the church of Rome, touching either life or religion, cannot lightly want just matter to reprove. Ye remember what church it is whereof St Bernard saith: *A planta pedis usque ad verticem capitis non est sanitas ulla; non est jam dicere, Ut populus, sic sacerdos; quia nec sic populus ut sacerdos*[1]: "There is not one whole place from the sole of the foot to the top of the head. We may not now say, 'As is the people, so is the priest;' for the people is nothing so ill as is the priest."

Bernard. in Convers. Paul. Serm. 1.

Ye say, "These witnesses dwelt not in Rome." And here in a small matter ye have noted a great lie. Howbeit, Bernard the abbat, that dwelt furthest off, was twice in Rome, and was chief of council with pope Innocentius in his greatest affairs[2]. Franciscus Petrarcha was made poet in the Capitol[3], and kept Laura, his concubine, in the eye of the pope, and had his most abode in Rome. Laurentius Valla was canon of the cathedral church in Lateran, and led his life and died in Rome. Briefly, St Bernard only excepted, all the rest were Italians, and dwelt never far from Rome; and, as it may appear by the plainness of their speech, understood some part of the deepest secrets of the church of Rome.

Guil. Abb. in Vit. Bernard.

Raph. Volaterr.

Marsilius Patavinus, ye say, was an heretic. But what one heresy he defended, or before what judge he was convicted, or where he was either abjured, or punished for the same, neither you nor any of all your fellows have hitherto told us. Therefore we must think, he was an heretic without heresy, as some men be doctors without divinity.

Marsil. Patavin.

Joachimus Abbas found fault with the bishop of Rome, and therefore he must needs be an heretic. As for that he is charged in the pope's decretals with error touching the Trinity, it is a great untruth; as ye may clearly perceive by a book that Martin Luther hath purposely written in his defence.

Joach. Abb. Extr. de Summ. Trin. et Fid. Cath. Damnamus.

Certainly Laonicus Chalcocondyla, a Greek writer, giveth unto this Joachimus a very worthy commendation. For thus he saith of him: *De pontificibus Joachimus abbas, &c.*[4]: "Joachimus the abbat, regarded among the learned in Italy as a man of a singular gift in prophecy, foretold many things of the popes, how they should come to the popedom, and how they should live. And as he spake, even so it came to pass. As touching his knowledge, he seemed to be a heavenly man[5]."

Laonic. Chalcoc. Lib. vi.

Plane divinus.

But to come near the matter, and to speak of the thing that most misliketh

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[1 Bernard. Op. Par. 1690. In Convers. S. Paul. Serm. i. 3. Vol. I. Tom. III. col. 956. See before, page 735, note 23.]

[2 Ibid. Vit. S. Bernard. Auct. Ernald. Lib. II. cap. vii. Vol. II. Tom. VI. cols. 1109, 11.]

[3 ... inde Romam venit, ac in capitolio ingenti populi adplausu laureatus est.—Raph. Volaterr. Comm. Urb. Par. 1603. Anthrop. Lib. XXI. col. 771.]

[4 Ἰωακείμ δέ τις ἐλλόγιμος τῶν κατὰ τὴν Ἰταλίαν σοφῶν γενομένων, καὶ ἐπὶ μαντικὴν ἀφικόμενος, τούς τε ἐσομένους ἀρχιερεῖς προεσήμαινε, τρόπῳ ᾧ ἂν ἕκαστος τούτων παριὼν ἐπὶ τὴν ἡγεμονίαν, βιώσοιτο δὲ γίγνεσθαι. ἐπειδὰν ἐς τὰ ἔργα καταστῇ τὰ μαντεύματα αὐτῷ...ἐντεῦθεν τοῖς σοφωτάτοις καταστῆναι τὰ ἐς διάλεξιν, καὶ δαιμόνιόν τινα τὴν σοφίαν ἐπιφαίνεσθαι.—Laonic. Chalcoc. De Reb. Turc. Hist. Par. 1650. Lib. VI. pp. 160, 1.]

[5 This paragraph with the reference is not in 1567.]

you, St John saith, "Antichrist shall sit in a city built upon seven hills;" and so is the city of Rome. Irenæus saith, "The number of antichrist's name shall be expressed by this word *Latinus*[7];" whereby it is likely is meant the bishop of Rome[8]. Sibylla saith: "The greatest terror and fury of his empire, and the greatest woe that he shall work, shall be by the banks of Tyber[9]:" and there is Rome[10]. These[11] circumstances seem plainly to paint out the city of Rome. St Hierome saith: *Antichristus sedebit in templo Dei, vel Hierosolymis, ut quidam putant, vel in ecclesia, ut verius arbitramur*[12]: "Antichrist shall sit in the temple of God, either at Hierusalem, as some think, or else in the church (of God) itself, which we take to be the true[13] meaning." St Gregory saith: *Ego ... fidenter dico, quod quisquis se universalem sacerdotem vocat, vel vocari desiderat, in elatione sua antichristum præcurrit*[14]: "I speak it boldly, whosoever calleth himself the universal priest, or desireth so to be called (as doth the pope), in the pride of his heart he is the forerunner of antichrist."

Anti-christ.

Rev. xvii. Virg. Septemque una sibi muro circumdabit arces[6].

Iren. Lib. v. cap. ult.

Sibyll. Orat. 8. Λυγραῖς παρὰ Θόβριδος ὄχθαις.

Hieron. ad Algas.

Gregor. Lib. ix. Epist. 30.

And when John, the[15] bishop of Constantinople, had first entered his claim unto this title, St Gregory made answer unto the same: *Ex hac ejus superbia quid aliud, nisi propinqua jam esse antichristi tempora*[16] *designatur*[17]*?* "By this pride of his, what thing else is signified but that the time of antichrist is even at hand?"

Gregor. Lib. iv. Epist. 34.

Again he saith upon occasion of the same: *Rex superbiæ prope est, et, quod dici nefas est, sacerdotum*[18] *est præparatus exercitus*[19]: "The king of pride (that is, antichrist) is coming to us, and an army of priests is prepared, which thing is wicked to be spoken." St Hierome saith: *Antichristus omnem religionem suæ subjiciet potestati*[20]: "Antichrist shall cause all religion to be subject to his power."

Gregor. Lib. iv. Epist. 34.

Hieron. ad Algas.

I will not here take upon me to descry either the person or the dwelling-place of antichrist. Whoso hath eyes to see, let him see. These circumstances agree not unto many. St Paul saith: "Antichrist worketh the mystery or secret practice of iniquity." Whereupon the gloss saith: *Mystica [est impietas antichristi], id [est], pietatis nomine palliata*[21]: "The wickedness of antichrist is mystical, that is to say, (it is not plain and open, or easy to be espied of every body, but) cloked under the name of godliness." And your gloss upon St Paul unto Timothy saith thus: *Habentes speciem pietatis, id est, Christianæ religionis*[22]: "Having a shew of godliness, that is to say, a shew of the religion of Christ." So mystical shall antichrist be in all his dealing[23]. And, forasmuch as M. Harding thinketh we misallege these writers, and violently force them to our side, whether they will or no, St Bernard saith thus: *Bestia illa de apocalypsi, cui datum est os loquens blasphemias, et bellum gerere cum sanctis, Petri cathedram occupat, tanquam leo paratus ad prædam*[24]: "The[25] beast that is spoken of in the book of Revelations, unto which beast is given a mouth to speak blasphemies, and to keep war against the saints of God, is now gotten into Peter's chair, as a lion prepared to his prey." Behold, M. Harding, St Bernard telleth you that "antichrist is possessed in Peter's chair." Howbeit ye may soon find a salve for this sore: for ye will say, Bernard wrote these words against Petrus Luna, an intruder and usurper of the see of Rome, and not against Innocentius VII.[26], that was pope indeed.

2 Thess. ii.

2 Tim. iii.

Bernard. Epist. 125. p. 1316.

[6] Virg. Æn. vi. 784.]

[7] Iren. Op. Par. 1710. Contr. Hær. Lib. v. cap. xxx. 3. p. 329. See Vol. II. page 915, note 12.]

[8] 1567 has not the last ten words.]

[9] Sibyll. Orac. Basil. 1555. Lib. VIII. p. 226. See Vol. II. page 915, note 11.]

[10] These four words are not in 1567.]

[11] Which, 1567.]

[12] ... et in templo Dei, &c. arbitramur sederit.—Hieron. Op. Par. 1693-1706. Ad Algas. Quæst. xi. Tom. IV. Pars I. col. 209.]

[13] Truer, 1567, 1570.]

[14] Gregor. Magni Papæ I. Op. Par. 1705. Epist. Lib. VII. Indict. xv. Ad Mauric. August. Epist. xxxiii. Tom. II. col. 881; where *quia quisquis.*]

[15] Then, 1567, 1570, 1609.]

[16] Designantur, 1567, 1570.]

[17] Id. Lib. v. Indict. XIII. Ad Constant. August. Epist. xxi. col. 751; where *in hac* and *antichristi esse.*]

[18] Sacerdotem, 1570.]

[19] Id. ibid. Ad Johan. Episc. Epist. xviii. col. 744. See Vol. I. page 345, note 7.]

[20] ...omnem et veram religionem suo calcet pede.—Hieron. Op. Ad Algas. Quæst. xi. Tom. IV. Pars I. col. 209.]

[21] Bibl. cum Gloss. Ord. et Expos. N. de Lyra, Basil. 1502. Ad Thess. II. cap. ii. Gloss. Ord. Pars VI. fol. 115.]

[22] Habentes speciem &c. i. apparentiam religionis.—Ibid. Ad Tim. II. cap. iii. fol. 126.]

[23] The sentences from *godliness* are not in 1567.]

[24] Bernard. Op. Ad Gaufrid. Epist. cxxv. 1. Vol. I. Tom. I. col. 130.]

[25] That, 1567.]

[26] Innocent II.]

Anti-christ. This is true, M. Harding, and not denied, nor any way prejudicial to our purpose; for hereby ye may see, by Bernard's judgment, it is not impossible but either by election or by intrusion, by one way or by other, antichrist may sit in Peter's chair. Mark well his words; thus he saith: *Bestia habens os loquens blasphemias occupat cathedram Petri.* But if you, M. Harding, or any other your friends, shall hope to start out at this poor hole, what will you then say unto Arnulphus, that saith, "The very pope himself, notwithstanding any his canonical election, if he want charity, is antichrist sitting in the temple of God?" What will you say to Bernard himself, that calleth the popes of his time traitors, wolves, Pilates, devils, and the darkness of the world? Tell your friends, M. Harding, that Bernard speaketh not these words of intruders. This shift will not serve. He speaketh them of very popes indeed, of Christ's vicars, of Peter's successors, and of the heads of the church[1]. Joachimus Abbas said above three hundred years sithence: *Antichristus jampridem natus est Romæ, et altius se extollet in sede apostolica*[2]: "Antichrist is already born in Rome, and shall advance[3] himself higher in the apostolic see."

Joach. Abb.

In Concil. Remens. Int. Op. Bernard. Arnulphus, in the council of Rheims, saith thus: *Quid hunc, reverendi patres, in sublimi solio residentem, veste purpurea et aurea radiantem, quid hunc, inquam, esse censetis? Nimirum si caritate destituitur, solaque scientia inflatur et extollitur, antichristus est in templo Dei sedens, et sese ostendens tanquam sit Deus*[4]: "What think you, reverend fathers, of this man (he meaneth the pope) sitting on high in his throne, glittering in purple and cloth of gold? What think ye[5] him to be? Verily, if he be void of charity, and be blown up and advanced[6] only with knowledge, then is he antichrist sitting in the temple of God, and shewing out himself as if he were God."

Aventinus. The bishops in the council at Reinspurg say thus: *Hildebrandus papa sub specie religionis jecit fundamenta antichristi*[7]: "Pope Hildebrand under a colour of holiness (by forbidding priests' marriage) hath laid the foundation for antichrist."

Dant. in Cant. 32. Franc. Petrarch. Epist. 20. Dantes, an Italian poet, by express words calleth "Rome the whore of Babylon[8]." Franciscus Petrarcha likewise saith: "Rome is the whore of Babylon, the mother of idolatry[9] and fornication, the sanctuary of heresy, and the school of error[10]." I know these words will seem odious unto many: therefore I will stay, and spare the rest. The pope himself, for that he saw to whose person and credit these things belonged, therefore in his late council of Lateran gave strait commandment to all preachers, that no man should dare once to speak of the coming of antichrist[11].

Concil. Later. sub Julio et Leon. Sess. 11.

Indeed many places of the holy scriptures spoken of antichrist seemed in old times to be dark and doubtful, for that as then it appeared not unto what state and government they might be applied. But now, by the doctrine and practice of the church of Rome, to them that have eyes to see, they are as clear and as open as the sun[12].

The Apology, Chap. xvii. Division 1.[13]

And what marvel if the church were then carried away with errors in that time, specially when neither the bishop of Rome, who then only ruled the roast, nor almost any other, either did his duty, or once understood

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[1] The sentences from *prey* are not in 1567.]

[2] Rog. Hoveden. Annal. Pars Post. Rich. Prim. in Rer. Angl. Script. Franc. 1601. p. 681. See Vol. II. page 915, note 13.]

[3] Avance, 1567, 1570.]

[4] Arnulph. in Catalog. Test. Gen. 1608. col. 1561; where *se ostendens*.]

[5] You, 1567, 1570, 1609.]

[6] Avanced, 1567, 1570.]

[7] ... antichristum esse prædicant, pietatis sub specie (inquibant) debacchatur,...titulo Christi negotium antichristi agitur.—Avent. Annal. Boior. Libr. Ingolst. 1554. Lib. v. p. 573.]

[8] Dant. Venet. 1568. Purgat. Cant. xxii. vv. 142-160, p. 472. Conf. in Catalog. Test. cols. 1763, &c.]

[9] Of all idolatry, 1567.]

[10] F. Petrarch. Op. Basil. 1581. Epist. sine Tit. Lib. Ad Amic. Epist. xvi. Tom. II. p. 729. See before, page 628, notes 5, 6.]

[11] Concil. Later. sub Leon. X. Sess. xi. in Crabb. Concil. Col. Agrip. 1551. Tom. III. p. 683. The prohibition seems rather to be against fixing the time of antichrist's appearance or of the day of judgment.]

[12] This paragraph is not in 1567.]

[13] A sentence of the Apology with Harding's remark on it, of but two or three lines, is here omitted.]

what was his duty? For it is hard to be believed, whiles they were idle and fast asleep, that the devil also all that while either fell asleep or else continually lay idle. For how they were occupied in the mean time, and with what faithfulness they took care of God's house, though we hold our peace, yet, I pray you, let them hear Bernard their own friend. "The bishops," saith he, "who now have the charge of God's church, are not teachers, but deceivers: they are not feeders, but beguilers: they are not prelates, but Pilates[14]." These words spake Bernard of that bishop who named himself the highest bishop of all, and of the other bishops likewise which then had the place of government. Bernard was no Lutheran[15]: Bernard was no heretic: he had not forsaken the catholic church; yet, nevertheless, he did not let to call the bishops that then were "deceivers, beguilers, and Pilates." Now, when the people was openly deceived, and christian men's eyes were craftily bleared, and Pilate[16] sat in judgment-place, and condemned Christ and Christ's members to sword[17] and fire, O good Lord, in what case was Christ's church then? But yet tell me, of so many and so gross[18] errors, what one error have[19] these men at any time reformed? or what fault have they once acknowledged and confessed?

The state of the Church of Rome.

M. HARDING.

Why, sirs, are ye so well learned and so holy of life yourselves, that ye take upon you to judge the bishop of Rome, Christ's chief officer in earth, and all other men, before the time of your apostates and renegate friars, to have been both impious for not doing their duty, and ignorant for not knowing what was their duty? Was all virtue so far banished, all necessary knowledge and christian learning so clean put out, that we must now begin to learn how to believe, and how to live a christian life, of such light preachers, wicked vow-breakers, lewd lecherous lurdains, and detestable blasphemers, as your devilish rabble is?...

The spirit of modesty.

Lib. ii. de Considerat. ...*St Bernard's words*[20] *to Eugenius be these:* Age, indagemus adhuc diligentius quis sis, &c.[21]: "*Well, go to, let us somewhat more diligently examine what manner a man thou art, what person thou bearest for the present time in the church of God. Who art thou? The great priest, the highest bishop. Thou art the chief of all bishops, thou art the heir of the apostles: for primacy thou art Abel, for government Noe, for patriarchship Abraham, for holy order Melchisedech, for dignity Aaron, for authority Moses, for judgment Samuel, for power Peter, *for thy anointing Christ. Thou art he to whom the keys were delivered, to whom the sheep were committed. There be also other porters of heaven and pastors of flocks; but thou so much far passing all other, as thou hast inherited both names much more indifferent. They have their flocks assigned unto them, each man*

* The pope is Christ. This is well to be marked[22].

[14] See below, page 746, note 5.]
[15] Lutherian, Conf.]
[16] And when Pilate, Conf.]
[17] To the sword, Conf.]
[18] And gross, Conf.]
[19] One have, Conf.]
[20] His words, Conf.]
[21] Age, indagemus adhuc diligentius qui sis, quam geras videlicet pro tempore personam in ecclesia Dei. Quis es? Sacerdos magnus, summus pontifex. Tu princeps episcoporum, tu hæres apostolorum, tu primatu Abel, gubernatu Noe, patriarchatu Abraham, ordine Melchisedech, dignitate Aaron, auctoritate Moyses, judicatu Samuel, potestate Petrus, unctione Christus. Tu es cui claves traditæ, cui oves creditæ sunt. Sunt quidem et alii cœli janitores, et gregum pastores: sed tu tanto gloriosius, quanto et differentius utrumque præ ceteris nomen hereditasti. Habent illi sibi assignatos greges, singuli singulos: tibi universi crediti, uni unus. Nec modo ovium, sed et pastorum tu unus omnium pastor. ...Ergo, juxta canones tuos, alii in partem sollicitudinis, tu in plenitudinem potestatis vocatus es. Aliorum potestas certis arcetatur limitibus: tua extenditur et in ipsos, qui potestatem super alios acceperunt. Nonne, si causa exstiterit, tu episcopo cœlum claudere, tu ipsum ab episcopatu deponere, etiam et tradere Satanæ potes?...Discipuli navigabant, et Dominus apparebat in littore; quodque jucundius erat, in corpore redivivo. Sciens Petrus quia Dominus est, in mare se misit, et sic venit ad ipsum, aliis navigio pervenientibus. Quid istud? Nempe signum singularis pontificii Petri, per quod non navem unam, ut ceteri quique suam, sed seculum ipsum susceperit gubernandum.—Bernard. Op. Par. 1690. De Consid. ad Eugen. Lib. II. cap. viii. 15, 6. Vol. I. Tom. II. col. 422.]
[22] This sentence is not in 1567.]

The state of the Church of Rome.

one: all are committed to thee, the one whole flock to one. Neither art thou only the pastor of all the sheep, but also the only pastor of all the pastors.... Wherefore, according to thine own canons, other are called into part of care, thou into fulness of power. The authority of others is restrained to certain prescript bounds; thine is extended even upon those who have received power over others. Canst not thou, if there be cause why, close up heaven-gates against a bishop, deprive him of his bishoprick, and give him up to the devil?... Now hear another reason, which confirmeth that prerogative to thee, as well as the other. The disciples rowed; and our Lord appeared unto them on the shore, and that in his body now again restored unto life, which was more comfortable unto them. Peter, John xxi.

St Peter leapeth for the popedom.

knowing that it was our Lord, leapt into the sea, and so came unto him, and the rest came by boat. What meaneth this? Forsooth it was a sign of the singular popedom of Peter, by which he took into his government not only one[1] *ship, as the other did, each man his own, but the whole world."...*

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY[2].

"Apostates, renegates, lecherous lurdains, detestable, devilish rabble!" O M. Harding, the vessel that held this liquor was not clean. We condemn not your clergy either for life or for learning, but only report therein the judgment of others your special friends; and therefore, if any thing mislike you herein, the fault is in them, and not in us. St Bernard saith, your bishops in his time were "not doctors, but deceivers; not feeders, but defrauders; not prelates, but Pilates." Judge you now in what case the church of God stood then, when the bishops that were the guides and leaders of the people might be compared to Pilate, that gave sentence in judgment against Christ.

Johannes Vitalis, a cardinal of Rome, and therefore in no wise of your part to be refused, saith thus: *De sacerdotibus modernis dicit Hieremias, Stupor et mirabilia facta sunt in terra. Prophetæ prædicabant mendacium; et sacerdotes applaudebant manibus; et populus meus dilexit talia*[3]: "Concerning the priests that now be, Hieremy saith, 'Horror and wonders are wrought upon the earth. The prophets have preached lies; the priests have clapped their hands at it for joy, and liked it well; and my people hath loved such things'."

Joh. Vital. de Prælat. et Sacerd.

Jer. v.

Albert. in Johan. cap. x. E. E.

Albertus Magnus saith: *Illi qui modo præsunt in ecclesiis, plurimum... sunt fures et latrones;... plus exactores quam pastores, plus spoliatores quam tutores, plus mactatores quam custodes, plus perversores quam doctores, plus seductores quam ductores:... isti sunt nuntii antichristi, subversores ovium Christi*[4]: "They that now govern the church, for the most part, be thieves and murderers; more catchers than feeders, more spoilers than defenders, more killers than keepers, more deceivers than doctors, more beguilers than guiders. These be the vaunt-couriers of antichrist, the subverters of the sheep of Christ."

Guil. Holcot. in Lib. Sap. Lect. 192.

William Holcote saith: *Sacerdotes moderni.... sunt similes sacerdotibus Baal.... sunt angeli apostatici;... sunt similes sacerdotibus Dagon;... sunt sacerdotes Priapi;... sunt angeli abyssi*[5]: "The priests of this time are like the priests of Baal; they are the renegate angels; they are like the priests of Dagon; they are the priests of Priapus; they are the angels of hell." St Bernard saith:

Bernard. in Concil. Rem.

Dicimini pastores, cum sitis raptores.... Fratres,... Jesus hodie elegit sibi multos diabolos episcopos.... Non sunt pastores, sed traditores[6]: "Ye are called bishops, but ye are raveners. O my brethren, Jesus at this time hath chosen unto him many devils to be bishops; they are not feeders, they are traitors." Johannes Sarisburiensis said boldly unto pope Adrian the fourth:

Johan. Saris. in Polyc. Lib. vi. cap. xxiv.

Ideo mea opinione [papæ] frequentius moriuntur, ne totam corrumpant ecclesiam[7]: "Therefore in my judg-

[1] Not one only one, Conf. and Def, 1567, 1570.]

[2] In 1611 it is *M. Harding*.]

[3] Sed multi sunt hodie qui non evangelizant... unde stupor et mirabilia hodie facta sunt &c. prophetæ prophetabant mendacium &c. — Joh. Vital. Specul. Moral. Tot. Script. 1513. Eccles. fol. 84. 2.]

[4] Albert. Magn. Op. Lugd. 1651. In Evang. D. Joan. cap. x. Tom. XI. p. 193; where *potius sunt exactores*.]

[5] R. Holkoth in Lib. Sapient. 1586. Lect. clxxxiii. in cap. xvi. p. 604; where *hi possunt dici sacerdotes Priapi*.]

[6] Bernard. Op. Par. 1690. Ad Cler. in Concil. Rem. 2, 3, 6. Vol. II. Tom. v. cols. 735, 6, 8; where *cligens*.]

[7] Et in ea opinione, frequentius &c.—Joan. Saresb. Policr. Lugd. Bat. 1595. Lib. VI. cap. xxiv. p. 331.]

ment the popes die the oftener, lest (if they should continue long) they should infect the whole church."

Again, St Bernard saith: *Pudeat successores apostolorum lucem non esse mundi sed modii; mundi autem tenebras. Dicamus eis, Vos estis tenebræ mundi*[8]: "Let it shame the successors of the apostles not to be the light of the world, but the light of the bushel; and rather the darkness of the world. Let us therefore say unto them, Ye are the darkness of the world." Bernard. in Cant. Serm. 66.

Through these spectacles we may behold the state of the church of Rome. For Christ saith: "If the light itself that is in thee be made darkness, how great then will the darkness itself be!" How can the city be kept in safety, if the watchman be blind and see nothing? "If the blind lead the blind, both fall into the pit." Christ saith: *Dormientibus illis creverunt zizania*[9]: "While the husbandmen were asleep, then the cockle and darnel grew." St Hilary saith: *Ecclesiæ intra quas verbum... non vigilat naufragæ sunt*[10]: "The churches, wherein God's word watcheth not, suffer shipwreck and are drowned." Matt. vi. Matt. xv. Matt. xiii. Hilar. in Matt. Can. 8.

But Bernard, ye say, stoutly maintained the supremacy[11]. I grant you. Neither did we ever allege him to prove the contrary. He defendeth also other great and gross errors, as living in a time of deepest darkness. But the reasons he useth seem very weak, specially to win so great a matter. For thus he saith: "Peter leapt into the water and came to Christ; Bernard. de Consid. ad Eugen. Lib. ii.

"The rest of the disciples came by boat: John xxi.

"*Ergo*, The pope hath the jurisdiction of all the world[12]."

Such other pretty reasons made in the pope's behalf ye may find many. Peter Crab, that lately compiled the books of councils, reasoneth thus: Concil. Tom. 1. p. 10.

"Peter paid the tribute-money for Christ and himself; Matt. xvii.

"Christ said unto Peter, 'Follow thou me;' John xxi.

"Again he said, 'Launch forth into the deep;' Luke v.

"Again, 'Peter, art thou asleep? Couldest thou not watch with me one hour?' Mark xiv.

"And again, 'From henceforth thy name shall be Peter;' Luke xxii. John i.

"And Peter drew his sword and cut off Malchus' ear: Matt. xxvi.

"*Ergo*," saith he, "The pope hath universal authority over the whole church of God[13]."

Here be reasons even for a pope. He must needs be hard-hearted that will not yield to them[14].

Notwithstanding, howsoever these reasons hold, Bernard saith: "The popes are the heads of the church." True it is. But again the same Bernard saith the same heads are "the ministers of antichrist, deceivers, defrauders, raveners, traitors, the darkness of the world, wolves, Pilates, and devils." And this was sufficient for our purpose. St Gregory saith: *Considerate,... quid de gregibus agatur, quando lupi sunt pastores*[15]: "When the wolf is become the shepherd, consider then what may become of the flock." Gregor. Hom. 17. in illa verba, Messis quidem multa.

As for that St Bernard saith, "The pope is Abel; the pope is Noe; the pope is Abraham; the pope is Melchisedech; the pope is Aaron; the pope is Moses; the pope is Samuel; the pope is Peter; the pope is Christ[16];" I doubt not but your own conscience will answer, it is too much. Yet of the two, that is a great[17] deal more likely that others have said, as I have alleged before: "The pope is antichrist." For both heaven and earth knoweth he is not Christ. The pope is Christ.

[8 Bernard. Op. In Cant. Serm. lxvi. 8. Vol. I. Tom. IV. col. 1497.]

[9 Zizaniæ, 1570.]

[10 Hilar. Op. Par. 1693. Comm. in Matt. cap. viii. 1. col. 644; where *vigilaverit*.]

[11 Maintaineth the pope's supremacy, 1567.]

[12 See above, page 745, note 21.]

[13 Sunt et alia plura evangelii loca, ex quibus Petri primatum haud obscure observare liceat...Atque pro solvenda didrachma ait Dominus illi specialiter... Da eis pro me et te. Neque sine mysterio dixit ei, Tu me sequere...Nec parvi momenti est, quod a se petra Christus Simonem, mutato nomine, Petrum vocavit....Neque frustra dictum Petro putat sanctus Ambrosius, Duc in altum...Instante item tempore passionis, soli Petro nominatim dixit Dominus: Simon, dormis? non potuisti una hora vigilare mecum? ...Sed et abscissio auriculæ a beatis Augustino et Gregorio in mysterium pastorale trahitur, &c.—Tractat. de Primat. Rom. Eccles. in Crabb. Concil. Col. Agrip. 1551. Tom. I. p. 10.]

[14 This sentence is not in 1567.]

[15 Gregor. Magni Papæ I. Op. Par. 1705. In Evang. Lib. I. Hom. xvii. 14. Tom. I. col. 1503; where *quando pastores lupi fiunt*.]

[16 See before, page 745, note 21.]

[17 Yet is that a great, 1567.]

THE APOLOGY, Chap. xviii. Division 1.

But, forsomuch as these men avouch the universal possession of the catholic church to be their own, and call us heretics because we agree not in judgment with them; let us know, I beseech you, what proper mark and badge hath that church of theirs, whereby it may be known to be the church of God. Ye wis[1] it is not so hard a matter to find out God's church, if a man will seek it earnestly and diligently, and as he should[2]. For the church of God is set upon a high and glistering place, in the top of an hill, and built upon the "foundation of the apostles and prophets:"

August. de Unit. Eccles. Cathol.

"There," saith Augustine, "let us seek the church; there let us try our [3]matters[4]." "And," as he saith again in another place, "the church must be shewed out of the holy and canonical scriptures; and that which cannot be shewed out of them is not the church[5]." Yet, for all this, I wot not how, whether it be for fear, or for conscience, or despair[6] of victory, these men alway abhor and fly[7] the word of God, even as the thief flieth[8] the gallows. And no wonder, truly. For, like as men say, the cantharus by and by perisheth and dieth as soon as it is laid in balm, notwithstanding balm be otherwise a most sweet-smelling ointment; even so these men will[9] see their own matter is damned[10] and destroyed in the word of God, as if it were in poison. Therefore the holy scriptures, which our Saviour Jesus[11] Christ did not only use for authority in all his speech, but did also at last seal up the same with his own blood, these men, to the intent they might with less business drive the people from the same, as from a thing dangerous and deadly, have used to call them a bare letter, uncertain,

Alb. Pigh. in Controv. de Eccles.[12]

unprofitable, dumb, killing, and dead: which seemeth to us all one as if they should say, "The scriptures are to no purpose, or as good as none at all[13]." Hereunto they add a[14] similitude not very agreeable, how the scriptures be like to a "nose of wax, or a shipman's hose[15];" how they may be fashioned and plied all manner of ways, and serve all men's turns.

M. HARDING.

Where ye say the church is builded upon the foundation of the apostles and prophets, and shewed by the holy canonical scriptures, we confess the same with St Augustine. When ye add, the church which cannot be shewed out of the scriptures to be no church, we say that, though [a]*St Augustine have no such words in the chapters which ye allege in the margin*[16]*, yet were it never so much granted that he had those words in that place, they should make nothing for your purpose. St Augustine in that book disputeth against the Donatists, who would restrain the catholic church to the only country of Afric, denying other christian men to be members thereof. St Augustine, refuting their heresy, declareth the Son of God to be the head*[17]*, and all the*

[a] Untruth. For St Augustine in the same places and elsewhere oftentimes saith the same.

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[1] I wis, Conf.]

[2] These four words are not in Conf. or Def. 1567.]

[3] Matter, Conf.]

[4] See below, page 750, note 3.]

[5] Ergo in scripturis sanctis canonicis eam [ecclesiam] requiramus...In his igitur [i. e. prophetis et apostolis] omnibus quærenda est ecclesia.—August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. Contr. Donat. Epist. vulg. Lib. de Unit. Eccles. capp. iii. iv. 6, 7. Tom. IX. cols. 341, 2. See also below, notes 23, 4, and page 750, notes 2, 4. The latter part of this quotation is not verbally found in the place referred to; but it expresses the sense of Augustine's paragraph.]

[6] Despairing, Conf.]

[7] Flee, Def. 1567, 1570.]

[8] Fleeth, Conf. and Def. 1567, 1570.]

[9] Well, Conf. and Def. 1567, 1570, 1609.]

[10] Damped, Conf. and Def. 1567, 1570.]

[11] Jesu, Conf.]

[12] Albertus Pighius in Hierarch., Conf.]

[13] Conf. has not *at all.*]

[14] Add also a, Conf. and Def. 1567, 1570.]

[15] Sunt enim scripturæ muti judices...Sunt enim scripturæ velut cereus quidam nasus, &c.—Alb. Pigh. Explic. Cathol. Contr. Par. 1586. Controv. III. De Eccles. fol. 89. 2, 90.]

[16] Margent, Conf. and Def. 1567, 1570.]

[17] Be head, Conf. and Def. 1567, 1570.]

true faithful to be the body of the church; and that it is not sufficient to hold with the head alone, or with the body alone; but we must hold with both together, if we will be saved. Church known by God's word.

The Donatists did grant the head Jesus Christ, and denied his body the church. For this cause saith St Augustine: Ipsum caput, de quo consentimus, ostendat nobis corpus suum, de quo dissentimus[18]: "*Let the head, upon whom we agree, shew unto us his body, whereupon we disagree.*" *The head is Christ, who spake first by his prophets, afterward by himself, and last of all by his apostles.* In his igitur omnibus quærenda est ecclesia[18]: "*In all these (saith he) the church must be sought.*" *Where the church is to be sought.*[19]

If thou mark, good reader, that which I have here rehearsed out of St Augustine, it is to be seen that he bindeth not the proof of the church simply to the holy scriptures, [b]*but only in a case when he hath to do with an heretic, who will not admit the authority of the church. Therefore* [c]*a true church may be found which is not shewed in the scriptures, so the contrary thereof be not shewed in the scriptures.... Now, if these defenders will have that to be no church which cannot be shewed out of scriptures, they shall understand that, as therein they play the Donatists, so we must needs follow St Augustine in bringing scriptures*[20] *against them, not as the* [d]*only proof indeed (which they falsely say), but as a very good and chief kind of proof, most profitable in all cases, and necessary at such time as the adversary will admit none other proof, &c....*

[b] Untruth. For St Augustine's words are general.
[c] Here M. Harding secretly confesseth that his church of Rome cannot be shewed by the scriptures.
[d] Untruth. For St Chrysostom saith: *Nunc...nullo modo cognoscitur...quæ sit vera ecclesia,...nisi tantummodo per scripturas*[21].

Wherefore it remaineth that it is the synagogue of antichrist and Lucifer: who as he fell out of heaven like a lightning, so he maketh a blaze and shew of a church in the earth for a time. But, as we can tell when it was not born, so shall it not be long but that through God's power it will vanish away, dispersed, and be scattered by the lightsome majesty of Christ's true church, which from St Peter's time to this day flourisheth in her head the bishop of Rome, and in her members throughout the world, [e]*which abide in the unity of the same bishop....*

[e] In the unity of the bishop of Rome.

We esteem and understand the scriptures to be the sense and the word. If they can pretend the bare word, they think themselves good enough to make a sense of their own: which bare word, as they misuse it, Pighius perhaps compareth to a nose of wax; but the scriptures he never meant to dishonour with that similitude. If it were lawful for us to use scripture after our own interpretation, as they do, we should not lack sufficient matter in the holy books to overthrow by our own applying all their false opinions and heresies. [f]*But we are bound to that religious awe and reverence of them that, except we have an author to avouch the sense whereof we take hold, we dare bring forth nothing. And yet, read our books who will, he shall lack neither scriptures in them, nor witnesses of our interpretation in any controversy of this age. Let it be agreed that for decision of controversies such sense of the scriptures be taken for scripture which the Holy Ghost hath taught the church, and then let the world judge who "flieth the word of God as the thief doth the gallows"....*

[f] Untruth, manifest[22]. For M. Hard. knoweth that in the greatest cases that lie in question, he can allege neither scripture nor doctor.

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

Contrary to that we have here alleged of St Augustine, ye say: "A true church may be found which is not shewed in the scriptures." Whereby it appeareth ye are loth your church should come to the trial of this standard. But, forasmuch as this quarrel groweth of St Augustine, let St Augustine himself be the judge. And, to allege a few words instead of many, thus he saith: *Utrum ipsi ecclesiam teneant,... divinarum scripturarum canonicis libris ostendant*[23]. [*Ecclesiam Christi*], *sicut ipsum caput* [*Christum*], *in scripturis sanctis canonicis debemus agnoscere*[24]: "Whether they have the church or no, let them shew by the canonical books of the holy scriptures. We must know the church of Christ, even as we likewise know Christ, which is the head of the church, in the holy canonical August. de Unit. Eccles. cap. xvi.

[18] August. Op. Contr. Donat. Epist. cap. iv. 7. Tom. IX. col. 342.]
[19] Where is the church to be sought, Conf.]
[20] Scripture, Conf. and Def. 1567.]
[21] See below, page 750, note 5.]
[22] Manifest and shameless, Def. 1567.]
[23] August. Op. Contr. Donat. Epist. cap. xix. 50. Tom. IX. col. 373.]
[24] Id. ibid. 49. col. 372.]

Church known by God's word.

scriptures." Again he saith: *Ecclesiam... sine ulla ambiguitate sancta scriptura demonstrat*[1]: "The holy scripture sheweth the church without any doubtfulness." Again: *Quæstio est,... ubi sit ecclesia. Quid ergo facturi sumus? [Utrum] in verbis nostris eam quæsituri, an in verbis capitis sui, Domini nostri Jesu Christi? Puto, quod in illius potius verbis eam quærere debemus, qui Veritas est, et optime novit corpus suum*[2]: "The question or doubt is, where the church should be. What then shall we do? Whether shall we seek the church in our own words, or in the words of her head, which is our Lord Jesus Christ? In my judgment we ought rather to seek the church in his words; for that he is the Truth, and best knoweth his own body."

August. contr. Cres. Gram. Lib. i. cap. xxxiii. August. de Unit. Eccles. cap. ii.

Again: *Non audiamus, Hæc dico, hæc dicis; sed audiamus, Hæc dicit Dominus.... Ibi quæramus ecclesiam; ibi discutiamus causam nostram*[3]: "Let us not hear these words, 'This say I, this sayest thou;' but these words let us hear, 'Thus saith the Lord:' there let us seek the church, there let us discuss our cause." And again: *Nolo humanis documentis, sed divinis oraculis sanctam ecclesiam demonstrari*[4]: "I will not have the holy church to be shewed by man's judgment, but by God's word."

August. de Unit. Eccles. cap. iii.

In eod. cap.

Chrysost. in Op. Imperf. Hom. 49.

Likewise saith St Chrysostom: *Nunc... nullo modo cognoscitur,... quæ sit vera ecclesia Christi, nisi tantummodo per scripturas*[5]: "Now can no man know which is the true church of Christ, but only by the scriptures." Again he saith in like form of words: *Volens ergo quis cognoscere, quæ sit vera ecclesia Christi, unde cognoscat in tanta confusione similitudinis, nisi tantummodo per scripturas*[6]? "If a man be desirous to know which is the true church of Christ, how can he know it in such a confusion of likeness, but only by the scriptures?" These words be so evident and so plain, that no man with modesty may well deny them.

In ead. Hom.

Ambros. Hexam. Lib. iv. cap. viii.

And, whereas you say, all this notwithstanding, "A true church may be found which is not shewed in the scriptures;" St Ambrose saith: *Ecclesia fulget non suo, sed Christi lumine*[7]: "The church shineth (or is known) not by her own light, but by the light of Christ," which is, by the word of God.

Chrysost. in Johan. Hom. 58.

Chrysost in Matth. Hom. 46.

And Chrysostom saith: *Qui sacra non utitur scriptura, sed ascendit aliunde, id est, non concessa via, hic fur est et latro*[8]: "Whoso useth not the scripture, but getteth up another way, that is, by a way that is not lawful, he is a thief and a murderer." Again he saith: *Hierusalem hic semper ecclesiam intellige, quæ dicitur civitas pacis; cujus fundamenta posita sunt super montes scripturarum*[9]: "Here by Hierusalem evermore understand thou the church, which is called the city of peace; the foundations whereof are laid upon the mountains of the scriptures."

Ye magnify your church of Rome, and say, "it shineth on high upon the mount." Yet St Bernard saith to the pope and his clergy, as it is alleged before: *Vos estis tenebræ mundi*[10]: "Ye are the darkness of the world." Therefore ye may not well vaunt yourselves so much of the brightness of your beams. As for that ye call our church the synagogue of Lucifer and antichrist, we may well suffer it to blow over, as the vain unsavoury smoke of some impatient choleric humour. Our cause is not the worse, M. Harding, in the judgment of the wise, for that you have learned so readily to speak ill.

Bernard. in Cant.

But what Lovanian vanity is this, to say, "The members of the church of Christ abide in the unity of the pope?" What scripture, or doctor, or father, ever told you of such unity? St Paul saith: "We are all one (not in the pope, but) in Christ Jesu." And what so great unity can you say there is or hath been in your popes? Platina saith: *Post Stephanum semper hæc consuetudo servata est,*

Gal. iii.[11]

Plat. in Steph. vi.

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[1] Id. contr. Crescon. Donat. Lib. i. cap. xxxiii. 39. Tom. IX. cols. 407, 8.]

[2] Id. contr. Donat. Epist. cap. ii. 2. Tom. IX. col. 388.]

[3] Id. ibid. cap. iii. 5. cols. 340, 1; where *hæc dicis, hæc dico.*]

[4] Id. ibid. 6. col. 341.]

[5] Chrysost. Op. Par. 1718-38. Op. Imperf. in Matt. Hom. xlix. ex cap. xxiv. Tom. VI. p. cciv.]

[6] Id. ibid. where *tantæ.*]

[7] Fulget enim ecclesia non &c.—Ambros. Op. Par. 1686-90. Hexaem. Lib. iv. cap. viii. 32. Tom. I. col. 78.]

[8] Chrysost. Op. In Joan. Hom. lix. Tom. VIII. p. 346.]

[9] Id. Op. Imperf. in Matt. Hom. xlvi. ex cap. xxiv. Tom. VI. p. 195.]

[10] Bernard. Op. Par. 1690. In Cant. Serm. lxvi. 8. Vol. I. Tom. iv. col. 1497.]

[11] This reference is not in 1567.]

ut acta priorum pontificum sequentes aut infringerent aut omnino tollerent[12]: "It hath been an ordinary custom among the popes, ever sithence the time of pope Stephen, that the popes that followed afterward, would evermore either break or abolish the acts of the popes that had been before them." Erasmus saith: *Johannes XXII. et Nicolaus totis decretis inter se pugnant, idque in his quæ videntur ad fidei negotium pertinere*[13]: "Pope John XXII. and pope Nicolas in their whole decrees are contrary the one against the other; yea, and that in matters that seem to belong to cases of the faith." Unity of the church in one Pope. Erasm. in Annot. in I Cor. vii.

To be short, the popes have foully corrupted the scriptures: they have corrupted the decrees and canons of councils: they have been sorcerers, idolaters, scribes and Pharisees: they have been Arian heretics, Nestorian heretics, Monothelite heretics, Montanist heretics: they have maintained damnable heresies against the Godhead of Christ, against the person of Christ, against the will of Christ, and against the immortality of the soul: they have been contrary to themselves, one directly and expressly against another: yet must the pope bear up the whole church of God, even as Atlas beareth up the heavens? and unless all the world abide in him, is there no unity in the church?

So[14] saith Hosius: *Unum præesse toti ecclesiæ usque adeo est necessarium, ut absque hoc ecclesia una esse non possit*[15]: "It is so necessary a thing that one have the government of the whole, that otherwise the church of God cannot be one." Hos. in Petric. Conf. cap. xxvii.

Likewise it is noted in the pope's own glosses upon his decretals: *Constat . . . ecclesiam ideo [esse] unam, quia in universali ecclesia unum est caput supremum, . . . scilicet papa*[16]: "It is plain that the church is one, for that in the universal church there is one supreme head, that is, the pope." Another of your doctors doubteth not to step yet a little further[17], and thus to expound the words of Christ: *Fiet unum ovile, et unus pastor; quod quidem de Christo intelligi non potest, sed de aliquo alio ministro, qui præsit loco ejus*[18]: "There shall be one fold and one shepherd. These words we may not understand of Christ, but of some other minister that may rule[19] in his room." By which doctor's catholic judgment we find that the unity of the church hangeth not of Christ, but of the pope. Clement. v. Ad Nost. in Gloss. Johan. de Paris. de Potest. Reg. et Papal. cap. iii.

But these be over vain and gross vanities. For, though the pope were no pope, yea, though antichrist were the pope, yet is Christ able to hold his church in perfect[20] unity. St Paul saith: *Christus est caput, ex quo totum corpus coagmentatur et connectitur*: "Christ is the head, of whom the whole body (of the church) is framed fast, and joined together." Therefore St Chrysostom saith: *Ex hoc capite corpus habet, et ut sit, et ut bene sit. Quid relicto capite membris adhæres*[22]? "Of this head (that is, Christ) the body hath both to be, and also well to be. What cleavest thou to the members, and leavest the head?" Eph. iv. Chrysost. ad Col. Hom. 7.[21]

This is the unity of the church, that the whole flock may hear the voice of that one Shepherd, and follow him. And that one Shepherd is Christ the Son of God, and not the pope. Therefore St Augustine saith: *Per hanc . . . potestatem, quam solum sibi Christus retinuit, . . . stat unitas ecclesiæ, . . . de qua dictum est, Una est columba mea*[23]: "By this power, which Christ (he saith not, hath given over to the[25] pope, but) hath reserved only to himself, standeth the unity of the church; of which unity it is said, My dove is one." August. in Johan. Tract. 6.[24]

Ye say, there appeareth in your books "sufficient abundance of scriptures,

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[12] ...cum postea fere semper servata hæc consuetudo sit, ut &c.—Plat. De Vit. Pont. Col. Agrip. 1551. Steph. VI. p. 126.]

[13] ...nonne papa Joannes vigesimus secundus et Nicolaus decretis totis &c.—Erasm. Op. L. Bat. 1703-6. Annot. in Epist. ad Cor. I. cap. vii. Tom. VI. col. 696.]

[14] Thus, 1567.]

[15] Unum itaque toti præsse ecclesiæ usque eo necessarium est, ut &c.—Hos. Op. Col. 1584. Confess. Fid. cap. xxvi. Tom. I. p. 55.]

[16] Corp. Jur. Canon. Lugd. 1624. Clement. Lib. v. Tit. iii. Gloss. in cap. 3. col. 274; where *est unum caput.*]

[17] Farther, 1567, 1570, 1609.]

[18] Johan. de Parrhis. De Potest. Reg. et Papal. cap. iii. in Goldast. Mon. Rom. Imp. Hanov. et Franc. 1612-14. Tom. II. p. 111.]

[19] That ruleth, 1567.]

[20] Perfite, 1567, 1570.]

[21] 1567 adds: Citatur in Catena in 1 cap. Johannis.]

[22] Chrysost. Op. In Epist. ad Coloss. cap. iii. Hom. vii. Tom. XI. p. 372.]

[23] August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. In Johan. Evang. cap. i. Tractat. vi. 6. Tom. III. Pars II. col. 332; where *quam Christus solus sibi tenuit.*]

[24] This reference is not in 1567.]

[25] Over the, 1567.]

touching any controversy of this age, and that according to the very sense and meaning of the same, together with the consent and judgment of the holy fathers." But for[1] us (ye say) "we build only upon the bare words, and make a meaning of our own."

Abusing of the Scriptures.

Indeed it is no great mastery for you to arm yourself with some shew of scriptures. The devil was not altogether void of such furniture, when he came to tempt Christ. St Cyril saith: *Omnes hæretici de scriptura divinitus inspirata sui colligunt erroris occasiones*[2]: "All heretics out of the heavenly-inspired scriptures gather occasion of their error." Athanasius saith: *Hæretici scripturarum verbis pro esca utuntur*[3]: "Heretics use the words of the scriptures for a bait."

Matt. iv.

In Concil. Chaleed. Act. 1.

Athanas. contr. Arian. Orat. 1.

Tertullian saith: *Fidem ex his impugnat, ex quibus constat*[4]: "An heretic assaulteth the faith by the same words of God[5] that breed the faith."

Tertull. de Baptism.

But, forasmuch as ye say ye bear such awe and reverence unto the word of God, and in the interpretation thereof follow only the sense of the Holy Ghost, and the judgment of the doctors and fathers of the church; for some trial of your truth herein, let us see how discreetly and reverently ye have used the same.

In your late council holden at Lateran in Rome, one Simon Begnius, the bishop of Modrusia, saith thus unto pope Leo: *Ecce venit Leo de tribu Juda, Radix David, &c. Te, Leo beatissime, salvatorem exspectavimus, &c.*[6]: "Behold the Lion is come of the tribe of Juda, the Root of David, &c. O most blessed Leo, we have looked for thee to be our Saviour." In your late chapter at Trident, Cornelius the bishop of Bitonto said thus: *Papa lux venit in mundum; et dilexerunt homines tenebras magis quam lucem. Omnis, qui male agit, odit lucem, et non venit ad lucem*[7]: "The pope, being the light, is come into the world; and men have loved the darkness more than the light. Every man that doth evil hateth (the pope, that is) the light, and cometh not to the light."

Concil Later. Sess. 6. p. 601.

Concil. Trident. Corn. Bitont.

Pope Adrian saith: *Papa non judicabitur a quoquam; quia scriptum est, Non est discipulus supra magistrum*[8]: "No man shall judge the pope; for it is written, The scholar is not above his master."

Concil. Tom. 2. Decret. Collect. per Adrian. p. 613.

The pope suffereth[9] the ambassadors of Sicilia to lie prostrate on the ground, and thus to cry unto him, as if it had been unto Christ: *Qui tollis peccata mundi, miserere nostri: ... qui tollis peccata mundi, dona nobis pacem*[10]: "O thou (holy father) that takest away the sins of the world, have mercy upon us: thou that takest away the sins of the world, give us peace."

Paul. Æmyl. Lib. vii.

Pope Sixtus saith, "Whoso accuseth the pope can never be forgiven." And his reason is this: *Quia qui peccat in Spiritum Sanctum, non remittetur ei, neque in hac vita, neque in futura*[11]: "He that sinneth against the Holy Ghost shall never be forgiven, neither in this world, nor in the world to come." And by these words of the scriptures, so well applied, he concludeth that no man may accuse the pope. And is the pope indeed the "Lion of the tribe of Juda?" Is the pope the "Root of David?" Is the pope the "Light?" Is the pope the "Saviour of mankind?" Is the pope that "Lamb of God that taketh away the sins of the world?" Was this the very sense of the Holy Ghost? Was this the meaning of the scriptures[12]? And, to leave a heap of other examples (for they are infinite), you yourself, M. Harding, have often used the scriptures in like sort.

Concil. Tom. 1. in Purg. Sext.

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[1] But as for, 1567.]

[2] Cyril. Alex. ad Joan. Antioch. Episc. Epist. in Concil. Constant. Act. II. apud Concil. Calched. Act. I. in Concil. Stud. Labb. et Cossart. Lut. Par. 1671-2. Tom. IV. col. 172. Conf. Op. Lut. 1638. Tom. V. Pars II. pp. 108, 9.]

[3 ...ἀπάτης δὲ χάριν τῶν ἁπλουστέρων...σχηματίζονται μελετᾷν καὶ λέγειν τὰς λέξεις...ἵνα ἐκ τῶν λέξεων δόξωσιν ὀρθὸν ἔχειν καὶ τὸ φρόνημα, καὶ λοιπὸν πείσωσι παρὰ τὰς γραφὰς φρονεῖν τοὺς ταλαιπώρους ἀνθρώπους.—Athanas. Op. Par. 1698. Ad Episc. Ægypt. contr. Arian. Epist. 4. Tom. I. Pars I. pp. 273, 4.]

[4 ... ut ex his eam impugnet, ex &c.—Tertull. Op. Lut. 1641. De Baptism. 2. p. 255.]

[5 Gods, 1611.]

[6 Orat. per Sim. Begn. Episc. Modrus. in Concil. Later. sub Leon. X. Sess. VI. in Crabb. Concil. Col. Agrip. 1551. Tom. III. p. 601.]

[7 Orat. Corn. Epist. Bitont. ad Trident. Synod. ibid. p. 981; where *sed dilexerunt homines magis tenebras.* See Vol. I. page 385, note 6.]

[8 Neque præsul summus a quoquam judicabitur, quoniam scriptum est: &c. super &c.—Capit. per Adrian. Collect. in eod. Tom. II. p. 613.]

[9 Suffered, 1567.]

[10 P. Æmyl. De. Reb. Gest. Franc. Par. 1544. Lib. VII. fol. 158.]

[11 De Expurg. Sixt. Papæ III. cap. vi. in Crabb. Concil. Tom. I. pp. 607, 8; where *qui autem peccaverit*, and *ei nec hic nec in futuro.*]

[12 The sentences from *accuse the pope* are not in 1567.]

Thus ye say, "The Son of man came not to destroy (the souls of men), but to save; *ergo*, the substance of bread in the sacrament is not annihilate or consumed to nothing[13]." And this, ye say, "was the sense and meaning of the Holy Ghost." This is the judgment of all the doctors and holy fathers. Such religious awe and reverence ye bear towards the word of God. Yet saith your doctor Hosius: "The scripture, as it is alleged by us, is the word of the devil; but, as it is alleged and handled by you, so only it is the word of God[14]." If ye had not utterly wiped all shame from your faces, ye would neither make such mockeries of God's holy word, nor so lewdly abuse the people of God.

M. Harding, fol. 99. a. [Conf.]

Hos. contr. Brent. Lib. iv. fol. 178. a.

The Apology, Chap. xix. and xx. Division 1.

Wotteth not the bishop of Rome that these things are spoken by his own minions? or understandeth he not he hath such champions to fight for him? Let him hearken then, how holily and how godly one Hosius writeth of this matter, a bishop in Polonia, as he testifieth of himself; a man doubtless well spoken, and not unlearned, and a very sharp and a stout[15] maintainer of that side. Thou wilt[16] marvel, I suppose, how any[17] good man could either conceive so wickedly, or write so despitefully of those words which he knew proceeded from God's mouth, and specially in such sort as he would not have it seem his own private opinion alone, but the common opinion of all that band. He dissembleth, I grant you indeed, and hideth what he is, and setteth forth the matter so, as though it were not he and his side, but the Zuenkfeldian heretics that so did speak[18]. "We" (saith he) "will bid away with the same scriptures, whereof we see brought, not only divers, but also contrary interpretations; and we will hear God speak, rather then we will resort to the naked elements or bare words of the scriptures[19], and appoint our salvation to rest in them. It behoveth not a man to be expert in the law and scripture, but to be taught of God. It is but lost labour that a man bestoweth in the scriptures. For the scripture is a creature, and a certain bare letter[20]." This is Hosius' saying, uttered altogether with the same spirit and the same mind, wherewith in times past the heretics Montanus and[21] Marcion were moved; who, as it is written of them, used[22] to say, when with contempt[23] they rejected the holy scriptures, that themselves knew many more and better things, than either Christ or the apostles ever knew.

Hos. de Express. Verb. Dei.

What then shall I say here, O ye principal posts of religion, O ye archgovernors of Christ's church? is this that your reverence which ye give to God's word? The holy scriptures, which St Paul saith came "by the inspiration of God," which God did commend by so many miracles, wherein are the most perfect[24] prints of Christ's own steps, which all the holy

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[13] See Vol. III. page 511.]

[14] Nam quomodo profertur [scriptura] a catholicis, verbum est Dei...quomodo profertur ab hæreticis, verbum est diaboli.—Hos. Op. Col. 1584. Confut. Prolog. Brent. Lib. III. Tom. I. p. 551.]

[15] And stout, Conf.]

[16] One will, Conf.]

[17] A, Conf.]

[18] This sentence was added after the publication of the Latin Apology. Conf. Vol. III. page 28, note1.]

[19] The last six words are not in Conf.]

[20] ...tum ipsas etiam scripturas, quarum tot jam, non diversas modo, verum et contrarias interpretationes adferri videmus, facessere jubebimus:...ac ipsum loquentem potius audiemus...quam ut ad egena ista elementa nos convertamus, et in illis... salutem nostram constituamus. Non oportet legis aut scripturæ esse peritum, sed a Deo doctum: vanus est labor, qui scripturæ impenditur; scriptura enim creatura est, et egenum quoddam elementum.—Hos. Op. De Express. Dei Verb. Tom. I. p. 624.]

[21] Past Montane and, Conf.]

[22] Who as men report used, Conf.]

[23] With a contempt, Conf.]

[24] Perfit, Conf. and Def. 1567, 1570.]

fathers, apostles, and angels, which Christ himself the Son of God, as often as was needful, did allege for testimony and proof, will ye, as though they were unworthy for you to hear, bid them avaunt[1]? That is, will ye enjoin God to keep silence, who speaketh to you most clearly by his own mouth in the scriptures? Or that word, whereby alone, as Paul saith we are reconciled to God, and which the prophet David saith is "holy and pure, and shall last for ever," will ye call that but a "bare and dead letter"? Or will ye say, that all our labour is lost, which is bestowed in that thing which Christ hath commanded us diligently to search, and to have evermore before our eyes? And will ye say that Christ and the apostles meant with subtilty to deceive the people, when they exhorted them to read the holy scriptures[2], that thereby they might flow in all wisdom and knowledge? No marvel at all though these men despise us and all our doings, seeing they set[3] so little by God himself and his infallible sayings. Yet was it but want of wit in them, to the intent they might hurt us, to do so extreme injury to the word of God.

But Hosius will here make exclamation, and say that we[4] do him wrong, and that these be not his own words, but the words of the heretic Zuenkfeldius. But how then, if Zuenkfeldius make exclamation on the other side, and say that the very same[5] words be not his, but Hosius' own words? For tell me, where hath Zuenkfeldius ever written them? Or, if he have written them, and Hosius have judged the same to be wicked, why hath not Hosius spoken so much as one word to confute them? Howsoever the matter go[6], although Hosius peradventure will not allow of those words, yet he doth not disallow the meaning of the words. For well-near in all controversies, and namely touching the use of the holy communion under both kinds, although the words of Christ be plain and evident, yet doth Hosius disdainfully reject them, as no better then cold and dead elements; and commandeth us[7] to give faith to certain new lessons, appointed by his[8] church, and to I wot not what revelations of the Holy Ghost. And Pighius saith: "Men ought not to believe, no, not the most clear and manifest words of the scriptures, unless the same be allowed for good by the interpretation and authority of the church[9]:" whereby he meaneth the church of [10]Rome[11].

M. HARDING.

How ignorantly, wickedly, and stubbornly the author of this Apology burdeneth the reverend father in God, and honourable prelate, cardinal Hosius, with that he never said, it is not unknown to all men who have read[12] *that book which he wrote,* De Expresso Verbo Dei, "*Of the Express Word of God.*" *Here I ask so much pardon, as to detect an heretical touch or two, before I make direct answer to the foul slandering of Hosius.*

First, I note with what fidelity these new holy brethren do their things. It may be thought that the secretary of this new clergy, at his penning of the Apology, saw not Hosius' book Of the Express Word of God. But, as they have been conversant in St

[1] Avaunt away, Conf.]
[2] Holy in scriptures, Conf.]
[3] Doings which set, Conf.]
[4] Exclamation, saying we, Conf.]
[5] Same very, Conf. and Def. 1567, 1570, 1609.]
[6] Goeth, Conf.]
[7] Conf. omits *us*.]
[8] The, Conf.]
[9] Cujus auctoritas scripturarum nobis auctoritatem statuit: statuit inquam nobis, ut quæ nisi ab ecclesia veritatis accepto testimonio, nullam ex seipsis aut suis auctoribus apud nos auctoritatem haberent.—Pigh. Hierarch. Eccles. Col. 1538. Lib. I. cap. ii. fol. 7. 2.]
[10] The last seven words are not in Conf.]
[11] This paragraph was added after the publication of the Latin Apology.]
[12] Readen, Conf. and Def. 1567, 1570.]

Augustine, Hierome, Chrysostom, and the ancient fathers, so use they Hosius at this time, that is to say, they read neither the old fathers with any diligence, neither the writers of our time: but by snaps and pieces either themselves write out here and there a line or two, or use that which some of their own sect hath taken out of them. So that for most part they never know the true meaning of the place which they allege; but using patched note-books, and bringing in scattered authorities, they be deceived themselves, and deceive others..... And he that took the note knew well they were not the words of Hosius, and did but only put the name of Hosius unto them because they were taken out of his book. The writer of this Apology not knowing, nor[13] *not remembering so much, when he found in the note-book the name of Hosius with such words, he did rashly put them in print, to his own great shame and discredit. If this excuse be not true, we must needs lay marvellous malice to the said writer, who wittingly and of set purpose did impute the*[14] *words to Hosius, which he reported by way of misliking of them, and shewing whose heresy they contained.*

Now let the defenders choose[15] *whether they will have their secretary condemned of ignorance or of malice. Howsoever it be, mark yet the third point, which hereof we will gather. The Apology was scant printed and published, but that gross error was out of hand espied, and word thereof brought to the author, I mean him that penned it. But what did he? Did he confess that he was deceived? Did he cry Hosius mercy? No, no: that is not the wont of heretics. They will go forward with the matter once begun, whatsoever come of it. What did he then? When it should be set forth in English, and word came to him thereof, he made an excuse, I warrant you, meet for an heretic, whose property it is* proficere in pejus, *as St Paul saith, "to proceed to worse and worse," to take his degree backward, and of a great fault to make a far greater. For, whereas before (as charity moveth me to think) he had made an error, supposing Hosius to have said that which he had not; afterward by stubborn maintaining of it, he sheweth what spirit he is of, and, when he might reasonably have excused his ignorance, chose rather spitefully to discover his malice, as it shall manifestly appear by the circumstance of the thing. He layeth to Hosius' charge, and in his person to all our charges, that we do not esteem the holy scriptures. He proveth it by certain words alleged out of a treatise made by Hosius,* De Expresso Verbo Dei. *The words are here put in the Apology, as the reader may see. The true argument of Hosius' book is no other than to shew that all heretics have alleged the words of God, as they be written; but none of them all have taken the right understanding of God's words*[16]*, as they do indeed signify. For that only the catholic church attaineth unto, because only it hath the Holy Ghost. All heretics have brought for their opinions the written word of God so long, until at the last (saith Hosius) there were found who by the words of the scriptures took upon them to take away all authority from scriptures.* Natum est (*saith he*) novum quoddam prophetarum genus, qui non sunt veriti scripturarum auctoritate scripturis auctoritatem omnem detrahere. En quo perduxit rem tandem Satanas[17]: *"A certain new kind of prophets is risen, who stick not by the authority of scriptures to take away all authority from scriptures. See whither at the length the devil hath brought the matter".*

Now, afterward expounding this matter more at large, he declareth the captain[18] *of that heresy to have been Zuenkfeldius. He sheweth that by a text of scripture, where David saith, "I will hear what our Lord speaketh in me*[19]*," Zuenkfeldius went about to will men to hear what God telleth every man by inspiration, rather than to give attendance to the written word of God. And, whiles Hosius reporteth what Zuenkfeldius said for the maintenance of his fond heresy, as*[20] *among other his words these are, which be*[21] *brought in this Apology against Hosius, and against the catholics; whereas it is neither Hosius, nor any catholic that speaketh them, but only Zuenkfeldius himself....*

Hitherto we have shewed that the words alleged in the Apology under the name

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[13] Or, Conf. and Def. 1567.]
[14] These, Conf.]
[15] Chose, Conf. and Def. 1567, 1570.]
[16] Word, 1611.]
[17] Hos. Op. Col. 1584. De Express. Dei Verb. Tom. I. p. 622.]
[18] Capitaine, Conf. and Def. 1567, 1570.]
[19] Hos. ibid. p. 624.]
[20] *As* is not in Conf. and Def. 1567.]
[21] He, Def. 1570, 1609, 1611.]

The mistaking of Hosius.

of Hosius make neither against him, nor against us, as not being his words nor ours, but only the words of Zuenkfeldius. Well, what credit may we give to this man in expounding the word of God (whose true meaning he may falsify at his pleasure, because we cannot bring forth God himself to declare his words), seeing he dareth to burden Hosius with these words, which Hosius himself, being yet alive, can declare to have another meaning, as the book itself doth witness to all that list to read the same? This was a great fault, to impute so horrible an heresy to Hosius unjustly. This was a great ignorance, to charge him with that heresy which he refuteth and impugneth. They are great crimes, and yet such as might rise of misreport and ignorance. But when he was told of them, he should of reason have corrected them. He should have repented with Peter, and not despaired with Cain and Judas.

But what did he when he understood he had erred? He addeth a gloss far more malicious then the former error was. For, granting that Hosius setteth out the matter so, as though neither he, nor any of his side, but the heretics Zuenkfeldians spake so, this notwithstanding he burdened[1] *both him and the catholics with it, saying that he dissembleth and hideth what he is. Sir, was this the way to amend your fault, to grant that Hosius spake against the Zuenkfeldians, and yet to bear men in hand he favoured them? If he had favoured their heresy, what needed he to refel it? But how say you that Hosius dissembleth and hideth what he is, sith that even here in two places, in most plain words, you lay the Zuenkfeldian heresy to his charge? Read your own book. Before the allegation of Zuenkfeldius' heresy, say you not thus, "We, saith he, will bid away, &c."? And after the allegation have you not these words, "This is Hosius' saying"? How standeth all this together? You have forgotten the proverb that biddeth a liar to be mindful. I cannot tell how to name this kind of your dealing, lying or detraction, slandering or malicious speaking. But, Sir, if Hosius have spoken evil, why give you not witness against him of evil? If he have spoken well, even by your own confession, in reputing the Zuenkfeldians for heretics, why find you fault with him for his good words*[2]*, such, I say, as yourself confess to be good? You reprove him who speaketh not against Zuenkfeldius; and again you grant he speaketh against him; and yet, because you had once reproved him, you will continue in it without reason, learning, or wit. But it must needs so be; for without pertinacy no man is either a perfect*[3] *heretic or a perfect*[3] *slanderer..... If yet you stand in defence of it, all the world will account you for a desperate person. For no man that ever saw Hosius' works can think that he was guilty of that you burden him with. But some man might think you were deceived, and mistook Hosius. But sith you grant you do not now mistake him, and yet charge him with avouching that which he holdeth for heresy, he that understandeth thus*[4] *much of you may assure himself that you are disposed to belie and slander Hosius, though it cost you the damnation of your soul. For shame, man, repent, and revoke that for which your own conscience stinteth not to bark at you ....*[5]

"But Hosius" (say they) "peradventure will not allow the words of Zuenkfeldius; yet he doth not disallow the meaning of the words." Well and clerkly reasoned. As though words were allowed or disallowed for any other so principal a cause as for their meaning. And therefore he that disalloweth words hath much more disallowed the meaning of them. "Yet (say they) of the holy communion under both kinds, he rejecteth the plain words of Christ, as dead and cold elements". Verily, a man might think this book was set forth by some enemy of our new English clergy, it is so much to their defacing, had not themselves, at divers times, acknowledged it for a whelp of their own[6] *litter. A man, for his life, cannot find one leaf in it without many lies....*

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

I cannot greatly blame you, M. Harding, though you shew yourself hot and vehement in defence of Hosius. For of him you and some of your fellows may

[1 Burdeneth, Conf. and Def. 1567, 1570, 1609.]
[2 Works, 1611.]
[3 Perfite, Conf. and Def. 1567, 1570.]
[4 This, Conf.]
[5 In the part omitted Harding alleges that Staphylus, Flacius Illyricus, and Melancthon report the doctrine of Zuenkfeldius in similar terms with Hosius, and that Hosius repeatedly censures it.]
[6 One, Conf.]

say, as Carneades said sometime of Chrysippus: *Nisi Chrysippus fuisset, ego non essem:* "If Chrysippus had not been, then had I never been." For had not Hosius been good unto you, and spared you part of his furniture, such as it was, your divinity had been full bare. The mistaking of Hosius.

Ye say we "read neither the old writers, nor the new, but are utterly ignorant and void of all learning", and in respect of the beams of your knowledge know nothing. It were a very ambitious and childish[7] vanity to make vaunts of learning. Forasmuch as ye seem desirous of the fame of great reading, ye shall have the whole praise and glory of it, M. Harding, without contention. We will rather say with St Paul, "We know nothing, but only Jesus Christ crucified upon his cross." Yet, notwithstanding, we are not[9] so ignorant, nor so idle, but that we are able and have leisure to read, as well the old doctors and the fathers of the church, as also your light uncivil pamphlets and blotted papers; which, God wot, in all respects are very new. And for either of them we are much ashamed in your behalf—for the old doctors and fathers, to see them of your part, either of wilfulness, or of forgetfulness, or of ignorance, so foully misused; of your own papers and novelties, to see them with untruth and other uncourteous speech so fully freighted. 1 Cor. ii.[8]

But, touching Hosius, ye condemn us utterly either of ignorance or of malice. For the words wherein we find such fault were uttered by him, as you say, not as any part of his own judgment, but only as in the person of the heretic Zuenkfeldius. Therefore ye say we "charge him wrongfully with the allowing of that thing which he expressly and plainly reproveth."

First of all, the author of the Apology protesteth that, if there were any oversight herein, it proceeded of[10] error, and not of malice; as it may well appear in that he was not deceived alone. For, if he were deceived in mistaking these words, divers others, the best-learned in[11] this age, have been deceived therein as well as he. Nicolaus Gallus hereof writeth thus: *Hosius Cardinalis, legatus sanctissimi et præsidens concilii Tridentini, in suo libro De Expresso Verbo [Dei], ait, Nos vero Dei de cœlo sententiam potius exspectabimus, &c. Non oportet legis aut scripturæ esse peritum, sed a Deo doctum. Vanus est labor, qui scripturis impenditur: scriptura enim creatura est, et egenum quoddam elementum*[12]*;* "Cardinal Hosius, legate unto the most holy father, and president of the council of Trident, in his book *De Expresso Verbo Dei,* saith thus: 'We will rather wait for God's will from heaven, &c. It behoveth not a man to be skilful in the law of God, or in the scriptures, but to be taught of God. It is but lost labour that is spent in the scriptures; for the scripture is a creature, and a poor kind of outward element'." Thus Nicolaus Gallus burdeneth your own catholic friend Hosius with these words, and not the heretic Zuenkfeldius. Nic. Gallus.

Likewise saith Flacius Illyricus, speaking of the same words of Hosius: *Unum locum ex plurimis proferam, in quo [Hosius], alterius cujusdam sententiam de hac re citans, comprobat..... Nos.... Dei de cœlo sententiam potius exspectabimus, &c. Vanus est labor, qui scripturis impenditur*[13]*:* "One place I will allege out of many, where Hosius, bringing in the saying of one certain man (meaning Zuenkfeldius), alloweth well of the same." These words, saith Illyricus, Hosius uttereth in the name and person of Zuenkfeldius; yet nevertheless he alloweth them as his own. Flac. Illyric. in Norm. Concil.

To like purpose writeth Jacobus Andreæ, who, after he had reported all the foresaid words, in the end concludeth thus: *Hactenus Hosius: quæ verba sive Hosius suo sive aliorum nomine recitet, certe hanc esse Asoti et Hosii de sacra scriptura sententiam non est obscurum*[14]*:* "Thus far Hosius: which words howsoever Hosius report them, either in his own name, or in the name of some other, without all doubt this is the judgment that both Asotus and Hosius have of the holy scripture." Jacob. Andr. de Author. Sacr. Script.

So likewise saith that most grave and learned father Johannes Brentius: *In-* Johan. Brent. in Præf. in Jacob. Andr. contr. Hos.

[7 And a childish, 1567, 1570, 1609.]
[8 This reference is not in 1567.]
[9 Neither, 1567, 1570, 1609.]
[10 Proceeded only of, 1567, 1570, 1609.]
[11 Of, 1567, 1570, 1609.]
[12 Nic. Gall. in Norm. et Prax. Const. Relig. et Eccles. ad calc. Protest. Concion. August. Confess. adv. Convent. Trident. 1563. p. 99; where *scripturæ impenditur.*]
[13 Ibid. pp. 131, 2; where *scripturæ impenditur.*]
[14 The editor has not been able to find the treatise referred to.]

The mistaking of Hosius.

terea vociferantur, sacram scripturam esse dubiam, ambiguam, præceptorem mutum, literam occidentem, literam mortuam; adeoque, si reverendis illis patribus libuerit, Æsopi fabulas[1]: "In the meanwhile they cry out, that the holy scriptures are blind and doubtful, a dumb school-master, a killing writ, a dead letter; yea, and if it shall like these reverend fathers, no better than Æsop's Fables."

Perhaps ye will say of these learned men, as ye say of some others, "they used only their patched note-books, and scattered authorities, by snaps and pieces, here and there a line or two, and understood not what they wrote." Notwithstanding, whatsoever it shall please you to say, as therein your grace is very great, yet you see by these few, and must needs confess, if the author of the Apology, touching this place of Hosius, were happily overseen by error, yet he had so many of the best-learned of this age to keep him company in his error. Verily they say not as you say, "Thus saith Zuenkfeldius:" they say as we say, "Thus saith Hosius." If Hosius were able to blind so many, we must think he was a skilful writer.

The fairest colour ye can lay hereon is this: "Howsoever these words be uttered by Hosius, yet was this no part of his meaning." Yet Jacobus Andreæ

Jacob. Andr.

saith: *Hanc esse Asoti et Hosii sententiam, non est obscurum*[2]: "Without doubt this is the very meaning of Asotus and Hosius." And Illyricus saith, "Hosius,

Flac. Illyr. Alterius cujusdam sententiam de hac re citans comprobat.

alleging the saying of one certain man (whereby he meaneth the heretic Zuenkfeldius), alloweth well of the same[3]."

But, forasmuch as ye say, "this gloss is more malicious than the former error", and that therein we spitefully discover our malice, "without reason, without learning, without wit", and require us to "repent for shame," as if it were a sin, not against Hosius, but against the Holy Ghost; I beseech you therefore indifferently to consider with what reverence and modesty, not only Hosius, but also sundry others your friends of that side, have used to speak and write of the word of God.

Ludovicus, a canon of the church of Lateran in Rome, in an oration openly

Ludov. Citat. ab Illyr. in Norm. Concil.

pronounced in your late chapter at Trident saith thus: *Ecclesia est vivum pectus Christi; scriptura autem* [*est*] *quasi mortuum atramentum*[4]: "The church is the lively breast of Christ; but the scripture is as it were dead ink." Likewise saith[5]

Johan. Sleid. Lib. xxiii.

the bishop of Poiters in the same your chapter: *Scriptura est res inanimis et muta, sicut etiam sunt reliquæ leges politicæ*[6]: "The scripture is a dead and dumb

Alb. Pigh. Controv. 3. de Eccles.

thing, as are all other politic laws." Albertus Pighius saith: *Si dixeris, hæc referri oportere ad judicium scripturarum, communis te sensus ignarum* [*esse*] *comprobas. Sunt enim scripturæ muti judices*[7]: "If thou say, these matters must be put over to the judgment of the scriptures, thou shewest thyself[8] to be void of common reason. For the scriptures are dumb judges, and cannot speak."

Mart. Kemnit. in Exam. Concil. Trident. p. 32.

Eckius calleth the scriptures, *Evangelium nigrum, et theologiam atramentariam*[9]: "The black gospel, and inken divinity." Again, Pighius saith: *Ecclesia habet illam*

Mart. Kemnit. in cod. Exam. p. 240.

potestatem, ut possit scriptis quibusdam impertiri canonicam auctoritatem, quam nec ex se nec ex suis auctoribus habent[10]: "The church hath power to give canonical authority unto certain writings, which otherwise they have not, neither of themselves, nor of their authors." There may be certain books allowed for scripture, saith he, that have no credit nor authority of themselves. Therefore the meaning hereof must needs be this: The church (of Rome) hath authority to make scrip-

Pigh. Hierar. Lib. iii. cap. iii. fol. 103.

tures. Again he saith: *Sunt scripturæ, ut non minus vere quam festive dixit quidam, velut nasus cereus qui se horsum illorsum et in quam* [*cunque*] *volueris partem,*

[1] This work has not been found.]

[2] See before, page 757, note 15.]

[3] See before, page 757, note 14.]

[4] Sciebat enim divinus ille doctor, ecclesiam Dei esse vivum &c. scripturam autem &c.—Ex. Orat. Ludov. Canon. Lateran. ad Concil. Trident. Diling. Anno 1563 impress. in Norm. &c. 1563. p. 123.]

[5] Said, 1567, 1570, 1609.]

[6] Incipit denuo Pictavius...scripturam esse rem inanimem atque mutam, sicut etiam sint reliquæ leges politicæ.—J. Sleid. Comm. Argent. 1572. Lib. XXIII. fol. 290. 2. This person was one of the emperor's ambassadors.]

[7] Si ad scripturarum hæc referri oportere dixeris judicium, communis &c.—Alb. Pigh. Explic. Cathol. Contr. Par. 1586. Controv. III. De Eccles. fol. 89. 2.]

[8] Theeself, 1567, 1570.]

[9] Eccius juxta morem suum vocat evangelium &c.—M. Chemnic. Exam. Concil. Trident. Franc. 1596. Pars I. p. 6. Conf. Eck. Enchir. Loc. Comm. Par. 1541. cap. iv. fol. 42; where the author says that the Lutherans are *theologi atramentales.*]

[10] Pighius de Eccles. Hiera. li. I. ca. 2. dicit, Apostolos &c....Siquidem ecclesia præcipuis scripturis canonicam impartita est autoritatem, quam nec ex se, nec ex autoribus suis habebant.—Id. ibid. Conf. Alb. Pigh. Hierarch. Eccles. Col. 1538. Lib. I. cap. ii. fol. 7. 2, 9.]

trahi, retrahi, fingique facile permittit[11]: "As one man both truly and merrily said, The scripture is like a nose of wax, that easily suffereth itself to be drawn backward and forward, and to be moulded and fashioned this way and that way, and howsoever ye list." The mistaking of Hosius.

Thus, M. Harding, ye teach the people to reverence and weigh the word of God. Ye call it "dead ink;" "a lifeless matter;" "a dumb judge," that cannot speak; "a black gospel;" "inken divinity;" "a nose of wax;" and a thing utterly "void of authority of itself." Examine these places: weigh these words. They are no lies: they are no slanders. Judge uprightly: remove affection: ye shall find that Hosius, and Zuenkfeldius, and all the rest of your brethren[12], touching the authority and credit of God's word, accord in one. For proof whereof, when objection was made that king David, being, not a bishop, but only a temporal prince, had written the Psalms[13], that is to say, the very key of the scriptures, Hosius made answer: *Quidni scriberet? ... Scribimus indocti doctique poemata passim*[14]: "Wrote David[15] psalms? And why should he not write them? Horace saith, 'We write ballads every body, learned and unlearned, tag and rag'." So unreverently, and like an heathen, he scorneth and scoffeth at the scriptures of God, and likeneth the heavenly ditties of the Holy Ghost to a vile, heathenish, wanton ballad. This in Zuenkfeldius had been great blasphemy: ye allow it in Hosius as a virtue. Hos. Lib. ii. contr. Brent.

St Luke saith: *Pharisæi et jurisperiti spreverunt consilium Dei in semetipsis:* "The Pharisees and learned in the law despised the counsel of God in themselves." Irenæus saith: *Hæretici accusant scripturas, quasi non recte habeant, nec sint ex auctoritate, &c.*[16]: "Heretics find fault with the scriptures, as if they were not well written, and as if they were not of sufficient authority," &c. And thus they do, to the end to cause the people to loath and doubt the word of life, and so to become captive to their own traditions. Therefore Cardinal Cusanus saith thus: *Hæc est omnium sane intelligentium sententia, qui scripturarum auctoritatem et intellectum... in ecclesiæ approbatione fundant;... et non e converso, ecclesiæ fundamentum in scripturarum auctoritate locant, &c. Dico, nulla esse Christi præcepta, nisi quæ per ecclesiam pro talibus accepta [sunt]*[18]: "This is the judgment of all them that mean well, which found the authority and understanding of the scriptures in the allowance of the church; but contrariwise lay not the foundation of the church in the authority of the scriptures. Thus, I say, there are no commandments of Christ, but only such as by the church are allowed for Christ's commandments." So saith your highest doctor Albertus Pighius: *[Apostoli quædam conscripserunt], non ... ut scripta illa præessent fidei et religioni nostræ, sed potius ut subessent*[19]: "The apostles wrote certain things, not that their writings should be above our faith and religion, but rather that they should be under." Johannes Maria Veractus saith: *Determinatio ecclesiæ appellatur evangelium*[20]: "The determination of the church is called the gospel." Luke vii. Iren. Lib. iii. cap. ii. Nic. Cusan ad Bohem. Epist. 2.[17] Alb. Pigh. Hierar. Lib. i. cap. ii. Johan. Mar Verract. editus An. 1561.

Therefore Hosius by his episcopal authority pronounceth sentence definitive in this wise: *Quod ecclesia docet, expressum Dei verbum est; quod contra sensum et consensum ecclesiæ docetur, expressum diaboli verbum est*[21]: "Whatsoever the church teacheth (by the church he meaneth the pope, and his cardinals, and the church of Rome, &c.), that is the express word of God: whatsoever is taught Hos. de Express. Verb. Dei. p. 97.

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[11] Sunt enim illæ (ut &c.—Alb. Pigh. Hierarch. Eccles. Lib. III. cap. iii. fol. 80.]

[12] These seven words are not in 1567.]

[13] Written psalms, 1567.]

[14] Hos. Op. Col. 1584. Confut. Prolog. Brent. Lib. II. Tom. I. p. 470.]

[15] David's, 1611.]

[16] Cum enim ex scripturis arguuntur, in accusationem convertuntur ipsarum scripturarum, quasi &c. neque sint &c.—Iren. Op. Par. 1710. Contr. Hær. Lib. III. cap. ii. 1. p. 174.]

[17] Card. Cusan. de Authorita. Ecclesiæ et Concilii supra et contra scripturam, 1567.]

[18] N. de Cusa Op. Basil. 1565. Ad Bohem. Epist. ii. Tom. II. p. 834; where *aut intellectum, ecclesiæ firmamentum*, and *præcepta quam per.*]

[19] Alb. Pigh. Hierarch. Eccles. Lib. I. cap. ii. fol. 6. 2; where *religionique nostræ, sed subessent potius.*]

[20] Editum est contra nostras ecclesias, anno Domini 1561. Ferrariæ, scriptum cujusdam monachi nomine Johannis Mariæ Verrati Carmelitæ...aliquot ejus dicta ad verbum describam...Determinatio igitur ecclesiæ evangelium appellatur, cui in omnibus est præstanda fides.—Norm. &c. ad calc. Protest. Concion. &c. p. 118. Conf. J. M. Verrat. Disp. adv. Lutheran. Venet. 1544-54. De Eccles. Interluct. VIII. Tom. I. fol. 158. 2.]

[21] Hos. Op. De Express. Dei Verb. Tom. I. p. 643.]

The mistaking of Hosius.

against the meaning and consent of the church, that is the express word of the devil."

This was sometime an ordinary practice of sundry old heretics, to scorn and to disdain the scriptures of God, and to ground themselves upon other conclusions and imaginations of their own. So the heretic Carpocrates said, he knew more than either Christ himself or his apostles[1].

Epiphan. Lib. i. Hær. 27.

Tertull. de Præscript.

Tertullian saith: *Discipuli Montani dicunt, Paracletum plura in Montano dixisse quam Christum in evangelio protulisse; nec tantum plura, sed etiam meliora atque majora*[2]: "The disciples of Montanus the heretic said that the Holy Ghost uttered more things in Montanus their master, than ever Christ uttered in the gospel; and not only more things, but also greater and better things." And again they said: [*Paulus*] *ex parte sciebat, et ex parte prophetabat. Nondum enim venerat quod perfectum est*[3]: "Paul knew in part, and prophesied in part. For the perfection (that was afterward in Montanus) was not yet come." Therefore it is not universally true, M. Harding, that you say, "all heretics have alleged the scriptures:" for some heretics, in whose steps ye seem to tread, have made light of and disdained the scriptures, as well as you. But, as some heretics have alleged the scriptures, as you do, without sense, even so all heretics are evermore reproved by the scriptures, as you be. And that is the cause that you and your fellows, for the most part, so fearfully shun the scriptures. "For he that doth evil fleeth the light."

August. ad Quodvult. Hær. 26.[4]

Therefore, whereas ye call us forth, and bid us humbly to cry you mercy, first bid Hosius your school-master to recant his errors: will him to speak more reverently of God's word; for it is holy. Let him confess and repent his blasphemy in comparing the scriptures of God with heathenish ballads. Recant you the errors that Pighius, Cusanus, Eckius and other[5] your doctors and fellows have set abroad; and the author of the Apology shall do whatsoever shall behove him.

Remember also how unjust and untrue reports you yourself and your fellows have wittingly and willingly published, and blazed in writing, not sparing any man whom it pleased you to touch with slander. You yourself in this self-same book have written thus: "The learned gospellers of the sea-towns in Saxony teach that there is no hell at all." I beseech you, M. Harding, where saw you these heretics? What were their names? In what sermon, in what book, in what talk opened they this heresy? In what language spake they? What were their words? Who ever either knew them, or saw them, or heard them, or dreamed of them, but yourself alone, or some other as idly occupied as yourself? And dare you so vainly to slander a whole country, without proof, without witness, without ground? Leave this fondness. No man believeth you, no, not your own fellows, no, not yourself. It is too childish. Vanity itself would not be so vain[6].

M. Harding, fol. 141. b. [Conf.]

Another of your company there thus most unjustly slandereth that godly father, Doctor Peter Martyr: *Petrus Martyr... negat Christum esse nostrum deprecatorem*[7]: "Peter Martyr denieth that Christ is our intercessor." Likewise again with one general slander he misreporteth all the professors of the gospel whatsoever: *Omnes evangelici pseudo-martyres negant Christum venisse in carne*[8]: "All the gospellers (whom he thought it better to call the false witnesses of the gospel) deny that Christ ever came in the flesh." I will press you no further with examples of your immoderate slanders. As your uncourteous tongue hath no bridle, so your waste words have no end.

Copus. Dial. 3. p. 331.

Copus. Dial. 6. p. 878.

All these, and other like reports, your conscience knoweth are most untrue. Yet have ye not doubted thus to hazard your whole credit, and vainly with the same to feed the world. Suffer me therefore, M. Harding, to answer you with

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[1] Ἄλλοι δὲ ἐξ αὐτῶν, οὐκ Ἰησοῦ φασιν, ἀλλὰ Πέτρου καὶ Ἀνδρέου καὶ Παύλου καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν ἀποστόλων ἑαυτοὺς ὑπερφερεστέρους εἶναι διὰ τὴν ὑπερβολὴν τῆς γνώσεως.—Epiph. Op. Par. 1622. Adv. Hær. Lib. I. Hær. xxvii. Tom. I. p. 103.]

[2] ...et qua dicant Paracletum &c. in evangelium &c.—Tertull. Op. Lut. 1641. De Præscript. Hær. 52. p. 254.]

[3] August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. Lib. de Hær. ad Quodvultd. Hær. xxvi. Tom. VII. col. 10.]

[4] *Hær. xxvi.* is not in 1567, 1570.]

[5] Others, 1567, 1570, 1609.]

[6] The sentences from *at all* are not in 1567.]

[7] Copi Dial. Sex, Antv. 1566. Dial. III. cap. vii. p. 331. See Vol. III. page 134, note 5.]

[8] Id. Dial. VI. cap. xxi. p. 878. See Vol. III. page 134, note 3.]

your own words: "For shame, man, repent, and revoke that for which your own conscience stinteth not to bark against yourself."

THE APOLOGY, Chap. xxi. Division 1.

And yet, as though this were too little, they also burn the holy scriptures, as in times past wicked king Aza, or[9] as Antiochus, or Maximinus did, and are wont to name them heretics' books. And out of doubt, as it seemeth, they would do[10] as Herod in old time did in Jewry, that he might with more surety keep still his usurped dominion[11]; who, being an Idumean born, and a stranger to the stock and kindred of the Jews, and yet coveting much to be taken for a Jew, to the end he might establish to him and his posterity the kingdom of that country, which he had gotten of Augustus Cæsar, he commanded all the genealogies and pedigrees to be burnt and made out of the way, so that[12] there should remain no record whereby it[13] might be known to them that came after, that he was an alien[14] in blood; whereas even from Abraham's time these monuments had been safely kept amongst the Jews, and laid up in their treasury, because in them it might easily and most assuredly be found of what lineage every one did descend[15]. So (in good faith) do these men, when they would have all their own doings in estimation, as though they had been delivered to us even from the apostles, or from Christ himself; to the end there might be found nowhere any thing able to convince such their dreams and lies, either they burn the holy scriptures, or else they craftily convey them from the people[16].

Euseb. Lib. i. cap. vii. viii.

M. HARDING.

Pardon me, I pray thee, reader, if I use words somewhat vehement, the cause so requiring.....

All this is M. Harding's sobriety: it is no railing.

This defender crieth out, "O ye pillars of religion"! But how much more justly cry we again to him, O thou captain[17] liar! O most worthy, not the reward of a whetstone, but the judgment of a backbiter, of a slanderer, of a cursed speaker, of a mocker, of the accuser of the brethren, of a blasphemer! Is this the regard thou hast, I say not to God, or to christian men, but to thine own estimation and common honesty of a man? Canst thou persuade thyself to get credit by lying, to seem sober by railing, honest by villany, charitable by slandering, upright by deceit, just by impiety? Why sayest thou of us in general, that is to say, of the catholic church, that we despise, hate, cast away, and burn the holy scriptures? Had we not loved and kept the scriptures, how couldst thou and thy fellows have come by them? Had ye not them of us? From the apostles' time to this day we have kept them[a] unspotted and undefiled; and ye, within these fifty years, have by your vulgar translations[b] corrupted them, that lamentable it is to consider. And when we burned the same corrupt translations, or any part thereof, or any of your heretical treatises, we burned not the scriptures, [c]no more than one doth the apple-tree, that burneth the caterpillars.

[a] Untruth. For the old Latin text hath infinite corruptions.
[b] Untruth, otherwise let M. Harding shew one point of corruption.

The scriptures we honour, and keep most reverently and diligently. Therefore your comparing of us with the wicked kings, Aza, Antiochus, Maximinus, and Herod, is false and slanderous. For how say you, Sir captain[17] of liars, [d]had we not the scripture in every monastery, cathedral church, college, in every private library of any that was learned?....

[c] But he is a foolish man that burneth down both the trees and caterpillars all together.
[d] You had it in your libraries, but the poor people had it not.

The like thing was objected to St Augustine and the catholics in his time, by the

[9] Aza did or, Conf.]
[10] Doubt to see to they would fain do, Conf.]
[11] His dominion, Conf.]
[12] As, Conf.]
[13] He, Conf.]
[14] Aliant, Conf.]
[15] Euseb. in Hist. Eccles. Script. Amst. 1695-1700. Lib. I. cap. vii. p. 17.]
[16] Conf. adds *surely* after *people*.]
[17] Capitaine, Conf.]

Burning of the Scriptures.

Donatists, being then heretics, as ye are now. To whom he answered[1], *as we will answer you:* Certe ille [ignibus] tradidisse credatur, qui eis lectis non consentire convincitur[2]: "*Let him be thought to have cast the holy scriptures into the fire, who, when they are read, is convict not to consent unto them.*" *We read in the holy scriptures that Christ said,* "*This is my body.*" *Who believeth it, ye*[e] *that deny it, or we who are content to die for the defence of that his real body in the blessed sacrament? St James saith,* "*A man is justified by works, and not by faith only.*" *Who believeth this, they which say that only faith justifieth, or they which say that works be required also to justification? Christ saith**, Qui manducat hunc panem vivet in æternum: "*He that eateth this bread shall live for ever.*" *Who believeth this, they that say both kinds be necessary to laymen by commandment of Christ, or they who say that one kind is sufficient to salvation concerning the eating of the sacrament?* ....

[e] Untruth. For we deny it not.

* A worthy argument, and full wisely applied. Read the answer.

John vi.

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

Ye may soon be pardoned, M. Harding, for speaking ill; forasmuch as, for ought that may appear by your speech, ye have not yet learned to speak well. Whether ye have burnt the scriptures of God or no, both heaven and earth, and sea and land, may bear witness. For a poor excuse ye say, ye have burnt our "errors, and heretical translations, and not the scriptures; as the husbandman useth to burn the caterpillars[3]." Howbeit, he may be thought an unwise husbandman, that burneth up his caterpillars and trees too both together; and, to wreak himself of the one, is content to destroy the other. If all books containing error should be burnt, then should your Lovanian novelties go to wrack. For ye wis, M. Harding, contention and vain glory set apart, ye know right well they are full of errors. Moreover, ye know there be errors in St Augustine, there be errors in Origen, in Tertullian, in St Ambrose, in St Hierome; there be errors in every of the ancient fathers, in the Greeks, in the Latins, in one and other. There be errors in your school-doctors, there be errors in your canonists. Briefly, your holy fathers' decrees and decretals are not void of errors. Yet is there no book worthy to be burnt, in respect of error, but only the book of the scriptures?

If there were such errors in the vulgar translations, ye should have descried them, although not all, yet, for your credit's sake, one at the least. Ye should have removed the error, and have restored the scriptures, to the use and comfort of the people. But this is it that troubleth you so sore, that the scriptures are published in the common known tongues, and that the simple people of all sorts (whom otherwise ye call dogs, and swine, and filthy brute beasts, void of reason[4]) may understand them. This, M. Harding, is that great and horrible error: this is the error of all errors. Therefore Irenæus saith, as it is alleged before: *Hæretici, cum ex scripturis arguuntur, in accusationem vertuntur scripturarum*[6]: "Heretics when they be reproved by the scriptures, then begin they to find fault with the scriptures." And therefore St Ambrose saith: [*Herodes*] *conscius ignobilitatis suæ, scripturas ... incendit, ne qua posteris suis, vel de præscripto veteri, quæstio moveretur; existimans quod, si judicia*[7] *de publico sustulisset, nullis aliis testimoniis clarere posset, quin de patriarcharum et proselytarum*[8] *veterum genere emanaret*[9]: "King Herod, for that he well understood the baseness of his house, therefore he burnt the scriptures; lest that by mean of such ancient records some doubt might afterward be moved against his posterity. For he thought, if he had once removed such monuments, it could never be proved by any manner other witness, but that he came by descent from the stock of the patriarchs and old proselytes;" whereas indeed he was a mere alien, and a stranger to the

M. Harding. Answer. Art. 15. Fol. 155. b.[5]

Iren. Lib. i. cap. ii.

Ambros. in Luc. Lib. iii. cap. iii.

[1] Answereth, Conf. and Def. 1567, 1570.]

[2] August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. Contr. Donat. Epist. seu Lib. de Unit. Eccles. cap. iii. 5. Tom. IX. col. 341.]

[3] Burn caterpillars, 1567.]

[4] See Vol. II. page 678.]

[5] This reference is not in 1567.]

[6] Iren. Op. Par. 1710. Contr. Hær. Lib. III. cap. ii. 1. p. 174. See before, page 759, note 16.]

[7] Indicia, 1567.]

[8] Proselytorum, 1567, 1570, 1609.]

[9] Ambros. Op. Par. 1686-90. Expos. Evang. sec. Luc. Lib. III. 41. Tom. I. col. 1329; where the clause *scripturas...incendit* follows *moveretur*, also *si indicia, vel proselytorum*, and *demanaret*.]

house of Israel, and a very tyrannous usurper of the crown, as being lineally descended, not from Jacob, but from Esau. Keeping of the Scriptures.

But ye say you have "kept and preserved the scriptures in your libraries in vellum," and, I trow, in letters of gold. Even in like sort and with like truth ye might say that you have kept the sun and the moon; and had it not been for your keeping, they had been lost. It was God, M. Harding, that of his mercy preserved his holy word; even as he preserved Daniel in the cave of lions, Jonas in the whale's belly, the three children in the midst of the flaming fire. Ye kept[10] the scriptures as the dog keepeth the hay; which neither eateth it himself, nor suffereth the poor hungry cattle that fain would eat it: ye keep them in ward, in dust and mould, as the Jews, before the time of king Josias, kept the book of Deuteronomy closely in the corners, or amongst the treasures of the temple, so that no man knew where to find it. Had it not been for God's special providence, notwithstanding your keeping, they might have perished. 2 Kings xxii.

St Chrysostom saith: *Nunc neque an sint scripturæ quidam sciunt; Spiritus tamen ita dispensavit, ut custodiantur*[11]: "Now-a-days there are some that cannot tell whether there be any scriptures or no; yet hath the Spirit of God so provided that they are still preserved." Chrysost. in Epist. ad Heb. Hom. 8.

Thus the Jews made their vaunts, that they were the keepers of the law, and that the Christians had all of them. St Augustine saith: *Judæi dicunt, non nostra nos lege*[12] *uti, sed sua*[13]: "The Jews say that we have no law of our own, but only theirs." Likewise even at this day the Jews keep and use the law of God with all reverence: they never lay any other book upon the bible: they wash their hands before they touch it: they will not sit upon the bench where the bible lieth: as often as they either open it or shut it, they use to kiss it[14]: when the pope goeth through Rome to his palace of Lateran, the Jews meet him upon the way, and offer him the bible, and desire him reverently to embrace it, as though the pope could have no bible but only of them. All these things notwithstanding the pope answereth them of course, even as we may answer you: *Sanctam legem, viri Hebræi, et laudamus et veneramur:... observantiam vero vestram et vanam interpretationem damnamus et improbamus*[15]: "Ye men of the Jews' profession, we praise and honour the holy law; but your tradition and vain interpretation we utterly condemn and reprove." August. in Quæst. ex Vet. Test. Quæst. 44. Paul. Phag. in Deut. cap. xvii. Cerem. Lib. i. cap. viii.

For Chrysostom saith: *Nihil nunc apud Judæos remansit, nisi sola scriptura librorum, omni legis observantia pereunte*[16]: "There remaineth now nothing among the Jews but only the writing contained in books; for all the observation of the law is passed from them." Chrysost. in Matt. Hom. 31. In opere imperfecto[17].

Again he saith: *Literæ quidem legis apud illos sunt; sensus autem est apud nos*[18]: "The letters of the law are with the Jews; but the sense and meaning is with us." Chrysost. in Gen. Hom. 8.

Likewise he saith unto the Jews: *Vos complicatis membranas animalium mortuorum; nos possidemus Spiritum vivificantem*[19]: "You turn the leaves of the scriptures, made of the skins of dead cattle; but we have the Spirit that giveth life." Chrysost. in Psal. cxvii.[20]

So saith St Augustine: [*Judæi*] *in libris sufragatores* [*nostri sunt*]; *in cordibus hostes nostri*[21]: "The Jews help us, and aid us with their books; but they are our enemies in their hearts." August. de Fid. Rer. Invis. cap. vi.

Again he saith: *Magnum aliquid actum est in usum nostrum de infidelitate Judæorum; ut iidem ipsi, qui hæc propter se non haberent in cordibus,* [*ea*] *propter nos haberent in codicibus*[22]: "Some great good thing is wrought to our use by the infidelity of the Jews, that August. contr. Faust. Manich. Lib. xvi. cap. xxi.

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[10] Keep, 1567, 1570, 1609.]

[11] Chrysost. Op. Par. 1718-38. In Epist. ad Hebr. cap. v. Hom. viii. Tom. XII. p. 89.]

[12] Legi, 1611.]

[13] August. Op. Quæst. ex Vet. Test. Quæst. xliv. Tom. III. Append. col. 57; where *dicunt Judæi.*]

[14] Tharg. ex Chald. in Lat. vers. add. Annot. aut. P. Fag. Argent. 1546. In Deut. cap. xvii. foll. O 6. 2, P.]

[15] Rit. Eccles. sive Sacr. Cerim. Rom. Eccles. Col. Agrip. 1557. Lib. i. Sect. ii. cap. iii. fol. 36. 2; where *atque improbamus.*]

[16] Chrysost. Op. Op. Imperf. in Matt. Hom. xxxi. ex cap. xiii. Tom. VI. p. cxxxii.; where *nihil apud eos de lege remansit.*]

[17] Chrysost. in Matt. Hom. xxxiii. 1567, 1570.]

[18] Id. in cap. i. Gen. Hom. viii. Tom. IV. p. 59.]

[19] These words have not been found in the place referred to; but notice is there taken of the Jews failing to understand this psalm, and rejecting Christ. See Chrysost. in Psalm. cxvii. Tom. V. pp. 317, 25.]

[20] This reference is inserted from 1567, 1570.]

[21] August. Op. Lib. de Fid. Rer. quæ non vid. cap. vi. 9. Tom. VI. col. 148; where *nostri hostes.*]

[22] Id. contr. Faust. Lib. XVI. cap. xxi. Tom. VIII. col. 295.]

Keeping of the Scriptures.

they that, to do themselves good, had not these things in their hearts, yet, for our sakes, to do us good, should have the same things in their books."

Speak not therefore so much, M. Harding, of your safe keeping of the scriptures: for the Jews have kept, and until this day do keep them as safely as you. Ye kept the scriptures, as the augurs of Rome sometime kept the sibyls' books; that is to say, ye kept them to yourselves, in close prison and in secrecy, that the people should know nothing, but in all cases should be forced to seek to you. Thus ye kept the light in darkness; and, as St Paul saith, ye kept "the truth of God in wickedness".

Rom. i.

Chrysost. in Matt. Hom. 35.

St Chrysostom saith: *Quando ... vides scripturas prophetarum, et evangelii, et apostolorum traditas esse in manus falsorum sacerdotum, ... num intelligis, quod verbum veritatis traditum est principibus iniquis et scribis*[1]*?* "When thou seest the scriptures of the prophets, of the gospel, and of the apostles to be delivered into the hands of false priests, dost thou not understand that the word of truth is delivered unto the wicked princes and unto the scribes?" To be short, I may answer you with the words of Chrysostom: *Arcas et scrinia rerum pretiosissimarum adhuc servatis, thesauro destituti*[2]*:* "Ye keep still the chests and boxes of most precious things; but the jewels and treasures be clean gone." Therefore, your safe keeping of the scriptures notwithstanding, we may say to you, as St Augustine sometime said to the heretic Petilian: *Judas Christum carnalem tradidit; tu spiritualem: furens evangelium sanctum flammis sacrilegis tradidisti*[3]*:* "Judas betrayed Christ carnal: thou hast betrayed Christ spiritual; for thou in thy rage hast delivered the holy gospels unto wicked fires."

Chrysost. in 1 Cor. Hom. 36.

August. contr. Lit. Petil. Lib. ii. cap. viii.

Ye reply, "You rather have burnt the gospel, for that you deny the words of the gospel." For example ye allege these words of Christ, "This is my body:" which words, ye say, of our part are denied. God be thanked, as we have not burnt, so have we not denied any word or parcel of the gospel. Touching these words by you alleged, we embrace them, and reverence them, and believe them, even as the words of Christ. But we embrace them, not as you have fondly racked and wrested them, and foully abused them, by your vain constructions; but as Christ meant them, and as the ancient catholic fathers in the old times have expounded them. St Chrysostom saith: *Sacræ scripturæ verba non vult Deus, ut simpliciter, sed multa cum prudentia intelligantur*[4]*:* "God will not that we should understand the words of the holy scripture simply and plainly as they lie, but with great wisdom and discretion." Again he saith: *Diligenter invigilandum est, vel potius divina gratia opus est, ne nudis verbis insistamus. Ita hæretici in errorem incidunt*[5]*:* "We must take great heed, or rather we have need of the grace of God, that we rest not upon the bare words of the scriptures. For by that means heretics fall into error." St Augustine saith: *Omne figurate aut factum aut dictum hoc enuntiat, quod significat*[6]*:* "Every thing, that is either done or spoken in a figure, sheweth forth the same thing that it signifieth." St Hierome saith: *Ne putemus in verbis scripturarum esse evangelium, sed in sensu*[7]*:* "Let us not think that the gospel standeth in the words of the scriptures[8], but in the meaning."

Chrysost. in Johan. Hom. 14.

Chrysost. in Johan. Hom. 39.

August. ad Consent. Lib. i. cap. x contr. Mend.[6]

Hieron. ad Gal. cap. i.

Hieron. in Matt. cap. xvi.

Again he saith: *Cum seniores putentur in ecclesiis et principes sacerdotum, simplicem sequentes literam, occidunt Filium Dei*[9]*:* "Whereas they be taken for the

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[1 Chrysost. Op. Par. 1718-38. Op. Imperf. in Matt. Hom. xxxv. ex cap. xx. Tom. VI. p. cxlix; where *quia verbum.*]

[2 ...τὰς μὲν θήκας τῶν χρυσίων ἐπιδεικνυμένη καὶ τὰ κιβώτια, τὸν δὲ πλοῦτον ἀφῃρημένη, ταύτῃ προσέοικεν ἡ ἐκκλησία νῦν.—Id. in Epist. i. ad Cor. Hom. xxxvi. Tom. X. p. 339.]

[3 August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. Contr. Litt. Petil. Lib. ii. cap. viii. 17. Tom. IX. col. 221; where *carnaliter, et spiritaliter.* These are Petilian's words to Augustine.]

[4 Chrysost. Op. In Joan. Hom. xv. Tom. VIII. p. 84.]

[5 Id. ibid. Hom. xl. p. 236.]

[6 The words here quoted have not been found. But perhaps the following passage may be that intended: Tamen vera, non falsa dicuntur; quoniam vera, non falsa significantur, seu verbo seu facto: quæ significantur enim, utique ipsa dicuntur.—August. Op. Lib. contr. Mend. ad Consent. cap. x. 24. Tom. VI. col. 462. Conf. ibid. capp. xii. 26, xiii. 28, xvii. 35. cols. 463, 5, 9.]

[7 Hieron. Op. Par. 1693-1706. Comm. Lib. i. in Epist. ad Galat. cap. i. Tom. IV. Pars i. col. 230; where *nec* instead of *ne.*]

[8 Scripture, 1567, 1570, 1609.]

[9 Id. Comm. Lib. iii. in Matt. cap. xvi. Tom. III. Pars i. col. 75; where *in ecclesia.*]

elders of the church, and the chief of the priests, following the plain letter (as it is written, and not regarding the meaning), they kill the Son of God." This is my Body.

Let us see, therefore, in what sense the holy catholic fathers have in old times expounded these words of Christ: "This is my body[10]."

First, Tertullian saith thus: [*Christus*] *acceptum panem, et distributum discipulis, corpus suum illum fecit dicendo, Hoc est corpus meum, hoc est, figura corporis mei*[11]: "Christ, taking the bread and dividing it to his disciples, made it his body, saying, 'This is my body;' that is to say, this is a figure of my body." Tertull. contr. Marc. Lib. iv. St Augustine saith: *Non... dubitavit Dominus dicere, Hoc est corpus meum, cum daret signum corporis sui*[12]: "Our Lord doubted not to say, 'This is my body,' when he gave a token of his body." August. contr. Adim. cap. xii. I leave infinite other authorities to like purpose: by these few we may easily perceive in what sense the holy fathers in old time understood these words of Christ, "This is my body." Yet were they never therefore condemned of heresy, nor thought to deny any parcel of the scriptures.

St Augustine saith: *Solet... res, quæ significat, ejus rei nomine, quam significat, nuncupari:... Hinc est, quod dictum est, Petra erat Christus. Non enim dicit, Petra significat Christum; sed tanquam hoc esset, quod utique per substantiam non ... erat, sed per significationem*[13]: "The thing that signifieth is commonly called by the name of that thing that it signifieth. Therefore is it that St Paul saith, 'The Rock was Christ.' For he saith not, The Rock signified Christ (but, 'The Rock was[14] Christ'), as if the Rock had been Christ indeed; whereas touching the substance it was not so, but so it was by signification." August. in Quæst. in Levit. Quæst 57.

In this sort is the bread Christ's body; not verily and indeed, but, as St Augustine saith, "after a certain phrase or manner of speech[15]". And so is it noted even in your own glosses[16]: *Vocatur corpus Christi, id est, significat* [*corpus Christi*][17]: "The bread is called the body of Christ: that is to say, the bread signifieth the body of Christ." De Consecr. Dist. 2. Hoc est. in Gloss. Thus we deny not Christ's words, M. Harding, but we deny the fond and fantastical senses that you have imagined of Christ's words. Therefore, where you allege these words, as spoken by St Augustine, "He is a burner of the scriptures that consenteth not unto the scriptures;" ye might have remembered, that the same St Augustine likewise saith: *Ille... credatur testamentum tradidisse flammis, qui contra voluntatem litigat testatoris*[18]: "He is to be thought to have delivered the testament to the fire, that quarrelleth (as you do) against the will and meaning of him that made the testament." August. Epist. 162. St Gregory saith: *Facile in... verbis agnoscimus aliud esse quod intimant, aliud quod sonant: tanto autem quisque notitiæ illius extraneus redditur, quanto in sola ejus superficie ligatur*[19]: "In words we do well perceive that there is one thing that they signify, and another thing that they sound; and the more a man bindeth himself to the outward sight and shew of the letter, the further off is he from the understanding of the same." Gregor. in Job. Lib. iv. cap. i.

The objection of difference, that ye make between St James and St Paul (St Augustine saith), is made by them that understand neither St James nor St Paul[20]. The whole force thereof is answered before[21]. It is easy to see that St Paul speaketh of one kind of works, and St James of another; and again, St Paul of one kind of justification, and St James of another. Therefore this difference is soon avoided. Certainly we deny neither St Paul nor St James, nor think the one of them to be contrary to the other. August. in Lib. 83. Quæst. Quæst. 76. Part i. cap. x. Div. 1.

Touching the words of Christ, that ye have alleged out of St John, it appeareth ye were in some haste, and therefore were fain to take that came first to hand. For I will not say, M. Harding, what doctor or father, but what John vi.

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[10] These four words are not in 1567.]

[11] Tertull. Op. Lut. 1641. Adv. Marcion. Lib. IV. 40. p. 571. See Vol. I. page 447, note 13.]

[12] August. Op. Lib. contr. Adimant. cap. xii. 2. Tom. VIII. col. 124. See Vol. II. page 592, note 6.]

[13] Id. Quæst. in Levit. Lib. III. Quæst. lvii. 3. Tom. III. Pars I. col. 516; where *non enim dixit.*]

[14] Is, 1567.]

[15] See Vol. II. p. 600, note 2.]

[16] Glose, 1567.]

[17] Corp. Jur. Canon. Lugd. 1624. Decret. Gratian. Decr. Tert. Pars, De Consecr. Dist. ii. Gloss. in can. 48. col. 1937; where *Christi corpus.*]

[18] August. Op. Ad Glor. et cet. Epist. xliii. cap. ix. 25. Tom. II. cols. 99, 100.]

[19] Gregor. Magni Papæ I. Op. Par. 1705. Lib. IV. in cap. iii. B. Job, cap. i. Tom. I. col. 101.]

[20] August. Op. Lib. de Div. Quæst. Octog. Trib. Quæst. lxxvi. 1. 2. Tom. VI. cols. 67, 8.]

[21] See Vol. III. pages 243, &c.]

This is my Body.

drift or discretion of common sense ever taught you to reason thus: Christ saith, "He that eateth of this bread shall live for ever;" *ergo*, the people must receive the communion under one kind? Who ever taught you thus to reason? Eckius[1] your fellow reasoneth with like discretion to like purpose:

Kemnit. in Exam. Conc. Trid. p. 598.

"Give us," saith he, "our daily bread;"

Ergo, We may restrain the people from the cup[2].

Perhaps ye will say, the name of bread belongeth to eating only, and not to drinking. This may be granted well without prejudice. Notwithstanding St Cyprian doubted not to say, *Manducaverunt et biberunt de eodem pane*[3]: "They did both eat and drink of one bread." And again he saith: *Manducamus et bibimus ejus sanguinem*[4]: "We eat and drink his blood." Here have you both drinking of bread, and eating of blood[5].

Cyprian. de Cœn. Dom. In eod. Serm.

Howbeit, indeed these words of Christ in the sixth of St John belong only to the spiritual eating and drinking of Christ's body and blood (that is wrought, not by the mouth, but only by faith), and nothing to the outward ministration of the sacrament. One of your own doctors saith[6]: *Hæc verba nihil directe pertinent ad sacramentalem vel corporalem manducationem... Nam hoc verbum dictum fuit.... antequam sacramentum eucharistiæ esset institutum. Ex illa igitur litera de sacramentali communione non potest fieri argumentum efficax*[7]: "These words of Christ in the sixth chapter of St John directly pertain nothing to the sacramental or corporal eating. For these words were spoken long before the sacrament was ordained. Therefore of this place there can be made no good sufficient argument touching the sacramental communion." You say your proof, taken of these words, is sufficient, and therewith ye deceive the ignorant. Your own doctor saith[8], "It is not sufficient." Now let your indifferent reader judge whether of you two is deceived.

Nic. Lyra in Psal. ex.

And, whereas ye would seem to say, Christ gave no commandment of both kinds to be received of the people; even so, and with like truth, ye might also say: Christ gave no commandment, no, not of one kind at all to be received of the people: for there was no man present, but only the apostles, at the institution, as well of the one kind as of the other. Therefore, that the people may claim any one part of the sacrament, they have it not of any right, but only of your mere and free liberality. For otherwise, of duty, by your judgment, they should have nothing.

Notwithstanding Christ saith: *Bibite ex hoc omnes:* "Drink ye (not only the apostles, but) Drink ye all of this." Which words Paschasius expoundeth thus: *Bibite ex hoc omnes, hoc est, tam ministri, quam... reliqui credentes*[9]: "Drink ye all of this; that is to say, as well the ministers as the rest of the faithful."

Paschasius.

Another saith thus: *Bibite ex hoc omnes:... omnes, scilicet, sine personarum acceptione*[10]: "Drink ye all of this; all, that is to say, without difference or choice of persons."

Gloss. Citat. a Cassand. de Utraq. Spec.

But hereof we have spoken more at large in other places[11].

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[1] Under one kind Freere Eckius, 1567.]

[2] Ejusdem dexteritatis est hæc Eccii ratio. Quotidie oramus: panem nostrum supersubstantialem da nobis hodie ... Is argumentum hoc ita format. Veteres testantur, apostolos in celebratione cœnæ dominicæ adhibuisse recitationem orationis dominicæ. Sed in illa tantum fit mentio panis, non etiam vini. Apostolicum igitur est, laicis prohibere et eripere usum dominici calicis.—M. Chemnic. Exam. Concil. Trident. Franc. 1596. Pars II. p. 116. Conf. Eck. Enchir. Loc. Comm. Par. 1541. cap. x. fol. 68.]

[3] Manducaverant et biberant &c.—Cypr. Op. Oxon. 1682. De Cœn. Dom. (Arnold.) p. 39.]

[4] ...nisi manducaremus ejus carnem, et biberemus ejus sanguinem.—Id. ibid. p. 41. Vid. not. in loc.; whence it appears that the words *ejus carnem* were introduced by later editors. Conf. Cypr. Op. Basil. 1558. De Cœn. Dom. p. 311.]

[5] This sentence is not in 1567.]

[6] Your own doctor Nicolas Lyra saith, 1567. See Vol. III. pages 589, &c.]

[7] ...nihil directe pertinet ad &c. manducationem hoc verbum: &c. fuit dictum &c. fuerit institutum &c.—Bibl. cum Gloss. Ord. ex Expos. N. de Lyra, Basil. 1502. Psalm. ex. Replic. Pars III. fol. 254.]

[8] Lyra saith, 1567.]

[9] Paschas. Radbert. Op. Lut. Par. 1618. Lib. de Corp. et Sang. Dom. cap. xv. col. 1598.]

[10] Et in glossa quadam (cujus tit. est, De quadruplici missalis expos. &c.) hunc locum ita explicatum legimus: Bibite &c.—Cassandr. Op. Par. 1616. De Sacr. Comm. sub Utraq. p. 1043.]

[11] See Vol. III. pages 479, &c.]

THE APOLOGY, Chap. xxi. Division 2 and 3.

Counterfeit chastity.

Very rightly and aptly doth Chrysostom write against these men. "Heretics," saith he, "shut up the gates[12] against the truth; for they know full well, if the gate[13] were open, the church should be none of theirs[14]."

Theophylact also: "God's word," saith he, "is the candle whereby the thief is [15] espied [16]."

THE APOLOGY, Chap. xxi. Division 4.

And Tertullian saith: "The holy scripture manifestly findeth out the fraud and theft of heretics[17]." For why do they hide, why do they keep under the gospel, which Christ would have preached aloud from the house-top? Why whelm they that light under a bushel which ought to stand on the[18] candlestick?

M. HARDING.

2 *Tim. iii.* ..... *The scripture saith: "There shall be men standing in their own conceit, unchaste, loving pleasure more than God." ... Who are unchaste? They that exhort all men to *chastity, and themselves abstain from wedlock, for the better mean to serve God; or ye, that bid men which have vowed chastity to break their vows?* ...

* This chastity in the more part is open filthiness. They forbid marriage, and suffer concubines, for the better mean to serve God. Matt. xxiii.

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

I leave your chastity to the judgment of the world. Yet, you may remember, there were some in old times whom Christ likened to painted graves; outwardly in appearance fair and glorious, but inwardly full of stinking bones. It appeareth by the whole course and order of your lives, that single life and chastity are sundry things. St Hierome saith thus: *Super concupiscentiam fœminarum non intelliget: De antichristo facilior interpretatio est; quod ideo simulet castitatem, ut plurimos decipiat*[19]: "He shall have no skill touching the desire of woman[20]. The better exposition hereof is to apply these words to antichrist; for that he shall counterfeit chastity, to the end to deceive many."

Hieron. in Dan. cap. xi.

St Augustine saith of the heretics called the Manichees: *Vitæ castæ et memorabilis continentiæ imaginem præferunt*[21]: "They bear a countenance of continent life and notable chastity." St Ambrose saith: *Multi sunt hæreticorum, qui prætendere volunt corporis continentiam*[22]: "There be many heretics that will counterfeit and pretend chastity of body (that by the witness thereof they may win credit to their doctrine)." Therefore, M. Harding, when you thus vaunt yourselves of this colour of chastity, ye make boast of that thing that other heretics and antichrist himself shall have as well as you.

August. de Mor. Eccles. Cath. Lib. i. cap. i. Ambros. de Noe et Arc. cap. xiv.

St Paul, where he foretelleth us of the disciples of antichrist, amongst other marks whereby they may be known, saith thus: *Prohibentes nubere;* whereby he 1 Tim. iv.

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[12] Doors, Conf.]

[13] Door, Conf.]

[14] ...sic et modo hæretici sacerdotes claudunt januam veritatis. Sciunt enim quoniam si manifestata fuerit veritas, eorum ecclesia est relinquenda.—Chrysost. Op. Par. 1718-38. Op. Imperf. in Matt. Hom. xliv. ex cap. xxiii. Tom. VI. p. clxxxvi.]

[15 ...αὗται γάρ εἰσι λύχνος καὶ φῶς, καὶ τούτου φαίνοντος ὁ κλέπτης φαίνεται.—Theophyl. Op. Venet. 1754-63. In Luc. Comm. cap. xvi. Tom. I. p. 421.]

[16] Jewel omits Harding's observations on these two divisions: they are short and have little worthy of notice.]

[17] Sed enim scriptura divina hæreticorum et fraudes et furta facile convincit et detegit.—Tertull. Op. Par. 1580. De Trin. Lib. p. 505. This treatise is attributed to Novatian.]

[18] A, Conf.]

[19] Hieron. Op. Par. 1693-1706. Comm. in Dan. Proph. cap. xiii. Tom. III. col. 1131.]

[20] Women, 1567, 1570, 1609.]

[21] August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. De Mor. Eccles. Lib. i. cap. i. 2. Tom. I. col. 687.]

[22] Ambros. Op. Par. 1686-90. Lib. de Noe et Arc. cap. xiv. 49. Tom. I. col. 248. Ambrose proceeds: ut adsertionis suæ fidem testimonio sobriæ carnis acquirant.]

The Chest of the Pope's bosom.

meant that antichrist should give out a great shine of chaste life, and forbid marriage. Of such St Hierome saith: *Jactant pudicitiam [suam]... impudenti facie*[1]: "They make brags of their chastity with whorish countenance."

Hieron. in Hierem. cap. vii. Lib. ii.

The Apology, Chap. xxi. Division 5 and 6.

Why trust they more to the blindness of the unskilful multitude, and to ignorance, than to the goodness of their cause?

Think they their sleights are not already perceived, and that they can walk now unespied[2], as though they had Gyges' ring, to go invisible by, upon their finger? No, no[3].

The Apology, Chap. xxi. Division 7.

All men see now well and well again, what good stuff is in that chest of the bishop of Rome's bosom[4]. This thing alone of itself may be an argument sufficient, that they work not uprightly and truly.

M. HARDING.

You are much troubled with the chest of the pope's bosom, wherein he is thought to have all laws. At this you scoff four or five times in your Apology, meddling with a matter that you understand not. For it is a lawyer's phrase; who presupposeth the prince of every commonweal to know the law of the same, no less than if it were written in his breast. And therefore, when he maketh a new law, he repealeth the former law, whereunto the latter[5] *is contrary....*

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

Forasmuch as this matter of the pope's breast is so deep and full of darkness, specially being, as you say, a lawyer's phrase, that no man may safely enter into it, but only you, that never were student in any law, let us therefore see what your own canonists and lawyers themselves have meant hereby.

Bald. 1 cap. Coll. ult. De Confess.7

First of all, Baldus of Perusium saith: *Papa est doctor utriusque juris,... auctoritate,... non scientia*[6]: "The pope is doctor of both laws (as well civil as canon), by authority, but not by knowledge." Here we find, howsoever the pope be stored of learning, yet at the least he is a doctor by authority, and that a doctor of both laws. So easy a matter it is to fill his breast[8].

ix Quæst. 3. Neque ab August. Dist. 19. Si Roman. In Gloss. Dist. 40. Si Papa, In Gloss.

Further your gloss saith: *Etsi totus mundus sententiaret in aliquo negotio contra papam, [tamen] videtur, quod standum sit sententiæ papæ*[9]. *Jura [enim] omnia in scrinio pectoris sui habere videtur*[10]. *Quod [ergo] papa approbat vel reprobat, et nos approbare vel reprobare debemus*[11]. *Quisquis ergo non obedit statutis Romanæ ecclesiæ, hæreticus est censendus*[12]. *[Et] sacrilegii instar esset*[13], *disputare de facto papæ*[14]: "Although all the world would judge in any matter

[1] Hieron. Op. Par. 1693-1706. Comm. Lib. II. in Jer. Proph. cap. vii. Tom. III. col. 565; where *impudenti vultu præferunt castitatem.*]

[2] Unspied, Def. 1567.]

[3] Harding in the part omitted retorts on the reformers the charge of practising "to go invisible," alleging that the Apology and other books were published anonymously.]

[4] See below, note 10.]

[5] Later, Conf.]

[6] Bald. sup. Decretal. Lugd. 1551. Lib. II. Tit. xviii. De Confess. cap. 1. Cum monast. 6. fol. 234. 2. See Vol. I. page 381, note 12.]

[7] 1567 has simply *Baldus.*]

[8] The words after *doctor by authority* are not in 1567.]

[9] Unde si totus &c. quod sententiæ papæ standum esset.—Corp. Jur. Canon. Decret. Gratian. Decr. Sec. Pars, Caus. IX. Quæst. iii. Gloss. in can. 13. col. 877.]

[10] Bonifac. VIII. in eod. Sext. Decretal. Lib. I. Tit. ii. cap. 1. col. 11; where *censetur habere.*]

[11] Decret. Gratian. in eod. Decr. Prim. Pars, Dist. xix. Gloss. in can. 1. col. 80. Conf. ibid. Dist. xl. Gloss. in can. 6. cols. 194, 5.]

[12] Hic videtur, quod omnis qui non obedit statutis Romanæ sedis, sit hæreticus.—Ibid. Dist. xix. Gloss. in can. 5. col. 83.]

[13] Esses, 1570.]

[14] Ibid. Dist. xl. Gloss. in can. 1. col. 194; where *esse* and *facto suo.*]

against the pope, yet it seemeth we ought to stand to the judgment of the pope. For he seemeth to have all laws in the chest of his bosom. Therefore, whatsoever the pope either alloweth or disalloweth, we are bound likewise to allow or disallow the same. And whosoever is not obedient to the laws of the church of Rome, must be deemed an heretic. And it were as great sin as church-robbing to reason of any of the pope's doings."

Further, your lawyers say thus: *Papa dicitur habere cœleste arbitrium: Unde in his quæ vult est ei pro ratione voluntas.... nec est, qui dicat [illi, Domine,] cur ita facis*[15]*? [Quia] sicut ex sola voluntate potest [per] papam lex creari, ita per solam voluntatem [potest] cum ea dispensari*[16]*:* "The pope is said to have a heavenly judgment; therefore, in such things as he willeth, his will standeth instead of reason. Neither may any man say unto him, O sir, why do you thus? Like as a law may be made by the only will of the pope, so may the same law be dispensed withal only by the will of the pope." Extr. de Trans. Episc. Quant. In Gloss. Felin. de Rescrip. Ad Audient. 2 ver.

This, M. Harding, is the exposition of your lawyer's phrase. These are the treasures that we are taught to seek in the closet of the pope's breast. Thus may we set apart scriptures, doctors, councils, and whatsoever is beside. The pope's breast may serve for all.

The Apology, Chap. xxi. Division 8.

Worthily ought that matter seem suspicious which flieth [17] trial, and is afraid of the light. "For he that doth evil," as Christ saith, "seeketh darkness, and hateth the light [18]". A conscience that knoweth itself clear cometh willingly into open shew, that the works which proceed of God may be seen. Neither be they so very blind but they see this well enough, that [19] their kingdom straightway is at a point, if the scriptures once have the upper hand; and that, like as men say, the idols of devils in times past, of whom men in doubtful matters were then wont to receive answers, were suddenly stricken dumb at the sight of Christ, when he was born, and came into the world; even so they see that now all their subtle practices will soon fall down headlong even [20] upon the sight of the gospel. For antichrist is not overthrown but by [21] the brightness of the coming of [22] Christ [23].

The Apology, Chap. xxii. Division 1.

As for us, we run not for succour to the fire, as these men's guise is, but we run to the scriptures; neither do we reason with the sword, but with the word of God; and therewith, as saith Tertullian, "do we feed our faith; by it do we stir up our hope, and strengthen our confidence [24]."

M. HARDING.

Ye fly not to the fire as we do, say ye, but unto the scriptures; neither do ye reason with us with the sword, but with the word of God. Ah! good word of God, All this now is extreme cruelty, not long sithence it had been taken for great mercy.

[15] Unde dicitur &c. Quia in &c. ei est &c. ei dicat &c.—Ibid. Decretal. Greg. IX. Lib. I. Tit. vii. Gloss. in cap. 3. col. 217.]

[16] Felin. Sand. Comm. Lugd. 1587. Sup. Decretal. Lib. I. Tit. iii. cap. 31. fol. 159.]

[17] Fleeth, Conf. and Def. 1567, 1570.]

[18] Hateth light, Conf.]

[19] How, Conf.]

[20] *Even* is not in Conf.]

[21] With, Conf. and Def. 1567.]

[22] Of Christ's coming, Conf. and Def. 1567.]

[23] Harding in his reply to this division reproaches the reformers for not coming to the council of Trent.]

[24] Certe fidem sanctis vocibus pascimus, spem erigimus, fiduciam figimus.—Tertull. Op. Lut. 1641. Apolog. 39. p. 34.]

Heretics to death.

thou servest to many purposes. And is it indeed the word of God, sirs, that keepeth so many reverend fathers in prison these many years? Is it[1] *the word of God that hath deprived so many men, some of their livings, some of their countries, whose life ye cannot blame? Is it the word of God that by cruelty of imprisonment of late years gave most certain occasion of death to those holy, learned, and worshipful men, who, for their singular virtue being well known, need not here to be named? Is it the word of God that made so much ado in your late parliament for establishing of your bloody law, whereby ye would have power to put men to death* [a]*for the faith of Christendom? The Turks and Saracens have always suffered them to live in their dominions, but our gospellers by their word of God are taught to kill them. Blessed be God, who hath given to our noble and most clement queen Elizabeth a better spirit to understand his word in this point,* [b]*then these gospellers have yet attained unto....*

[a] Untruth. For it is either idolatry or open folly, and no part of the faith of Christendom.

[b] What spirit then had you, M. Harding, and your fellows, that burnt so many?

If any of you do say that the new superintendents do not keep the old bishops and learned clergy in prison, but the law of the realm; I answer, first, that the law is a crab of your own stock; next, that neither the bishops before-time burnt heretics, but the law of the realm, the law of the prince, the law of all Christendom. Neither was the same made by papists of late years, as ye would your deceived disciples to believe, but of old time thought [c]*necessary by princes to be enacted for the better maintenance of quiet in their dominions....*

[c] This matter thus uttered in generality is a great untruth.

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

It is no new practice (ye say) to kill heretics. I grant you. Neither is it a new practice to condemn godly men by the name of heretics. Your fathers
John xix. sometime cried out against Christ the Son of God, "We have a law, and by the law he ought to die." And Christ himself said sometime to Hierusalem, the
Luke xiii. city of blood, "O Hierusalem, Hierusalem, that killest the prophets, and stonest them to death that be sent unto thee!" But St Augustine saith: *Nullis... bonis*
August. contr. Cresc. Gram. Lib. iii. cap. 50. *in catholica hoc placet, si usque ad mortem in quenquam, licet hæreticum, sæviatur*[2]: "It seemeth good unto no good man in the catholic church, that cruelty unto death be shewed unto any man, no, though he be an heretic."

Notwithstanding, it agreeth well with your religion, M. Harding, though your
Matth. xxiii. mouths now be muzzled, yet to ramp and gape still after blood. "Fulfil ye the measure of your fathers". Let it not grieve you to hear what Salomon saith:
Prov. xii. *Viscera impiorum crudelia:* "The very bowels of the wicked are full of cruelty." When your fables and follies be espied, then ye flee to sword and fire; which being once wrested from you, your whole religion must needs come to ground. St Hierome saith of other your peers: *Pugnant epicherematis ex carnificum officinis*[3]: "They fight with arguments taken from the butchers' shops."

Ye have wreaked your anger long enough upon innocent blood. Begin once to know the hand of God. It is hard for you to kick still against the prick.
Cypr. ad Corn. We may truly say unto you with St Cyprian: *Sacerdos Dei evangelium tenens, et Christi præcepta custodiens, occidi potest, vinci non potest*[4]: "The priest of God, holding the gospel, and keeping the commandments of Christ, may well be killed;
Tertull. in Scap. but conquered he cannot be." We may say with Tertullian: *Crudelitas vestra*
Tertull. in Apolog. *gloria nostra est*[5]: *Plures efficimur, quoties metimur a vobis*[7]: "Your cruelty is
1 Esdr. iv. our glory. When ye come to reckon us, ye find us more and more." "Truth
Prov. xxi. above all things will prevail." "There is no counsel against the Lord."

As for our part, we were never yet guilty to one drop of your blood. We
Hier. in Esai. Lib. v. cap. xiv. seek no aid at fire or sword. We will rather say with St Hierome: *Utinam... filios hæreticorum, et omnium qui decepti sunt, interficiamus sagittis spiritualibus, id est, testimoniis scripturarum*[8]: "Would God we may rather kill the children of

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[1] It is, Def. 1567, 1570.]

[2] August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. Contr. Cresc. Donat. Lib. III. cap. 1. 55. Tom. IX. col. 463.]

[3] The editor has not been able to trace the passage here cited.]

[4] Cypr. Op. Oxon. 1682. Ad Corn. Epist. lix. p. 128; where *non potest vinci*.]

[5] Tertull. Op. Lut. 1641. Ad Scap. 4. p. 88; where *est nostra*.]

[6] Ad, 1567, 1570.]

[7] Id. Apolog. 50. p. 45.]

[8] Hieron. Op. Comm. Lib. VI. in Isai. Proph. cap. xiii. Tom. III. col. 153.]

[9] The latter part of the reference, *Lib. v. cap. xiv.* is added from 1567, 1570.]

heretics, and of all them that be deceived, with spiritual arrows; that is to say, with the testimonies of the scriptures;" and with St Augustine: *O si occidas eos... gladio*[10] *bis acuto, et non sint hostes tui: Sic enim amo eos occidi sibi, ut vivant tibi*[11]: "Would God thou wouldest kill them, O Lord, with the two-edged sword (that is, with thy holy word), that they may no longer be thine enemies; for so I wish them to be killed unto themselves, that they may live unto thee." And again: *Vindicet nos Deus de vobis, ut ipsum errorem vestrum in vobis occidat, et nobiscum de veritate gaudeatis*[12]: "God so revenge our cause against you, that he may kill your error in you, that ye may rejoice together with us of the truth." This, M. Harding, this is the revenge that we seek upon you, as this day it may appear[13].

If an angel from heaven, &c.

August. Conf. Lib. xii. cap. xiv.

August. Epist. 166.

THE APOLOGY, Chap. xxii. Division 2.

For we know that the "gospel of Jesus[14] Christ is the power of God unto salvation;" and that therein consisteth eternal life. And, as Paul warneth us, "we do not hear, no, not an angel of God, though he come[15] from[16] heaven," if he go about to pull us from any part of this doctrine[17].

M. HARDING.

Boast no more of the gospel. We (I mean the catholic church) had it, we kept it, and understood it, before ye were born, and before your heresy was heard of....

But a devil coming from hell (for who is author of division but Satan?) hath carried you away into another gospel; whereas indeed there is but one true gospel. And here let any indifferent man consider how uprightly you allege St Paul. You Gal. i.[19] *write, that St Paul*[18] *warneth you not to give ear to an angel coming from heaven, if he go about to draw you from any part of this doctrine. Of which 'this doctrine' mean you? Of this which you have declared in this Apology? *Did St Paul ever read your Apology? How then pronounced he of it that sentence? We mean (say you) by this doctrine the doctrine of the gospel. If you mean so, we say the same. But we tell you, that St Paul spake not of every gospel generally, but of a certain gospel qualified. For he saith:* "Si quis vobis evangelizaverit præter id quod accepistis, anathema sit:" *"If any man preach a gospel unto you, besides that ye have received, be he accursed." Hear you the gospel St Paul speaketh of? It is not every gospel. It is a gospel preached and received. If ye preach that gospel which ye received, we join hands with you. But if ye preach a gospel which ye have received of no apostle, nor apostolic preacher, and which was not*[21] *heard of in the earth when Luther ran out of his cloister and forsook his religion, then be ye assured that ye are the men who are holden for accursed of St Paul....*

* And did St Paul ever read your[20] late chapter of Trent?

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

Here, M. Harding, ye would fain scape away with a childish cavil. Paul, ye say, speaketh of a "gospel qualified;" whereby ye mean a gospel delivered and received: as if ye would say, the gospel of Christ, unless it be delivered by you, is no gospel. But St Paul meant not the doctrine delivered from hand to hand, or from pope to pope; but the doctrine delivered and received in the scriptures. And in this sense he saith of himself: *Quod accepi a Domino, hoc et tradidi vobis:* "The thing that I have received of the Lord, the same have I delivered unto

1 Cor. xi.

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[10] Eos de gladio, 1567, 1570, 1609.]

[11] August. Op. Confess. Lib. XII. cap. xiv. 17. Tom. I. col. 214; where *hostes ejus*.]

[12] Id. ad Donatist. Epist. CV. 17. Tom. II. col. 103.]

[13] This sentence is not in 1567.]

[14] Jesu, Conf.]

[15] Came, Def. 1567.]

[16] Of God coming from, Conf.]

[17] The following sentence is here added in Conf.: Yea, more than this, as the holy martyr Justin speaketh of himself, we would give no credence to God himself, if he should teach us any other gospel.]

[18] That Paul, Conf. and Def. 1567, 1570, 1609.]

[19] This reference is inserted from Conf. and Def. 1567, 1570, 1609.]

[20] You, 1611.]

[21] 1611 omits *not*.]

you." In like sort he calleth himself an apostle, "not of men, nor by men, but by Jesus Christ." Howbeit, what need many words? The case is clear. St Augustine saith plainly: [*Paulus ait*], *Si angelus de cœlo vobis annunciaverit, præterquam quod in scripturis legalibus et evangelicis accepistis, anathema sit*[1]: "If an angel from heaven preach unto you any other thing than ye have received, (not by tradition or by delivery from your elders, but) in the scriptures of the law and of the gospel, accursed be he." These words[2] be plain, M. Harding, and quite disgrace all your glosses.

If an angel from heaven, &c.

Gal. i. August. contr. Lit. Petil. Lib. iii. cap. vi.

Hereto Chrysostom addeth further: *Non dixit Paulus, Si contraria annunciaverint, aut totum evangelium subverterint; verum, Si vel paulum evangelizaverint præter evangelium quod accepistis, etiamsi quidvis labefactaverint, anathema sint*[3]: "St Paul saith not, If they teach the contrary, or, If they overthrow the whole gospel; but he saith, If they preach any little small thing besides the gospel that ye have received, or if they loose or shake down any thing, whatsoever it be, accursed be they." These words, M. Harding, touch you very near. Ye have altered the whole form of the church of God. Therefore repent yourselves, lest ye remain still within the danger of the curse.

Chrysost. in Epist. ad Gal. cap. i.

St Augustine saith: *Sancta .... scriptura nostræ doctrinæ regulam figit, ne audeamus plus sapere, quam oporteat sapere*[4]: "The holy scripture hath laid a rule unto our doctrine, that we dare not to understand more then is meet for us to understand."

August. de Bon. Vid. cap. i. Rom. xii.

The Apology, Chap. xxii. Division 3.

Councils.

For, where these men bid the holy scriptures away, as dumb and fruitless, and procure us to come to God himself rather, who speaketh in the church and in their[5] councils, that[6] is to say, to believe their fancies and opinions; this way of finding out the truth is very uncertain, and exceeding dangerous, and in manner a fantastical and mad way, and by no means allowed of the holy fathers.

M. HARDING.

... *Where they say, we pass but little*[7] *on the scriptures, as dumb and unprofitable, therein they* slander us, as in other things. We do not so; but we say that, as every act of parliament must be executed by a lawful judge, so the holy scriptures have their execution by lawful judges, who are the bishops and fathers, as well in other places, as specially when they be lawfully assembled in general councils. Now, say these men, "that way is very uncertain, dangerous, in manner mad, and not allowed of the fathers." Who ever heard men (thought to have their right wits) talk after so loose a sort? Did the fathers* disprove the order of coming together in general councils? Or thought they the same to be a way for men to be the sooner deceived? If so many may be deceived with most diligent study and mature judgment conferring together, how much sooner may one or two alone, led by private fancy and self-will, be carried away into error! At the Nicene council came together* 318 *bishops. At the first of Constantinople,* 150. *At the Ephesine council,* 200. *At that of Chalcedon,* 630. *All these four councils sundry ancient fathers, namely, St Gregory, esteemed as the four gospels ... Yea but, saith he, I have the word of God. But what if three hundred far holier and better-learned men say, he hath it not? Let the reader be judge, saith he. A meet judge in such a cause! The scholars may read, but judge of their masters they may not, by Christ's*

* Untruth. For these be your own fellows' words. Read the answer.

* Gregorius Nazianzenus saith, He never saw good come of any council[8].

[1 August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. Contr. Litt. Petil. Lib. III. cap. vi. 7. Tom. IX. col. 301.]

[2 Word, 1611.]

[3 Chrysost. Op. Par. 1718-38. In cap. i. Epist. ad Galat. Comm. Tom. X. p. 670.]

[4 August. Op. Lib. de Bon. Vid. cap. i. 2. Tom. VI. cols. 369, 70; where *sapere plus quam oportet.*]

[5 The, Conf.]

[6 Which, Conf.]

[7 Pass little, Conf.]

[8 Ἔχω μὲν οὕτως..... ὥστε πάντα σύλλογον φεύγειν ἐπισκόπων, ὅτι μηδεμιᾶς συνόδου τέλος εἶδον χρηστόν, μηδὲ λύσιν κακῶν μᾶλλον ἐσχηκυῖαν ἢ προσθήκην.—Gregor. Naz. Op. Par. 1778-1840. Ad Procop. Epist. cxxx. Tom. II. p. 110.]

Matt. x. 9 *doctrine, who said,* Non est discipulus supra magistrum: "*The scholar is not above his master.*" *Why not, for all that, say you, if the Holy Ghost inspire him? Sir, is it*[10] *not to be thought God doth assist his church represented in such solemn assemblies of three hundred or more fathers, governors of christian people, rather than one man?* ... The people cannot judge.

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

Whether ye call the scriptures of God a dumb thing, or no, I report me to that is said before[11]. One of you calleth it, *Mortuum atramentum*[12]: "Dead ink." Another saith, *Scriptura est res inanimis et muta*[13]: "The scripture is a dead and a dumb thing." Another calleth the scriptures, *Nigrum evangelium*[14]: "The black gospel." Now, if the scriptures be dead and dumb, and cannot speak, then must it needs follow they are unprofitable. Neither do we despise the authority of councils. Good councils be grave and reverend. But thus we say, councils are often against councils. And if we make reckoning of number, the Arian heretics have had more councils than the Christians. St Hierome saith: *Spiritus sancti doctrina est, quæ canonicis literis prodita est; contra quam si quid statuant concilia, nefas duco*[15]: "That is the doctrine of the Holy Ghost that is set abroad in the canonical scriptures; against which doctrine if councils determine any thing, I think it wicked."

Cap. xix. Div. 1. Ludovic. in Conc. Trid. Episc. Pict. in Conc. Trid. Alb. Pigh. Contr. 3. Eckius.

Hier. in Epist. ad Gal.

St Chrysostom saith further, in most[16] earnest sort, *Plus aliquid dicam: Ne Paulo quidem obedire oportet, si quid dixerit proprium, si quid humanum*[17]: "I will say more: We ought not to believe, no, not Paul himself, if he speak any thing of his own, or if he speak only as a man."

Chrysost. in 2 ad Tim. Hom. 2.

And, to increase the uncertainty hereof, the whole weight and judgment of councils hangeth now evermore upon the pope; as it may appear by these words of the conclusion of the late chapter at Trident: *Salva semper in omnibus sedis apostolicæ auctoritate*[18]: "The authority of the apostolic see in all things evermore reserved." Whereby it appeareth that the determination of matters hangeth not of the council, but of the pope[19]. But Platina saith, as it is alleged before: *Acta priorum pontificum sequentes* [*pontifices semper*] *aut infringunt, aut omnino tollunt*[20]: "The popes that follow do evermore either break or wholly abrogate the decrees of the popes that were before." And thus being turned from all other bishops unto councils, from councils to the pope, and from one pope to another, we shall evermore build upon sand and uncertainty, and never be assured where to stand[19].

Conc. Trid. Sess. 6.

Plat. in Steph.

Whether the scripture be well alleged, or otherwise, thereof, ye say, "the people may not judge:" for Christ saith, "The scholar is not above his master." Certainly, M. Harding, the simplest of all the people, notwithstanding, by your restraint, he may not judge of the scriptures, yet he may easily judge of you, either that ye understand not, or that ye unadvisedly abuse, the scriptures. Whether it be the word of God or no, the people, ye say, may not judge; and that ye prove even by the scriptures, God knoweth, full handsomely and full discreetly applied; "for the scholar," ye say, "is not above his master." Thus we may learn by the logic of Lovaine, that *populus* is Latin for a scholar, and that "scripture" is Latin for a master. And thus by your vain premises without sense ye proceed vainly, and conclude nothing.

O M. Harding, have some regard to that ye write. The simplest may soon espy your doings. Ye can no longer thus mock the world with shews of words.

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[9] This reference is inserted from Conf. and Def. 1567.]

[10] It is, Conf.]

[11] See before, pages 756, &c.]

[12] Ex. Orat. Ludovic. in Norm. ad calc. Protest. Concion. adv. Convent. Trident. 1563. p. 123.]

[13] J. Sleid. Comm. Argent. 1572. Lib. XXIII. fol. 290. 2; Alb. Pigh. Explic. Cathol. Contr. Par. 1586. Controv. III. fol. 89. 2. See before, page 758.]

[14] See before, page 758, note 9.]

[15] This sentence is cited as from St Jerome in Catalog. Test. Verit. Genev. 1608. col. 201; where *libris canonicis est prodita.* But the editor has not discovered it in Jerome's works.]

[16] More, 1567, 1570, 1609.]

[17] Chrysost. Op. In II. Epist. ad Tim. cap. i. Hom. ii. Tom. XI. p. 669.]

[18] Concil. Trident. Sess. VII. Decret. de Reform. in Concil. Stud. Labb. et Cossart. Lut. Par. 1671-2. Tom. XIV. col. 779.]

[19] This sentence is not in 1567.]

[20] Plat. De Vit. Pont. Col. 1551. Steph. VI. p. 126; where *infringerent* and *tollerent.*]

The people cannot judge.

Christ spake not these words of the understanding of the scriptures, but of persecution for the scriptures. Mark well the place. Thus the[1] words lie together: "When they shall persecute you in one city, flee into another, &c. The scholar is not above his master, nor the servant above his lord... If they have called the Master of the house Beelzebub, how much more will they so call his household servants!" Matt. x.

Alas! where learned you to frame such arguments, The apostles, being the scholars, can no more escape persecution than could Christ, that was the Master: *Ergo*, The people cannot understand what they read in the scriptures? Here is neither antecedent, nor consequent, nor sequel in reason. For the honour of the university, have better regard unto your logic. Ye bewray the weakness of your cause, when ye so slenderly abuse the scriptures.

The Apology, Chap. xxii. Division 4.

Chrysostom saith: "There be many oftentimes which boast themselves of the Holy Ghost; but truly whoso speak of their own head do falsely boast that they[2] have the Spirit of God. For, like as (saith he) Christ denied he spake of himself, when he spake out of the law and prophets; even so now, if anything be pressed upon us in the name of the Holy Ghost, save the gospel, we ought not to believe it. For, as Christ is the fulfilling of the law and prophets, so is the Holy Ghost the fulfilling of the gospel[3]." Thus far goeth Chrysostom.

M. HARDING.

They allege out of Chrysostom, that whosoever speak of their own do untruly attribute to themselves the Spirit of God. But they remember not how they who are gathered together in the name of Christ do not speak of their own, because Christ, who is the Truth, hath promised to be in the midst of them. Matt. xviii. *Now, if they tell us that the fathers at Trent were not*[5] *gathered together in the name of Christ, how much more truly may we reply to them, that the temporal men (assembled together at Ausperg, at Marpurg, at Worms, at Smalcald, at Baden, at Westminster, or anywhere else) came not together in the name of Christ!... I require but a man of common sense to sit judge in this cause. They cannot possibly bring any thing out of the scriptures, or ancient fathers, for maintenance of this their great case...*

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

Ye build over boldly, M. Harding, on Christ's promises. God is true whatsoever he promise; but oftentimes men are false. Christ hath promised to be present wheresoever two or three be gathered together in his name. But it appeareth by the words of the prophet David, that "councils oftentimes meet together against God, and against his Christ." The prophet Michæas saith: *Sic dicit Dominus de prophetis, qui errare faciunt populum meum:... Abominantur judicium, et omne rectum pervertunt:.... Super Dominum requiescebant, dicentes, Nunquid non est Dominus in medio nostri?* "Thus saith our Lord of the prophets that deceive my people:... They abhor judgment: they overthrow all that is right.... Psal. ii. Acts iv. Mic. iii.

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[1] Scriptures. For thus the, 1567.]

[2] Boast they, Conf.]

[3] ..... ἔμελλον πολλοὶ σχηματίζεσθαι ἔχειν Πνεῦμα ἅγιον, ὃ μὴ εἶχον, καὶ λαλεῖν...ἐὰν ἴδητέ τινα λέγοντα, Πνεῦμα ἅγιον ἔχω, καὶ μὴ λαλοῦντα τὰ εὐαγγελικά, ἀλλὰ τὰ ἴδια, ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ λαλεῖ... ὥσπερ γὰρ λέγει περὶ ἑαυτοῦ, ἐγὼ ἀπ' ἐμαυτοῦ οὐ λαλῶ...ἐάν τις οὖν τῶν ὀνομαζόντων ἔχειν Πνεῦμα, λέγῃ τι ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ, καὶ μὴ ἀπὸ τῶν εὐαγγελίων, μὴ πιστεύσητε·.....ὥσπερ ὁ Σωτὴρ ἐλθὼν ἐγένετο πλήρωμα νόμου καὶ προφητῶν, οὕτω πλήρωμα τοῦ εὐαγγελίου τὸ Πνεῦμα.—Chrysost. Op. Par. 1718-38. De Spir. Sanct. Hom. Tom. III. p. 808. This homily is not considered genuine.]

[4] This reference is inserted from Conf. and Def. 1567.]

[5] Nor, Def. 1570.]

and yet they rest themselves upon our Lord, saying, Is not our Lord in the midst amongst us?" Councils.

This is your defence, M. Harding. Whether the word of God be with you, or against you, yet ye say ye have still the Spirit of God, and our Lord himself is in the midst amongst you. But this boldness, by Chrysostom's judgment, is presumptuous and dangerous[6]. And therefore his counsel is that, "if any thing be pressed upon us by the name of the Holy Ghost, saving only the gospel of Christ, we should not believe it." In like sense St Augustine saith: *Sua.... illi si docere velint, nolite audire, nolite facere*[7]. "If they bring any decree or fantasy of their own, hear it not, do it not." Chrysost. de Sanct. et Ador. Spirit. August. in Johan. Tract. 46.

Thus the old frantic[8] and fanatical heretics, when they found themselves convinced by the evident testimonies of God's word, they appealed to the Spirit of God; which, they said, even as you say, evermore assisted them, and could not fail them. Hereof St Augustine writeth thus: *Videtis ergo, id vos agere, ut omnis de medio scripturarum auctoritas auferatur; et suus cuique animus auctor sit, quid in quaque scriptura probet, quid improbet; id est, ut non auctoritati scripturarum subjiciatur ad fidem, sed sibi scripturas ipse subjiciat; non ut ideo illi placeat aliquid, quia hoc in sublimi auctoritate scriptum legitur; sed ideo recte scriptum videatur, quia hoc illi placuit*[9]: "Ye see therefore this is your drift, that all authority of the scriptures be removed; that each man may be led by his own fantasy, what he list either to allow in the holy scriptures, or to disallow; that is to say, that he submit not himself, touching his faith, to the authority of the scriptures, but that he make the scriptures subject unto him; not that he will allow any thing, because it is written in that high authority of the scriptures, but that he will think it well written, because he alloweth it." By mean hereof it cometh to pass that St Hilary writeth: *Qui quæ scripta sunt negas, quid superest nisi ut quæ non scripta sunt probes*[10]? "Forasmuch as thou deniest the things that be written, what remaineth there but that thou must allow the things that be not written?" August. contr. Faust. Manich. Lib. xxxii. cap. xix. Hilar. de Trin. Lib. ix.

Concerning the authority and credit of councils, we shall have cause to say more hereafter. But, where ye require but a man of common sense to sit as a judge[11] in this cause, it appeareth that either ye remember not, or else ye weigh not, that ye immediately said before. For in this self-same chapter ye say: "The people may not judge of their bishops;" and that, as ye tell us, by Christ's own doctrine: "For the scholar is not above his master." Yet now suddenly, as having forgotten your own words, ye call forth the scholar, yea, and, as it may be thought, one of the meanest of all your school, as a man only endued with common sense, to sit in judgment over his master.

Notwithstanding, "God is no accepter of persons." God's holy Spirit is not bound to councils or companies, but "breatheth freely where it listeth." And therefore, as your own doctor Panormitane saith, "in cases of religion the judgment of one simple plain man ought sometimes to be received[12] before the judgment of the pope[13]." Acts x. John iii. Extr. de Elect. et Elect. Potest. Signif. Abb.

Here endeth the Fourth Part.

[6 See above, note 3.]

[7 August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. In Johan. Evang. cap. x. Tractat. xlvi. 6. Tom. III. Pars II. col. 604; where *velint docere.*]

[8 Frenetique, 1567, 1570.]

[9 Id. contr. Faust. Lib. XXXII. cap. xix. Tom. VIII. col. 461; where *auferatur auctoritas.*]

[10 Hilar. Op. Par. 1693. De Trin. Lib. IX. 35. cols. 1005, 6; where *quid restat,* and *sunt credas.*]

[11 As judge, 1567, 1570, 1609.]

[12 Rejected, 1611.]

[13 Panorm. sup. Prim. Prim. Decretal. Lugd. 1534. De Elect. Tit. vi. cap. 4. fol. 122. See before, page 712.]

THE FIFTH PART.

THE APOLOGY, Chap. i. Division 1.

Old. New. BUT here, I look they will say, though they have not the scriptures, yet it may[1] chance they have the ancient doctors and the holy fathers with them. For this is a high brag they have ever made, how that all antiquity and a continual consent of all ages doth make on their side; and that all our cases be but new, and yesterday's work, and until these few late years were never[2] heard of. Questionless, there can nothing be more spitefully spoken against the religion of God than to accuse it of novelty, as a matter lately found out[3]: for, as there can be no change in God himself, so ought there to be no change in[4] his religion.

Yet, nevertheless, we wot not by what means, but we have ever seen it come to[5] pass from the first beginning, that[6], as often as God did give but some light, and did open his truth unto men, though the truth were not only of greatest antiquity, but also from everlasting, yet of wicked men and of the adversaries it was[7] called new-fangled and of late devised. That ungracious and bloodthirsty Haman, when he sought to procure the king Assuerus'[8] displeasure against the Jews, used this
Esth. iii.[10] accusation against them[9]: "Thou hast here (saith he) a kind of people that useth certain new laws of their own, but stiff-necked and rebellious against all thy laws." When Paul also began first to preach and expound the gospel at Athens, he was called a tidings-bringer of new gods,
Acts xvii.[10] as much to say as of a new[11] religion. "For," said the Athenians, "may we not know of thee what new doctrine this is?" Celsus likewise, when he of set purpose wrote against Christ, to the end he might more scornfully
Orig. contr. Cels.[10] Euseb. Lib. i. cap. iv.[15] scoff out the gospel by the name of novelty, "What (saith he), hath God after so many ages now at last and so late bethought himself[12]?" Eusebius also writeth, that the christian[13] religion from the beginning, for very spite, was called *νέα καὶ ξένη*, that is to say, "new and strange[14]." After like sort these men condemn all our matters as strange and new; but they will have their own, whatsoever they are, to be praised as things of long continuance.

M. HARDING.

[a] A vain distinction. For neither do we call our doctrine new. *.... They had said somewhat, if they had proved that the doctrine[a] of Christ had been called new by them who were the professors and followers of it. But now, reporting that the gentiles, who knew not God, as Aman, as the Athenians,*

[1] Yet may, Conf.]
[2] Last years never, Conf.]
[3] Novelty as a new comen up matter, Conf.]
[4] Himself no more ought there to be in, Conf.]
[5] Come so to, Conf. and Def. 1567, 1570, 1609.]
[6] Beginning of all that, Conf.]
[7] Was it, Conf.]
[8] Assueruses, Conf.]
[9] Jews this was his accusation to him, Conf. and Def. 1567.]
[10] These references are not in Conf.]
[11] Of new, Conf.]
[12] ...*ὅτι νῦν ἆρα μετὰ τοσοῦτον αἰῶνα ὁ Θεὸς ἀνεμνήσθη δικαιῶσαι τὸ ἀνθρώπων γένος, πρότερον δὲ ἠμέλει;*—Orig. Op. Par. 1733-59. Contr. Cels. Lib. IV. 8. Tom. I. p. 506.]
[13] That christian, Conf.]
[14] ...*ἵνα δὲ μηδὲ τὴν διδασκαλίαν αὐτοῦ νέαν εἶναι καὶ ξένην...ὑπονοήσειέ τις, κ.τ.λ.*—Euseb. in Hist. Eccles. Script. Amst. 1695-1700. Lib. I. cap. iv. p. 10.]
[15] This reference is not in Conf. or Def. 1567.]

as Celsus the ethnic, and such the like, called the right and true religion of God, new, they say nothing to any purpose. But let them shew that before the coming of Christ any such religion was allowed that was new; or that, sithence Christ's incarnation, among christian men, whatsoever religion was not shunned and rejected as heretical, which was new. Here are they dumb. And yet for shew of learning, in a matter not necessary, they bring forth their store, and declare that the doctrine and religion of truth was new to them which knew not God nor Christ the Son of God; which no man denieth. Old. New.

Thus all men of any judgment may see how fondly they reason. We[b] *tell them, that all new doctrine now in the church of Christ is naught; and they prove that infidels have in the time of Moses' law, and at the first preaching of the gospel, impugned God's everlasting truth with the odious term and reproach of newness. New doctrine was good to us at our first conversion from infidelity: but, since that we received the true faith from St Gregory the bishop of Rome*[c]*, who converted the realm of England to the faith by St Augustine his legate, and others sent for that godly purpose, worthily we shun and abhor all new gospels, new faiths, new doctrines, new religions.*

[b] We tell you, ye have lost the right names of things, and call that new that indeed is old.

[c] Untruth. For the true faith of Christ had been planted, and still continued in this realm, four hundred years before the coming of this Augustine.

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

The truth of God neither is furthered by the face of antiquity, nor hindered by the opinion of novelty. For oftentimes the thing that indeed is new is commended[16] as old, and the thing that indeed is old is condemned as new. If newness in religion in all respects and every way were ill, Christ would not have resembled his doctrine to new wine; nor would he have said to his disciples, "I give you a new commandment;" neither would he have called the cup of thanksgiving, "The new testament in his blood." Arnobius saith: *Religionis...auctoritas non est tempore æstimanda, sed numine; nec...quo die, sed quid colere cœperis, intueri convenit. Quod verum est, serum non est*[17]: "The authority of religion must be weighed by God, and not by time. It behoveth us to consider, not upon what day, but what thing we began to worship. The thing that is true is never too late."

Matt. ix. John xiii. Luke xxii.

Arnob. contr. Gent. Lib. ii.

St Augustine saith: *Quod anterius est, inquiunt* [*ethnici*], *falsum esse non potest. Quasi antiquitas et vetus consuetudo præjudicet veritati*[18]: "The heathens say, the religion that was first cannot be false. As though antiquity and old custom could prevail against the truth." Again he saith: *Nec dici debet, quare modo? et quare sero? Quoniam mittentis consilium non est humano ingenio penetrabile*[19]: "Neither may we say, Why cometh it now? Why cometh it so late? For the counsel of God that sent it is unsearchable to the wisdom of man." Ye say, they were infidels only, that charged the religion of Christ with novelty. And further ye say, "We tell them that all new doctrine now in the church of Christ is naught." Hereto, M. Harding, we soon agree. And therefore we tell you, that your new fantasies, which ye have painted with the colour of ancienty, and therewith have deceived the world, are vain and naught. As for us, we have planted no new religion, but only have renewed the old, that was undoubtedly founded and used by the apostles of Christ, and other holy fathers in the primitive church, and of this long late time, by mean of the multitude of your traditions and vanities, hath been drowned.

August. in Quæst. Nov. et Vet. Test. Quæst. 114.

August. de Civ. Lib. x. cap. xxxii.

Therefore we may say with St Bernard: *Novitatem...dico, propter linguas... hominum*[20] *impiorum; qui, cum manifestum lumen...obnubilare non queunt, de solo novitatis nomine cavillantur, &c. Sed hæc novitas non est novella vanitas. Res enim est antiquæ religionis, perfecte fundatæ in Christo pietatis; antiqua hæreditas ecclesiæ Dei*[21]: "I call it novelty, because of the tongues of wicked

Bernard. de Vit. Solit.

[16] Condemned, 1570, 1609, 1611.]

[17] Religionis &c. nec colore qua die, sed quid cœperis, convenit intueri...In infinitis perpetuis seculis nihil omnino dicendum est serum.—Arnob. Op. Par. 1580. Lib. II. pp. 164, 5. Conf. Cypr. Op. Oxon. 1682. De Cœn. Dom. (Arnold.) p. 43.]

[18] August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. Quæst. ex Utroq. Mixt. Quæst. cxiv. Tom. III. Append. col. 119; where *aut vetus*.]

[19] ...nec debuit, nec debebit ei dici, Quare, &c.—Id. de Civ. Dei, Lib. x. cap. xxxii. 2. Tom. VII. col. 269.]

[20] Hominem, 1570.]

[21] Guill. Abbat. S. Theod. Epist. ad Fratr. de Monte Dei, cap. i. 3. in Bernard. Op. Par. 1690. Vol. II. Tom. v. col. 201.]

Old. New.

men; who, being not able to shadow the manifest light of the truth, find cavillations upon the only name of novelty. But this novelty is no new vanity (as is this late upstart religion of Rome). For it is a matter of old religion, of perfect[1] godliness founded in Christ; the ancient inheritance of the church of God." The old learned father Tertullian saith: *Viderint ergo, quibus novum est quod sibi est vetus. Hæreses non tam novitas quam veritas revincit. Quodcunque contra veritatem sapit, hoc est hæresis, etiam vetus consuetudo*[2]*:* "Let them therefore take heed, which count that thing new that in itself is old. Heresy is reproved not so well by novelty as by verity. Whatsoever thing savoureth against the truth, the same is an heresy, yea, although it be a custom never so old." Ignatius saith: *Antiquitas mea Jesus Christus est*[3]*:* "My antiquity is Christ Jesus." For otherwise the religion of Christ at that time was counted new, and, in respect of the ancient religion of the heathens, even for novelty's sake[4], universally and of all men was condemned[5].

Tertull. de Virg. Veland.

Ignat. ad Philadelph.

Augustine of England.

That Augustine, the monk of Rome, brought first the faith into this land, it is utterly untrue. For, as I have said before, it appeareth plainly by sundry the ancient fathers, Origen, Tertullian, Chrysostom, Hilary, Theodoretus, Eusebius, and others, that the faith of Christ had been universally received, and perfectly[6] rooted in this realm many hundred years before this Augustine the monk was born[7]. Indeed, he brought in great heaps of strange novelties and superstitions, as candles, candlesticks, banners, and holy water, and other like shews, whereof the church of God had no great need. And yet have the same sithence been increased by other new devices, and vanities above measure.

But, forasmuch as certain of M. Harding's beauperes of Lovaine have lately found themselves talk, and kept great moots in the behoof of their Augustine the Italian monk, whom they call the apostle of England, and will needs have to be received and honoured as a saint, I have thought it therefore good, briefly and by the way, to note a few words touching the same.

It seemeth they be much offended that so virtuous a man, and so holy a saint, should be charged with pride and cruelty: with pride, in so disdainfully despising his brethren, the bishops of this island of Britain; with cruelty, in procuring the death both of many thousands of christian people, and also specially of the innocent and unarmed monks of Bangor—and all this, for that they refused to receive him as their metropolitan, and to agree with him in certain small points of the Roman religion. Howbeit, his pride is well blazed by Beda, writing purposely of the same, in that he sat still in his throne, and disdained to rise up and to give any token of reverence unto the seven bishops, and other learned and grave men of the Britons, making their appearance at his council[8]: and therefore they said they would not hearken to his demands, nor take him for their archbishop, as having otherwise of old an archbishop of their own, to whom they owed[9] their obedience. Their words, as they are reported by Beda, were these: *Si modo nobis assurgere noluit, quanto magis, si ei subdi cœperimus, jam nos pro nihilo contemnet*[10]*!* "If even now he disdain to rise up unto us, how much more will he despise us, and regard us as nothing, when we shall once be under his jurisdiction!"

Bed. Septem Britan. Episc. et plures viri doctissimi.

Bed. Lib. ii. cap. ii.

But to excuse this Augustine of shameful cruelty, lest he should seem to be accessory to the murdering of so many, and so by their own laws to be irregular, as a man of blood, they say: "He neither enkindled the war against the Britons, nor was present at the fight, but was dead long before." Which thing also they think may be proved by the express words of Beda. For thus he saith: *Quamvis ipso* [*Augustino*] *jam multo ante tempore ad cœlestia regna sublato*[11]*:* "Notwithstanding Augustine himself, long before the time of this

Bed. eod. loc.

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[1] Perfite, 1567, 1570.]

[2] Tertull. Op. Lut. 1641. De Virg. Veland. 1. p. 192; where *vetus est, adversus veritatem,* and *hoc erit hæresis.*]

[3] Ignat. ad Philadelph. Epist. 8. in Patr. Apostol. Oxon. 1838. Tom. II. pp. 386, 8.]

[4] These four words are not in 1567.]

[5] Commended, 1609, 1611.]

[6] Perfitely, 1567, 1570.]

[7] See Vol. I. pp. 305, 6; III. pp. 128, 9, 163, 4.]

[8] Ven. Bæd. Hist. Eccles. Cantab. 1722. Lib. II. cap. ii. pp. 79, 80; where *Brittonum.*]

[9] Ought, 1567, 1570.]

[10] Id. ibid. p. 80.]

[11] Id. ibid. p. 81. This sentence would seem, however, to be genuine. Vid. not. in loc.]

war, was[12] taken up into the kingdom of heaven." For the truth and certainty hereof, it may please thee, good christian reader, to understand that these last words of Beda, concerning the death of Augustine, are manifestly forged, and have been violently thrust into the text by a guileful parenthesis, by them that sithence have been ashamed of his cruelty, and were never written by the author, as by evident proofs it shall plainly appear. Augustine of England.

But first of all, in an old chronicle written in French above two hundred years past by Thomas Gray, ye shall find it recorded thus: "Augustine, being thus refused of the bishops, and others the learned of the Britons, made such complaint thereof to Ethelbert the king of Kent, that forthwith he levied his power, and marched against them, and slew them in most cruel wise, having (as he saith) no more regard of mercy than a wolf hath upon a sheep[13]." Hereby it appeareth that this Augustine was the inflamer of the war, and so the causer of the slaughter. Thom. Gray. Augustine the inflamer of the war.

And, whereas by the words of Beda, as they be now commonly extant in the Latin, we are told this Augustine was dead long before the war began; it appeareth plainly by the true Beda indeed, translated above seven hundred years ago into the old English, or Saxon tongue, by Alfredus, or Aluredus, then king of this land, that the same Augustine was yet alive after the same war was ended, and that he afterward consecrated two bishops, Mellitus and Justus; Mellitus to be bishop of London, and Justus to be bishop of Rochester. Which things thus declared, it followeth orderly in the story: "Then (these wars being ended, and these bishops consecrated) afterward died the beloved father Augustine[14]." After the war he died, saith he[15], and not before, as they sithence[16] altered it in the Latin. I trow, M. Harding, ye are not so much amazed with the admiration of your Augustine, that ye will say he had power to consecrate bishops, and to use his archiepiscopal authority, being dead. The true story of Beda translated by king Alfred. Augustine alive in the time of the war.

As for these words that we find reported by the parenthesis in the Latin, as is written[17] by Beda (*quamvis Augustino jam multo ante tempore ad cœlestia regna sublato*); forasmuch as they are quite contrary to the very course and order of the story, and specially for that they are not once touched in the ancient Saxon translation, sundry copies whereof at this present are extant and to be seen, of such reverend antiquity as may not justly be called in question; therefore we have good cause to judge that the said words have been sithence forced and shifted in by some good skill and policy, lest Augustine, so holy a man, should be found guilty of so great a cruelty.

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[12] Were, 1567, 1570, 1609.]

[13] T. Gray, Scala Cronica, fol. 89. 2. See Vol. III. page 164, note 7.]

[14] Ven. Bæd. Hist. Eccles. Lib. II. cap. iii. p. 81. But there is here no note of time. Conf. ibid. p. 504.]

[15] He saith, 1567, 1570.]

[16] They have sithence, 1567, 1570.]

[17] As written, 1567, 1570, 1609.]

Augustine of England.

THE ABSTRACT OF CHRONICLES WRITTEN[1].

The year of our Lord.	The years of Augustine's abode in England.	
596	1	This year Augustine arriveth in England, and afterward continueth archbishop of Canterbury fifteen years. *Polydorus, Lib. iv.*[2]
597	2	
598	3	
599	4	
600	5	
601	6	This year Augustine receiveth his pall.
602	7	
603	8	
604	9	This year Augustine consecrateth Mellitus, bishop of London, and Justus, bishop of Rochester. *Beda, Lib. ii. cap. iii.*
605	10	This year the war was kept against the Britons, and the monks were slain at Bangor. *The Saxon Chronicle of Peterborough*[3]. This self-same year Augustine confirmed the king's charter, granted to the monastery of St Peter, in Canterbury.
606	11	This year Augustine baptizeth ten thousand people in the water of Swale. *Ranulph. Cestr.*[4]
607	12	
608	13	This year Augustine dieth, 7 *Calend. Junii. Matthæus Westmonasteriensis*[5].
609	14	
610	15	This year dieth Augustine, as it is written by Polydore, *Lib. iv.*[2] And therefore he was alive five years after the slaughter of the monks at Bangor.

Verily in the Old English Chronicle it is recorded, not only that this Augustine, the Italian monk, by his complaint caused the king of Kent to arm his people against the true and faithful Christians of the[6] country, then being in Wales, or, that he was alive at the time of the battle, but also that he was himself present in person going toward the same. The words be these: "Augustine came again, and told king Ethelbert that the Britons would not obey him. Wherefore the king was wroth, and sent to Elfrede the king of Northumberland to come to help him to distress the Britons of Wales. And (Augustine) the archbishop of Canterbury met with them at Leicester. The king of Leicester at that time was called Brocvale. He, being afraid of the two kings, fled out of the land, and came never again; and the two kings seized all his lands, and parted[7] them between themselves. And afterward they went towards Wales. The Britons heard of them, and sent men to them in their shirts, and barefoot, to ask mercy. But they were so cruel, that they had of them no pity, &c.[8]" Hereby it appeareth that this Augustine not only enkindled this cruel war, but also was alive and present in the army.

Augustine alive, and in company with the kings, marching towards the field.

Addition. ☞ *Addition.* ☞ But to put both you and your friends quite out of doubt,

[1] This table was much shorter and with fewer particulars in 1567.]

[2] Polyd. Verg. Angl. Hist. Basil. 1555. Lib. iv. p. 64. This author is not exact in specifying the date, but says: Haud multo post vir sanctissimus obiit, post annum quam sedere cœperat quintumdecimum.]

[3] Chronic. Saxon. Oxon. 1692. p. 25. The date here given is 607. Other authorities give other dates.]

[4] Polycron. Southw. 1527. Lib. v. cap. x. fol. 195. But the date there is 603; and the baptizing seems to be just before Augustine's death.]

[5] See below, page 782, note 1.]

[6] This, 1567.]

[7] Departed, 1567, 1570, 1609.]

[8] Booke of the Cronicles of engl. Westm. 1480. foll. e. 8, f. 1. See Vol. III. pages 164, 5, note 7.]

touching as well the truth hereof, as also the manifest and sensible corruption of your Beda, I will here shew you the copy of a charter granted by Ethelbert, the king of Kent, to the abbey of St Peter in Canterbury, and confirmed by Augustine the black monk, and archbishop there, the self-same year, when the slaughter of the monks, whereof we speak, was committed. Thus it beginneth: Augustine of England.

☒ *In nomine Domini [nostri] Jesu Christi. Omnem hominem, qui secundum Deum vivit, et remunerari a Deo sperat et optat, oportet ut puris precibus consensum hilariter... ex animo præbeat; quoniam certum est, tanto facilius ea quæ ipse a Domino poposcerit consequi posse, quanto et ipse libentius Deo aliquid concesserit. Quocirca ego Æthelbertus rex Cantiæ cum consensu venerabilis archiepiscopi Augustini, ac principum meorum, do et concedo Deo, in honorem*[9] *Sancti Petri, aliquam partem terræ juris mei, quæ jacet in oriente civitatis Doroberniæ; ita duntaxat, ut monasterium [ibi] construatur, et res, quæ supra memoravi, in potestate abbatis sit, qui ibi fuerit ordinatus. Igitur adjuro et præcipio in nomine Domini Dei omnipotentis, qui est omnium rerum Judex justus, ut præfata terra subscripta donatione sempiternaliter sit confirmata, ita ut nec mihi, nec alicui successorum meorum, regum, aut principum, sive cujuslibet conditionis dignitatibus et ecclesiasticis gradibus, de [ea] aliquid fraudare liceat. Si quis vero de hac donatione mea aliquid minuere aut irritum facere temptaverit, sit in præsenti separatus a sancta communione corporis et sanguinis Christi, et in die judicii, ob meritum malitiæ suæ, a consortio sanctorum omnium segregatus. Circumcincta est hæc terra his terminis; in oriente ecclesia S. Martini, in meridie viæ Othburhgat, in occidente et in aquilone Druting in civitate Doroverni, [in] anno ab incarnatione Christi DCV. indictione VIII.*

☒ *Ego Æthelbertus rex Cantiæ, sana mente, integroque consilio, donationem meam signo sanctæ crucis propria manu roboravi confirmavique. Ego Augustinus, gratia Dei archiepiscopus, testis consentiens libenter subscripsi. Ego Eadbaldus regis favi. Ego Hemigisilus dux laudavi. Ego Hocca comes consensi. Ego Augemundus referendarius approbavi. Ego Graphio comes benedixi. Ego Tangisilus regis optimas confirmavi. Ego Pinca consensi. Ego Geddi corroboravi*[10].

This charter is extant, and may be seen under authentical seals, and another likewise bearing the same date and like inscription. Mark well the year of our Lord, M. Harding, and compare well the times. This charter, as it is plain and evident to the eye, was sealed and dated in the year of our Lord 605; and Anno 605. the self-same year, as it appeareth by the Chronicle of Peterborough, the monks were slain, even the self-same year, I say, in which this charter was granted by the king, and confirmed by Augustine. Now, I beseech you, where is the credit of your vain story? How can it possibly be true, that your corrupted Beda saith, *Quamvis Augustino jam multo ante tempore ad cœlestia regna sublato?* If Augustine were alive the self-same year, how can it be true, I say, that he was dead so long before? Do ye[11] not see manifest forgery with your eyes? Is not this corruption so gross that ye may feel it with your fingers? If Augustine had been dead so long time, or so many years before, how could he confirm charters the same year present? Will you make him so holy a man, that he was able to write, and seal, and confirm charters, being dead? Your Beda, as he is by some of your side guilefully corrupted, saith Augustine was dead a great long while before the slaughter. But Augustine himself saith he was alive the self-same year when the slaughter was made. And that he proveth not by conjectures and guesses, as you do often, but by sufficient record under the king's great seal; and, I beseech you, what better evidence may be shewed? It was an easy matter, by interlarding a few words, to falsify the truth of a story; and there was good cause in regard of your Augustine's credit why ye should do it. But what cause can you imagine why any man in this point should corrupt and falsify the king's great seal? What gain could he have had therein? Or what

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[9 Honore, 1570, 1609.]

[10 Dugdale Monast. Anglic. Lond. 1817-30. Vol. I. pp. 126, 7; where *piis precibus, a Deo poposcerit, Athelbertus, in honore, donatione nostra aliquid minuerit, hiis terminis, ecclesie sancti Martini, via de Burgate, Drutingestrete acta in civitate Doroberne, indictione* VI. *Ego Edbaldus regis filius favi,* and *Hamigisilus.* But this charter seems to be a forgery. See Stillingfleet, Origines Britannicæ, by Pantin, Oxf. 1842. Pref. p. xvi. note h. and pp. 25, 6.]

[11 You, 1570, 1609.]

Matt. Westmonas. hope of gain? Or, if there had been cause never so great, yet what man could so easily have wrought it? Nay, Matthæus Westmonasteriensis, that wrote *Flores Historiarum*, saith that Augustine lived until the year of our Lord 608[1], and was alive three years after the monks were slain. If he were alive three years after the slaughter, how is it true that you say he was dead so long a while before the slaughter?

Now may it be your choice, M. Harding, whether ye will believe king Æthelbert and your Augustine himself under their own instruments and authentical seals, or else your story of Beda, manifestly corrupted and wrested quite from the original, as it is most easy to be seen.

Therefore, M. Harding, it shall henceforth be good, both for you and for your fellows, not to adventure so rashly in judgment before ye know. Thus much briefly, as answer unto them that so fain would have their Augustine acquitted of pride and cruelty.

The Apology, Chap. i. Division 2.

Pretence of Antiquity.

Wherein they do much like to the conjurers and[2] sorcerers now-a-days, who[3], working with devils, use to say they have their books and all their holy and hid mysteries from Athanasius, Cyprian, Moses, Abel, Adam, and from the archangel Raphael; to the end that[4] their cunning, being thought to come from[5] such patrons and founders, might be judged the more high and holy. After the same manner[6] these men, because they would have their own religion, which they themselves, and that not long sithence[7], have brought forth into the world, to be the more easily[8] and rather accepted of foolish persons, or of such as cast little whereabout[9] they or others[10] do go, they are wont to say they had it from Augustine, Hierome, Chrysostom, from the apostles, and from Christ himself. Full well know they that nothing is more in the people's favour, or better liketh the common sort, than these names.

M. HARDING.

Nay, sirs, yourselves may with more reason be likened to enchanters, necromancers, and witches. For, as they say that they have their books and their mysteries from those doctors and first fathers, and from Raphael the archangel, but cannot shew the delivery thereof by any succession from hand to hand, as for example who received the same from Raphael, from Adam, from Abel, &c. and who kept them from time to time; so ye say also, that ye have your gospel, and every part of your doctrine, from the apostles, from Christ, from the prophets, from the patriarchs, from heaven, from God's own bosom, who is "the Father[11] *of lights."* James i. *But ye cannot shew us your lawful succession, by whom, and by whose preaching, as by hands, it came down along from Christ and his apostles unto you. Where*[a] *lay your sacramentary doctrine hidden between the time of your prophet Zuinglius and your patriarch Berengarius? How, and by what delivery from hand to hand, continued the same those five hundred years? Shew us your succession. Where be your bishops? Where be your churches?...*

[a] It lay in the scriptures, and in the books of the holy fathers.

The doctrine which the catholics of our country hold and profess[b], *as well touching the blessed sacrament, as all other points of our faith, they have received it of their bishops, and they of their predecessors by order, until they reach to St Augustine: St Augustine received it of St Gregory; [b]he of others before him; [b]and they all one of another by continual ascent unto St Peter, who received it of Christ;*

[b] Untruths vain[12]. Read the answer.

[1 Anno gratiæ Dcviii ... Eodem anno beatus Augustinus Dorobernensis archiepiscopus primus, diem clausit extremum septimo Kl. Junii.—Matt. Westmon. Flores Hist. Lond. 1570. p. 208.]
[2 Doing much like to the enchanters and, Conf.]
[3 Which, Conf. and Def. 1567.]
[4 Because that, Conf.]
[5 Cunning coming from, Conf.]
[6 Fashion, Conf.]
[7 Since, Conf.]
[8 The easilier, Conf.]
[9 Whereabouts, Conf.]
[10 Other, Conf.]
[11 Is Father, Conf. and Def. 1567, 1570, 1609.]
[12 Impudent, 1567.]

Christ of God his Father[b]. *And this doctrine we find taught, and plainly set forth, in the books that* [c]*St Augustine, Hierome, Chrysostom, Ambrose, Basil, Cyprian, Dionyse, and the other holy fathers, have left to the posterity: and so they be witnesses of the truth of the doctrine which our bishops have taught us.* Pretence of Antiquity.

Preach ye, and cry ye out never so much, make so many laws in your parliaments as ye list, imbrue your swords in the blood of the catholic Christians, as ye cry for it in your pulpits; yet shall that rock whereon we stay be too hard[13] *for you; neither shall ye ever be able to overthrow the catholic church builded thereupon: for certain we are, that neither all your power, nor hell-gates, shall prevail against it...* Matt. xvi.

[c] Untruth. For all this is but a shew of empty names, and nothing in them.

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

Marcus Varro was wont to say, *Utile est civitatibus ut se viri fortes, etiamsi falsum sit, ex diis genitos esse credant*[14]: "It is very behoveful for cities and commonweals, that men of valiant courage believe themselves to be the children of the gods, yea, although indeed it be untrue." Unto which words St Augustine addeth these: *Hæc... sententia,... cernis, quam latum locum aperiat falsitati*[15]: "Ye see how large a scope this saying doth open to the maintenance of falsehood[16]." Many vain men, to advance[17] the nobility of their blood, have fet their petite degrees, some from Achilles, some from Æneas, some from Hercules, and some from the ark of Noe. The heretic Dioscorus, to get some credit to his doctrine, would seem to bring the descent thereof from all the ancient fathers of the church. For thus he said in the open council: *Ego testimonia habeo sanctorum patrum, Athanasii, Gregorii, Cyrilli, in multis locis.... Ego cum patribus ejicior: ego defendo patrum dogmata: non transgredior in aliquo; et horum testimonia, non simpliciter neque transitorie, sed in libris habeo*[18]: "I have the witness of the holy fathers, Athanasius, Gregorius, Cyrillus, in many places. I am thrown forth with the fathers: I defend the fathers' doctrine, I swerve not from them in any point: I have their witness, not barely, nor by the way, but in their books." August. de Civ. Lib. iii. cap. iv. Conc. Chalc. Act. 1. p. 767.

So said the heretic Eutyches: *Ego legi scripta beati Cyrilli, et sanctorum patrum, et sancti Athanasii*[19]: "I have read the books of Cyrillus, of the holy fathers, and of Athanasius." So said the heretic Carosus: *Ego secundum expositionem trecentorum decem et octo patrum, sic credo; sic baptizatus sum*[20]: "Thus do I believe, and thus was I baptized, according to the exposition of the three hundred and eighteen fathers in the council of Nice." Thus the Arian heretics alleged the authority of the ancient father Origen[21]: thus the Pelagian heretics alleged the authority of St Augustine: as upon occasion it hath been said before[22]. Conc. Chalc. Act. 1. p. 793. Conc. Chalc. Act. 4. p. 877. Socr. Lib. iv. cap. xxvi.

Even with such truth, M. Harding, are you wont to blase the arms of your religion. There is no toy so vain or so fabulous but ye are able by your cunning to bring it lineally, either from Christ himself or from his apostles, or from one or other of the ancient fathers. The bishop of Sidon, in the late diet of the empire holden at Augusta, avouched openly that ye had your whole canon from the apostles of Christ, word by word, even as it is peevishly written in your mass-books[23]. Andreas Barbatius proveth the antiquity of the cardinals of Rome by these words, written in the first book of the Kings: *Domini .... sunt cardines terræ; et posuit super eos orbem*[24]: "The corners of the earth be the Lord's; and upon them he hath set the world." Abbot Panormitane saith: *Cardinalatus est de jure divino: quia papa ... per sacerdotes Leviticos intelligit...* Anno 1548. 1 Sam. ii. Polyd. de Invent. Lib. iv. cap. ix. Extr. qui filii sint legitimi per Vener. Abb.

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[13] Hearde, Def. 1570.]

[14] M. Ter. Varr. Op. Amst. 1623. Fragm. p. 45; where *utile esse.*]

[15] August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. De Civ. Dei, Lib. III. cap. iv. Tom. VII. col. 61; where *utile esse,* and *quæ* for *hæc.*]

[16] Falshead, 1567, 1570.]

[17] Avance, 1567, 1570.]

[18] Concil. Calched. Act. I. in Concil. Stud. Labb. et Cossart. Lut. Par. 1671-2. Tom. IV. col. 181.]

[19] Concil. Constant. Act. VII. ibid. in eod. col. 228.]

[20] Concil. Calched. Act. IV. in eod. col. 530. Conf. Crabb. Concil. Col. Agrip. 1551. Tom. I. pp. 767, 92, 877.]

[21] Socr. in Hist. Eccles. Script. Amst. 1695-1700. Lib. IV. cap. xxvi. p. 198.]

[22] See Vol. I. pages 83, 4.]

[23] M. Flac. Illyr. De Sect. &c. Basil. 1565. p. 109. See Vol. III. page 235, note 11.]

[24] Polyd. Verg. De Rer. Invent. Amst. 1671. Lib. IV. cap. ix. p. 262.]

cardinales[1]: "The cardinalship standeth by the law of God; for the pope by the Levitical priests understandeth his cardinals." Hosius seemeth to say, that monks have their beginning even from the apostles[2]; meaning thereby, as one of your companions there doth, in favour, I trow, of religion, that Christ himself was the abbat. For thus he saith: *Christus dux et exemplar vitæ monasticæ*[3]: "Christ was the captain and samplar of monks' life." And yet the same man afterward, as having forgotten his former dream, utterly displaceth Christ, and giveth the whole honour hereof unto Elias and Elizæus. These be his words: *Elias et Elizæus duces instituti Benedictini*[4]: "Elias and Elizæus were the captains of St Benet's order;" that is to say, they were black monks. By like wisdom ye would seem to fetch your holy water from Elizæus, your cardinal's hat from St Hierome, your monk's cowl from St Augustine. This was sometime a jolly good way to win credit, specially whiles whatsoever ye said the people was ready to give you ear. So the old Arcades said, in commendation of their antiquity, that they were a day or two elder than the moon. Saturnus being in Italy, for that he was a stranger, and no man knew from whence he came, therefore was called *Filius Cœli*, and was thought to come from heaven. Romulus and Alexander, for that they were born in bastardy, and never knew their own fathers, therefore, to magnify the nobility of their blood, would be called the children of the gods, the one of Mars, the other of Jupiter.

Hos. in Confess. Pet. cap. lxxxviii. Much hereof is alleged before. Copi Dial. 2. p. 194.

Copi Dial. 2. p. 284.

προσελη-νaῖοι.

With such truth and fidelity, M. Harding, your wont is to paint out all the parts and members of your doctrine. For be it never so vain or childish, or lately devised, yet ye bear us in hand, that your "predecessors received the same (as you say) of their bishops; and they of others their predecessors by order, until they reach unto[5] your Augustine," the monk of Rome, whom ye have full worthily made a saint: your "Augustine (ye say) received the same of Gregory; Gregory of others before him; and they all one of another by continual ascent unto St Peter; and Peter of Christ; and Christ of God his Father." No herald could lightly have said more in the matter. I trow ye would prove, by this ascent and descent, that God the Father made holy water, and said mass.

Indeed, as well herein, as also in your empty names of Augustine, Hierome, Chrysostom, Ambrose, Basil, Cyprian, Dionyse, &c.; as I told you once before, ye bring us only a vain shew of painted boxes, and nothing in them. For in all these holy fathers where find you either your private mass, or your half communion, or your accidents without subject, or the rest of your like vanities, wherewith ye have so long time deceived the world? Leave your dissimulation; set apart your conjectures and blind guesses; and, for your credit's sake, once shew us these things in the ancient holy fathers, and shew them plainly and indeed, that we may think there is some weight in your word.

De Con. Dist. 2. Peract. in Gloss.

Cuth. Tonst. de Euch. Lib. i. p. 45. Anno 1215. Erasm. 1 Cor. vii.

But your own gloss, speaking of the ministration of the holy communion, which now in your churches in a manner is wholly abolished, saith thus: *Hoc antiquum est. Nam... hodie videtur* [*esse*] *relictum*[6]: "This was the old order, that the people should receive together[7]. For, as it seemeth, now it is left." Doctor Tonstal saith, it was no heresy to deny your transubstantiation before your late council of Lateran[8]. Erasmus, whose judgment, I think, ye will not refuse, saith thus: *In synaxi transubstantiationem sero definivit ecclesia*[9]: "In the holy ministration it was long and very late ere[10] the church determined the article of transubstantiation." All this notwithstanding, ye[11] blush not to say that both these, and all other your fantasies, have been conveyed unto you by most certain

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[1] Panorm. sup. Quart. Decretal. Lugd. 1534. Tit. xvii. cap. 13. fol. 41. 2; where *sit de jure divino cum papa.*]

[2] Hos. Op. Col. 1584. Confess. Fid. cap. lxxxviii. Tom. I. p. 335. See Vol. III. page 235, note 12.]

[3] Copi Dial. Sex, Antv. 1566. Dial. II. cap. iv. p. 194.]

[4] Id. ibid. cap. xxv. p. 284. See Vol. III. page 235, notes 13, 14.]

[5] To, 1567, 1570, 1609.]

[6] Corp. Jur. Canon. Lugd. 1624. Decret. Gratian. Decr. Tert. Pars, De Consecr. Dist. ii. Gloss. in can. 10, col. 1917; where *est antiquum.*]

[7] These six words are not in 1567.]

[8] Tonst. de Verit. Corp. et Sang. Dom. in Euch. Lut. 1554. Lib. I. fol. 46. See Vol. I. page 549, note 8.]

[9] Erasm. Op. Lugd. Bat. 1703-6. In Epist. ad Cor. I. cap. vii. Tom. VI. col. 696.]

[10] Long ere, 1567.]

[11] Nothwithstanding M. Harding ye, 1567, 1570.]

succession, from hand to hand, from your English Augustine, from Gregory, from the fathers, from the apostles, from Christ, and from the bosom of God himself.

THE APOLOGY, Chap. i. Division 3.

But how if the things which these men are so desirous to have seem new be found of greatest antiquity? Contrariwise, how if all the things well-nigh which they so greatly set forth[12] with the name of antiquity, having been well and thoroughly examined, be at length found to be but new, and devised of very late? Soothly to say, no man that hath[13] a true and right consideration would think the Jews' laws and ceremonies to be new indeed, for[14] all Haman's accusation: for they were graven in very ancient tables of greatest[15] antiquity. And, although many did take Christ to have swerved from Abraham and the old fathers, and to have brought in a certain new religion in his own name, yet answered he them directly: "If ye believed Moses, ye would believe me also." For my doctrine is not so new as you make it. For Moses, an author of greatest antiquity, and one to whom ye give all honour, "hath spoken of me." St[16] Paul likewise, though the gospel of Jesus Christ be of many counted to be but new, yet hath it (saith he) a[17] testimony most old both "of the law and of the prophets.[18]" As for our doctrine, which we may more rightly[19] call Christ's catholic doctrine, it is so far off from new, that God, who is above all most ancient, and the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, hath left the same unto us in the gospel, in the prophets and apostles' works, being monuments of greatest age: so that no man can now think our doctrine to be new, unless the same think either the prophets' faith, or the gospel, or else Christ himself, to be new[20].

THE APOLOGY, Chap. ii. Division 1 and 2.

And as for their religion, if it be of so long continuance as they would have men ween it is, why do they not prove it so by the examples of the primitive church, and by the fathers and councils of old times? Why lieth so ancient a cause thus long in the dust, destitute of any[21] advocate? Fire and sword they have had always ready at hand; but as for the old councils and fathers, all mum, not a word. They did surely against all reason, to begin first with these so bloody and extreme means, if they could have found other more easy and gentle ways[22].

And, if they trust so fully to antiquity, and use no dissimulation, why did John Clement, a countryman of ours, but few years past, in the presence of certain honest men and of good credit, tear and cast into the fire certain leaves of Theodoret the most ancient father and a Greek bishop[23], wherein he plainly and evidently taught, that the nature

[12] Omit, Conf. and Def. 1567, 1570, 1609.]
[13] Had, Conf.]
[14] New for, Conf.]
[15] Most, Conf.]
[16] Conf. omits *St.*]
[17] The, Conf.]
[18] And prophets, Conf.]
[19] May rightlier, Conf.]
[20] Jewel omits Harding's reply to this paragraph, as very short and containing nothing worthy of notice.]
[21] An, Conf. and Def. 1567, 1570, 1609.]
[22] In his reply to this paragraph, Harding enumerates many authors of various countries, who have, he says, brought "scriptures, fathers, and councils," "for the catholic belief."]
[23] The John Clement here referred to is most probably the person of that name who was one of

of bread in the communion is[1] not changed or[2] abolished, or brought to nothing? And this did he of purpose, because he thought there was none[3] other copy thereof to be found.

M. HARDING.

... Touching the matter ye[4] have devised upon M. Clement[5], he doth not only[6] deny it in[7] word, that ever he burnt or otherwise destroyed any leaf of Theodoritus, but also declareth, by the whole order of his life, and by special regard and love he beareth to the tongue which that learned bishop wrote in, that he hath ever been, and yet is, far from the will to burn or destroy any scrap, syllable, or letter of Greek, much more certain leaves of the learned father Theodoritus, where any such thing was written, as you imagine. Nay, will ye have the troth[8]? In very deed he saith, and by such way as a godly and grave man may avouch a truth[8] protesteth, that he never had hitherto any part of that book, neither in Greek or in Latin in written hand...

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

This report was made in the presence and hearing of M. Peter Martyr, and sundry other learned men, of whom certain are yet alive. The reporter was both a learned man and a grave father, and not long sithence a bishop in England, who said he was present and saw the thing done with his eyes. More to say hereof I am not able.

THE APOLOGY, Chap. ii. Division 3.

Vow, simple and solemn.

Why saith Albertus Pighius, that the ancient father St[9] Augustine had a wrong opinion of original sin[10]; and that he erred and lied, and used false logic, as touching the case of matrimony, concluded after a vow made; which matrimony St Augustine[11] affirmeth to be perfect[12] indeed, and that it may not be[13] undone again[14], the vow and promise notwithstanding[15]?

Dist. 27. Quidam. August. de Bon. Vid. cap. x.

M. HARDING.

[a] M. Harding refuseth St Augustine's authority. [b] This untruth is over cold and vain. For M. Harding well knoweth the substance of his doctrine standeth not by the doctors.

[a] *We never took ourselves bound to any private opinion of whatsoever doctor; for all our faith is catholic, that is to say, universal, such as not one doctor alone[b], but the universal number of doctors have taught, and christian people have received. If in a secret point of learning St Augustine or St Cyprian teach singularly, we follow them not. Much less do we bind ourselves to maintain whatsoever Albertus Pighius hath written. Our doctrine of original sin is to be read[16] in the fifth session of the late Tridentine councell[17]. If Pighius dissent from that, he dissenteth from us. But, if he stand only upon some point not yet determined by the church, his opinion may be tolerated until the church define that question. When you note the point (for there are many points in that doctrine), then we will shew you further our mind herein[18].*

Sub Paulo III.

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cardinal Wolsey's lecturers at Oxford. He practised physic, and died at Mechlin, 1572. See Wood's Athen. Oxon. Lond. 1813-20. Vol. I. cols. 401, 2.]

[1 Was, Conf.]

[2 *Or* is not in Conf.]

[3 No, Conf. and Def. 1567.]

[4 You, Conf. and Def. 1567, 1570.]

[5 You have devised upon him, Conf.]

[6 Doth only, Def. 1570, 1609.]

[7 Deny in, Conf.]

[8 Trouth, Conf. and Def. 1567; trothe, Def. 1570.]

[9 Conf. omits *St.*]

[10 See below, notes 21, &c.]

[11 Which Augustine, Conf.]

[12 Perfite, Def. 1567, 1570.]

[13 Perfect matrimony indeed, and cannot be, Conf.]

[14 Quidam nubentes post votum asserunt adulteros esse; ego autem dico, quod graviter peccant, qui tales dividunt.—August. in Corp. Jur. Canon. Lugd. 1624. Decret. Gratian. Decr. Prim. Pars, Dist. xxvii. can. 2. col. 133. These words are not found in Augustine. But conf. Op. Par. 1679-1700. Lib. de Bon. Vid. cap. x. 13. Tom. VI. col. 375. See below, page 788.]

[15 Conf. and Def. 1567, omit the last five words.]

[16 Readen, Conf. and Def. 1567, 1570.]

[17 Concil. Trident. Sess. v. in Concil. Stud. Labb. et Cossart. Lut. Par. 1671-2. Tom. XIV. cols. 751, &c.]

[18 Therein, Conf. and Def. 1567, 1570.]

Vow, simple and solemn.

The marriage, which is made after a simple vow of chastity, standeth in his force by reason that there is more in marriage[19] *than was in the bare vow.* [c]*For in the simple vow there is nothing but a promise made to God, without any deliverance of that thing which was promised: but in marriage the man and woman, by present acceptation of each other's bond, do make the matter to extend beyond the nature of a promise. Therefore, if likewise the vow made to God were not a simple promise, but also a delivering of the thing promised, then cannot the marriage following make void the vow, which was not only promised, but also performed*[d]. *The performance is, when he that voweth doth profess himself in the hands of his superior, by taking the habit of some religion, or by receiving holy orders of the bishop; for in that solemn act he delivereth up all his own right and power, so that now he is not master of himself to give his body to any person in marriage or otherwise. You shall*[20] *know by the law of nature, if you would consider it, that, if I promise a horse to one man, and afterward promise the same and deliver him to another, that the second man is true lord of that horse, although I have done injury to him to whom I made the first promise: for the promise with the delivery is more vailable to transfer my right in the horse, than my promise alone. Even so it is a great sin to break a simple vow of chastity made to God...*

[c] Promise made unto God without delivery. A folly of all follies.

[d] A vow made before the bishop or abbat is of more force than a vow made before God alone.

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

How lightly your captain-general, Albertus Pighius, weigheth the authority of St Augustine, it may appear by his words. For thus he writeth: *Quod... non solum incerta, sed etiam falsa sit... Augustini sententia... ita mihi demonstrari posse videtur*[21]: "Thus methinketh I am able to prove that St Augustine's judgment herein is not only uncertain, but also false." And again afterward in the conclusion: *Quod Augustini sententia non solum incerta, sed etiam certo falsa sit, satis mihi demonstratum videtur*[22]: "That St Augustine's judgment is not only uncertain, but also certainly false, methinketh I have sufficiently proved." And again; *Non multum me movet Augustini sententia: mihi non placet Augustini ea de re definitio et sententia*[23]: "St Augustine's judgment doth not greatly move me: I like not St Augustine's determination and judgment touching this matter." And again: *Ego omnium,... non solum adversariorum, sed etiam catholicorum... receptas in scholis redarguo sententias*[24]: "I do reprove the judgments, not only of our adversaries, but also of the catholics allowed in the schools." For these causes Ruardus Tapper of Lovaine and Liriensis of Portugal have namely written against Pighius[25]. And, forasmuch as ye are desirous to have the point noted wherein Pighius so much misliketh St Augustine's judgment, Dominicus[26] à Soto, your own doctor, noteth it thus: *Pighius de hoc male audit, quasi peccata in nobis originalia omnino inficietur*[27]: "Pighius is ill reported of, as a man that utterly denieth original sin." Thus your doctors weigh St Augustine's authority, lighter or heavier, as they list.

Alb. Pigh. in 1 Controv. De Pecc. Orig.

Alb. Pigh. in ead. Controv.

Ruard. Tapp. Lirien. Episc. Lusit.

Pet. a Soto, de Nat. et Grat.

The matter of marriage after a vow is blown away with a silly distinction, of a vow simple and a vow double, which ye commonly call a solemn vow; and all the same is substantially and clearly proved by the promise and delivery of a horse. For this example of all others liked you best[28]. Surely, M. Harding, a very simple creature, and somewhat inferior to a horse, would hardly be tied to such distinctions. For the better clearing hereof, that ye call a simple vow, that is made before God alone; that double or solemn, that is made in the presence of the bishop or abbat. Now, it is plainly confessed by your own

[19] In the marriage, Conf.]

[20] Should, Conf. and Def. 1567, 1570.]

[21] Alb. Pigh. Explic. Cathol. Contr. Par. 1586. Controv. I. fol. 3. 2; where *sed et falsa.*]

[22] ... de Augustini sententia,...non solum, quod certa non sit,...imo, quod certo falsa sit, mihi satis demonstratum videtur.—Ibid. fol. 7. 2.]

[23] Nec mihi placet &c. sententia,... Augustini vero, cur non multum me moveat diversa sententia, inde est.—Ibid. foll. 33, 5.]

[24] ... qui omnium &c. coarguimus sententias.—Ibid. fol. 28.]

[25] Ruard. Tapper. Op. Col. Agrip. 1582-3. Explic. Art. Vigint. De Pecc. Orig. Art. ii. Tom. I. p. 44. The editor has not met with the works of the other author named.]

[26] Petrus, 1567.]

[27] Horum primicerius habetur Albertus Pighius. ...Qui nihilo secius male de hoc audit &c.—Domin. Soto De Nat. et Grat. Par. 1549. Lib. I. cap. ix. fol. 30. 2.]

[28] This sentence is not in 1567.]

Vow, simple and solemn.

doctors, that your simple vow, be it never so simple, yet bindeth you as straitly before God as the double. For pope Cœlestinus saith: *Votum simplex apud Deum non minus ligat quam solenne*[1]: "The simple vow before God bindeth no less than the solemn." And, touching the promise and delivery of your horse, Johannes Scotus saith: *Alia ratio est, quod vovens solenniter mittit in possessionem illum, cui vovet solenniter; vovens autem private, non, sed quasi promittit. Sed hæc* [*ratio*] *valet minus quam secunda; quia omnia,* [*quæ*] *intrinseca* [*sunt*] *voto, ut* [*votum*] *respicit actum voluntatis, per quem obligat se vovendo et transfert dominium*[2] *suum in alterum, ... omnia, inquam, ista sunt æqualia hinc inde. Igitur non magis datio hic, quam ibi; nec promissio ibi, quam hic*[3]. "Another reason that they use is this: That he that maketh a solemn vow putteth him to whom he so voweth in possession. But so doth not he that maketh a simple vow, but only giveth his promise. This reason is worse and weaker than the second: for all things that be of the substance of the vow (as a vow concerneth the act of the mind, whereby the mind bindeth itself by vowing, and transposeth the ownership of itself unto another), all these things, I say, are of like weight and equal of either side. Therefore there is no more performance of promise in the solemn vow than in the simple, nor more promise in the simple vow than in the solemn." Thus you see, M. Harding, with great travail and much ado ye have found a difference without difference. Cardinal Cajetan saith: *Ejusdem speciei est transgressio* [*voti*] *solennis et simplicis; et differunt solum secundum magis* [*grave*] *et minus grave*[4]: "The breaking of a vow simple and a vow solemn is of one kind or nature; and the difference is only in more grievous and less grievous," that is, that the one is more grievous and offensive than the other[5].

Extr. Qui Clerici et voventes. Rursus. Scot. in iv. Sent. Dist. 38. Quæst. 1.

Cajet. in Thom. Secund. Secundæ. Quæst. 88. Art. 7.

Therefore Thomas of Aquine himself, the first father, as it appeareth, of this distinction, saith thus: *Videtur, quod ecclesia possit dispensare in voto continentiæ solennizato per susceptionem sacri ordinis*[6]: "It seemeth that the church may dispense with a vow of chastity solemnized by the receiving of holy orders."

Thomas in Secund. Secundæ. Quæst. 88. Art. 11.[7]

And this is it that St Augustine saith: *Qui dicunt talium nuptias non esse nuptias, sed potius adulteria, mihi non videntur satis acute ac diligenter considerare quid dicant*[8]:" "They that say the marriage of such men or women" (as have vowed chastity) "is no marriage at all, but rather advoutry" (as M. Harding and his fellows have said[9]), "seem unto me not to consider discreetly or advisedly what they say." Thus therefore, M. Harding, notwithstanding your simple or double vow, St Augustine saith unto you, Ye speak unadvisedly and undiscreetly, and understand not what you say. But of this whole matter we have entreated before more at large.

August. de Bon. Vid. cap. x.

The Apology, Chap. ii. Division 4.

Also, when they did of late put in print the ancient father Origen's work upon the gospel of St John[10], why left they quite out the whole sixth chapter, wherein it is likely, yea rather of very surety, that the said Origen had written many things concerning the sacrament of the holy communion contrary to these men's minds, and would rather put forth that book mangled[11] than full and perfect[12], for fear it should reprove

Liber hodie extat et circumfertur mutilus.

[1 ...cum simplex votum apud Deum non minus obliget, quam solemne.—Cœlest. III. in Corp. Jur. Canon. Lugd. 1624. Decretal. Gregor. IX. Lib. IV. Tit. vi. cap. 6. col. 1476.]

[2 Dominum, 1570.]

[3 J. Duns Scot. Op. Lugd. 1639. In Lib. IV. Sentent. Dist. xxxviii. Quæst. Unic. Tom. IX. p. 778.]

[4 Aquinat. Op. Venet. 1595. Sec. Secund. Quæst. lxxxviii. Caj. Comm. in Art. 7. Tom. XI. fol. 215. 2; where *est speciei.*]

[5 The last thirteen words are not in 1567.]

[6 Id. ibid. Quæst. lxxxviii. Art. 11. fol. 218. 2; where *quod per ecclesiam possit dispensari.*]

[7 This reference is inserted from 1567, 1570.]

[8 August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. Lib. de Bon. Vid. cap. x. 13. Tom. VI. col. 375; where *non mihi.*]

[9 The words within the parenthesis are not in 1567.]

[10 Of John, Conf.]

[11 *Rather* follows *mangled*, Conf.]

[12 Perfit, Conf. and Def. 1567, 1570.]

them and their partners of their error? Call ye this trusting to antiquity, when ye rent in pieces, keep back, maim, and burn the ancient fathers[13]? Origen.

M. HARDING.

A wise man affirmeth no more than he knoweth; a good man no more than standeth with charity; a learned man in matters of weight no more than he can avouch by evident reasons, *sure proofs, or *sufficient authorities. This defender, charging the catholics with mangling of Origen upon St John's Gospel, as though of purpose they had left out the sixth chapter, which he imagineth to contain their sacramentary doctrine contrary to the catholic faith; forasmuch as he is uncertain hereof, and thereby noteth a great untruth in the setters forth of that work, neither by any means is able to prove the same, he sheweth himself a fool, a slanderer, and an unlearned man. We are like, I perceive, to hear of the faults they know by us, sith that they burden us with that[14] they know not, and for the same can pretend but a slender conjecture. But, sir Defender, why complain you not of the leaving out of other chapters and parts of that work, as well as of the sixth chapter? For,* * Hereby M. Harding shaketh much the credit of his own learning.

In Prologo 39. Homil. Origenis in Lucam. *whereas Origen wrote upon John nine and thirty tomes, as St Hierome witnesseth[15], the Latin translation printed in Venice hath but 32, lacking the seven last tomes. Neither be all they whole and perfect[16], but many of them maimed and mangled[17]...*

What manner a doctrine of the blessed sacrament he hath uttered upon the sixth chapter of John, and how catholic he was in that point, it appeareth by divers his other works, that you have no cause to belie him in that you never saw. For the truth of Christ's body in the sacrament, his testimonies be evident.

Hom. 13. Exod.[18] *For credit's sake here will I recite a couple. In one place he saith thus: "Ye know, which have been wont to be present at the divine mysteries, how that when ye take the body of our Lord, ye keep it with all wariness[19] and reverence, that no whit thereof fall down, that nothing of the consecrated gift miscarry. For ye believe yourselves to be guilty, and right well do ye so believe, if by negligence ought fall down[20]." In another place, writing upon the centurion's*

Hom. 5. in Div. Evang. Loc. *words spoken to Christ, Matt. viii.: "When (saith he) thou takest that holy meat, and that uncorrupt dainty, when thou enjoyest that bread and cup of life, thou eatest and drinkest the body and blood of our Lord, then our Lord entereth under thy[21] roof[22]."...*

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

We lay not in the mangling of this ancient father as matter of sufficient evidence, but only as a great conjecture of your corruption, referring the judgment thereof unto the reader. Certainly, M. Harding, we have good cause many ways to doubt your dealing; but in nothing more than in the handling of the fathers. Ye remember how wickedly pope Zosimus, the better to colour his ambition, long sithence corrupted the Nicene council[23]. Neither can ye forget what trifles and fabulous vanities ye have lately sent us abroad under the old smoky names of Abdias, Leontius, Amphilochius, Hippolytus, and Clemens, whom ye so solemnly call the "apostles' fellow." In these uncleanly conveyances to any wise man there can appear no simple meaning. Notwith- Concil. Aphr. cap. 105.

[13 Fathers' works, Conf.]

[14 That that, Def. 1567, 1570.]

[15 Orig. Op. Lat. Basil. 1545. Hieron. Prolog. in Explan. Luc. Tom. II. p. 241.]

[16 Perfite, Conf. and Def. 1567, 1570.]

[17 Harding adds that Ambrosius Ferrarius the translator took great pains to search for the missing portions of Origen's works. Conf. Cave, Script. Eccles. Hist. Lit. Oxon. 1740-3. Vol. I. p. 118; Oudin. Comm. de Script. Eccles. Lips. 1722. Tom. I. cols. 241, &c.]

[18 In Exod. Conf. and Def. 1567, 1570.]

[19 Wareness, Conf. and Def. 1567, 1570.]

[20 ... nostis qui divinis mysteriis interesse consuestis, quomodo cum suscipitis corpus Domini, cum omni cautela et veneratione servatis, ne ex eo parum quid decidat, ne consecrati muneris aliquid dilabatur. Reos enim vos creditis, et recte creditis, si quid inde per negligentiam decidat.—Orig. Op. Par. 1733-59. In Exod. Hom. xiii. 3. Tom. II. p. 176.]

[21 They, Conf. and Def. 1567.]

[22 Orig. Op. Lat. Basil. 1545. In Divers. Hom. v. Tom. II.p. 308. See Vol. I. page 536, note 2.]

[23 Concil. Aphr. in Crabb. Concil. Col. Agrip. 1551. Epistt. ad Bonifac. et Cœlest. capp. 101, 5. Tom. I. pp. 518, &c.]

standing, ye thought it good policy to deceive the world by any shift or shadow of ancient fathers.

What Origen thought of the words of Christ in the sixth chapter of St John, it is easy to conjecture by that he hath written otherwheres. Upon the Leviticus he writeth thus: *Est... et in evangelio litera quæ occidit:... Si enim secundum literam sequaris illud quod dictum est, Nisi comederitis carnem Filii hominis, &c. ea litera occidit*[1]: "Even in the gospel there is a letter that killeth. For, whereas Christ saith, 'Unless ye eat the flesh of the Son of man,' &c., if ye take the same according to the letter, that letter killeth." This was Origen's judgment of the sacrament; and the same in those days was counted catholic.

Orig. in Levit. Hom. 7.

Ye reply, Origen saith: "When ye take the body of our Lord, ye keep it with all wariness and reverence, that no part thereof fall down." And again: "When thou takest that holy meat, then our Lord entereth under thy roof." Both these places in my former reply are fully answered[2]. But what catholic doctrine, M. Harding, can ye pick out of these words? What transubstantiation? What real presence? What accidents without subject? Ye will say, Origen calleth the sacrament Christ's body. So doth Christ himself: so doth Paul: so do all the ancient fathers: so do we ourselves[3]; because it is the sacrament of Christ's body. Your own gloss saith, as it hath been often alleged: *Vocatur corpus Christi, id est, significat* [*corpus Christi*][4]: "It is called the body of Christ, that is to say, it signifieth the body of Christ." But the people (ye say) received it warily, and with reverence. So do they now, even in those churches that you most mislike withal.

Orig. in. Exod. Hom. 13.

Orig. in Diver. Evang. Loc. Hom. 5.

De Consecr. Dist. 2. Hoc est.

He saith further: "When thou receivest that holy meat, then our Lord entereth under thy roof." And what great matter think you to win hereby? Even in the same place Origen saith: *Intrat etiam nunc Dominus sub tectum credentium duplici figura vel more*[5]: "Even now the Lord entereth under the roof of the faithful after two manners or sorts. For when the holy and godly bishops enter into your house, even then through them our Lord entereth." Will ye conclude hereof that the bishop is transubstantiate into Christ? Or, that Christ is really and substantially dwelling in him? This is an allegory, M. Harding, or a mystical kind of speech, wherein, as you know, that learned father was much delighted. The roof that he meaneth is not material, but spiritual, that is to say, not the body of man, but the soul; like as also the coming or entering of Christ into the same is not bodily, but only spiritual.

August. Quæst. Evang. Lib. ii. cap. xxxiii.

So St Augustine saith: *Prædicant Christum, et eum annuntiando venire faciunt in exhausta fame viscera filii esurientis*[6]: "They preach Christ, and by preaching cause him to come into the bowels of the hungry child, wasted with famine."

August. de Temp. Serm. 74.

Likewise, again he saith of the centurion: *Tecto non recipiebat* [*Christum*]; *corde recipiebat: quanto humilior, tanto capacior, tanto plenior*[7]: "He received not Christ into his house: he received him into his heart: the more humble, the more room had he to receive him, and the fuller he was."

Chrysost. in Psal. 41.[9]

So saith Chrysostom: *Qui vocant David cum cithara, intus Christum per ipsum vocant*[8]: "They that call in David with his harp, by mean of him call in Christ."

Chrysost. in Matt. Hom. 46. in Op. Imperf. [11]

Again he saith: *Christus aut suscipitur aut occiditur apud nos. Si enim credimus verbis ejus, suscipimus eum, et generamus in nobis*[10]: "Christ either is received or slain within us. For, if we believe his word, we receive him, and beget him within us." In such sort St Hierome writeth unto Paula: *Ad talem clemens*

[1 Orig. Op. Par. 1733-59. In Levit. Hom. vii. 5. Tom. II. p. 225; where *in evangeliis, sequaris hoc ipsum quod, nisi manducaveritis carnem meam,* and *occidit hæc litera.*]

[2 See Vol. I. pages 150, 1, 536, 7.]

[3 These five words are not in 1567.]

[4 Corp. Jur. Canon. Lugd. 1624. Decret. Gratian. Decr. Tert. Pars, De Consecr. Dist. ii. Gloss. in can. 48. col. 1937; where *Christi corpus.*]

[5 Orig. Op. Lat. Basil. 1545. In Divers. Hom. v. Tom. II. p. 308. See Vol. II. page 760, note 1.]

[6 ...nisi ut prædicent eum, et annuntiando venire faciant in &c.—August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. Quæst. Evang. Lib. II. Quæst. xxxiii. 5. Tom. III. Pars II. col. 260.]

[7 Id. Serm. lxxvii. 13. de Verb. Evang. Matt. xv. Tom. V. col. 423; where *corde receperat.*]

[8 Chrysost. Op. Par. 1718-38. Expos. in Psalm. xli. Tom. V. p. 133.]

[9 41 is added from 1567, 1570.]

[10 Id. Op. Imperf. in Matt. Hom. xlvi. ex cap. xxiv. Tom. VI. p. cxcvii.]

[11 The latter part of this reference is not in 1567, 1570.]

ingreditur Jesus, et dicit, Quid ploras? Non est mortua puella, sed dormit[12]: "Into such a one Jesus entereth mild and gracious, and saith, 'Why weepest thou? Thy damsel is not dead, but lieth asleep.'" Images painted in Churches.

This manner of speech, as I said before, is spiritual, or mystical, and may not be taken according to the outward sound of the letter. So saith St Hierome: *Secundum mysticos intellectus quotidie Jesus ingreditur [in] templum Patris*[13]: "According to the mystical understanding, Christ entereth daily into the temple of his Father." In this sense Origen saith, "Christ entereth into our house:" which phrase, writing upon St Matthew, he expresseth in plainer manner: *Tradunt et ejiciunt ab anima sua Salvatorem et verbum veritatis quod erat in eis*[14]: "They betray and throw forth our Saviour from out of their soul (as do all apostates and renegates, that deny the known truth of God), and they betray the word of truth that was within them." All this we grant, M. Harding; and all this may stand without either your transubstantiation, or your real presence[15].

Hieron. ad Paul. de obit. Bles. Hieron. in Matt. Lib. iii. cap. xxi.

Orig. in Matt. Tract. 35.

The Apology, Chap. iii. Division 1 and 2.

It is a world to see how well-favouredly, and how towardly, touching religion, these men agree with the fathers, of whom they use to vaunt they be their own good[16].

The old council Eliberine made a decree, that nothing that is honoured of the people should be painted in the churches[17].

M. HARDING.

Elib. Conc. cap. 36. *The words of that provincial council be*[18] *these: "It is thought good that paintings be not in the church; that what is worshipped or adored, it be not painted on walls." This express prohibition of painting, and that nought be painted in church-walls, that is worshipped or adored, may seem both to presuppose a former use of such paintings, and also to allow the other sort of images. Whether it do, or no, *it forceth not greatly. The seventh general council, assembled at Nice against the image-breakers, hath not only allowed the *devout use of images commonly used in the churches of christian people, but also condemned all those that throw them down, and maintain the contrary opinion. Now we are taught that a provincial council ought to give place to a general....*

* It forceth not greatly.
* Devout use of images.

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

The painting of images in church-walls was forbidden in the council holden at Eliberis, or Granado, in Spain: *Ergo*, say you, such images were used before that council. All this may well be granted without prejudice. But ye see plainly they were forbidden in that council. One saith: *Ex malis moribus bonæ leges ortæ sunt:* "Of ill manners came good laws." Men used (ye say) before that time to paint images in church-walls: but this use was naught; and therefore the council decreed against it; and that, as it may be gathered by the words, for fear of idolatry.

But you say, "The second general Nicene council allowed well the devout use of images. And a general council ought to take place before a provincial; for that in a general council there are many bishops, in a provincial there are but few." Thus, I see, ye weigh your religion, not by truth, but by company. Howbeit, this rule is very loose, and may soon deceive you.

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[12] Hieron. Op. Par. 1693-1706. Ad Paul. Epist. xxii. Tom. IV. Pars II. col. 59.]

[13] Id Comm. Lib. III. in Matt. cap. xxi. Tom. IV. Pars I. col. 97.]

[14] ... ut tradant et ejiciant ab &c.—Orig. Op. Par. 1733-59. In Matt. Comm. Ser. 78. Tom. III. p. 895.]

[15] This sentence is not in 1567.]

[16] Harding's answer to this paragraph, which is very short, is omitted by bishop Jewel.]

[17] Concil. Elib. can. 36. in Concil. Stud. Labb. et Cossart. Lut. Par. 1671-2. Tom. I. col. 974. See Vol. I. page 70, note 1.]

[18] By, Conf.]

Adoring of Images.

Good christian reader, let no man beguile thee by the colour of councils. Read this second Nicene council throughout, if thou be able. Thou wilt say, there was never any assembly of christian bishops so vain, so peevish, so wicked, so blasphemous, so unworthy in all respects to be called a council. The blessed bishops there agreed together with one consent, that images in churches are not only to be allowed, but also devoutly and reverently to be honoured, and that with the same honour that is due to God himself. One of them saith: *Venerandas imagines recipio, et adoro, et id perpetuo docebo*[1]*:* "I receive and worship the reverend images, and this will I teach while I live." *Another saith: *Sacras imagines perfecte adoro; qui vero secus confitentur, eos anathematizo*[2]*:* "I do perfectly[3] adore the holy images, and I accurse all them that hold the contrary."

Concil. Nic. 2. Act. 2. Concil. Nic. 2. Act. 4. *Scil. Elias Cret. Episc.[4]

Another saith: *Non sunt duæ adorationes, sed una, ipsius imaginis, et primi exemplaris cujus est imago*[5]*:* "There be not two kinds of adoration, but one only[6], due as well to the image, as to the pattern of the image." This holy council (ye say) decreed against image-breakers; but the counsel of God decreeth against image-worshippers and image-makers.

Scil. Joh. Locum-ten. Episc. Orient.[4]

St Augustine saith: *Sic omnino errare meruerunt, qui Christum et apostolos ejus non in sanctis codicibus, sed in pictis parietibus quæsierunt. Nec mirum, si a pingentibus fingentes decepti sunt*[7]*:* "So were they worthy to be deceived that sought Christ and his apostles not in the books of holy scripture, but in painted walls. Neither may we marvel if feigners by painters were deceived."

August. de Cons. Evang. Lib. i. cap. x.

THE APOLOGY, Chap. iii. Division 3.

The old father Epiphanius saith: "It is an horrible wickedness, and a sin not to be suffered, for any man to set up any picture in the church of the Christians, yea, though it were the picture of Christ himself[8]." Yet these men store all their temples, and each corner of them, with painted and carved images, as though without them religion were nothing worth.

Epiph. in Epist. ad Johan. Episc. Hieros.

M. HARDING.

Epiphanius but one man.

To that ye pretend to allege out of Epiphanius, we say, first, that, although he were of the mind you make him to be of, and said as you report of him, yet is he but one man, whose singular opinion is not to be preferred before the [a]*judgment of all other so many excellent fathers, and the determination of the whole church.* [b]*Now indeed you misreport Epiphanius; for he saith not so as you write: he calleth not the having of the image of Christ, or of any saint in the church, "an horrible wickedness," or "a sin not to be suffered:" he hath no such words.*

[a] Untruth. For the ancient fathers make no mention of images.
[b] Untruth. For we report him truly, as shall appear.

Secondly, what if we say this place maketh nothing at all against the use of images, and that [c]*he speaketh never a word against the image of Christ or his saints in the church, but only against one particular image, which he found hanging at a church-door in a village of Palestine, called Anablatha? And, seeing he* [d]*speaketh not generally against all images, but against such as that was, which there he noteth by this special word* istiusmodi vela, *"veils of this sort;" he giveth us to understand, that he misliked some quality or circumstance of that one image, and not reproved the* [e]*common and received custom of the church in having images in due order. Now what circumstance that was, it dependeth of so many particularities, which might happen either on the image's part, as it is most like, or on the people's*

[c] Untruth. For his words be plain: *Imaginem, quasi Christi aut sancti cujusdam.*
[d] A childish and a vain shift. For Epiphanius speaketh directly against all images.
[e] Untruth. For images then were not commonly received in the church.

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[1] Concil. Nic. II. Act. II. in eod. Tom. VII. col. 132.]

[2] Ibid. where οὐδὲ γὰρ ἀρτίως μόνον προσκυνῶ αὐτάς. Conf. Vol. I. page 548, note 5.]

[3] Perfitely, 1567, 1570.]

[4] These two marginal notes are not in 1567, 1570.]

[5] Ibid. Act. IV. col. 264. Conf. ibid. cols. 704, 65.]

[6] *Only* is not in 1567.]

[7] August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. De Consens. Evang. Lib. I. cap. x. 16. Tom. III. Pars II. col. 8.]

[8] See below, note 13.]

part there inhabitant, and is so little declared by Epiphanius in that place, that neither we can say any thing determinately thereof, nor ye should bring such an obscure and uncertain matter to the disproof of a verity always so well in the church acknowledged and practised....

Epiphanius rent the Image, &c.

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

O how many and how pretty shifts here be devised, if any would help to serve the purpose! One of the late Lovanian clergy, for that he saw these words were clear, and might not be avoided by any gloss, therefore he thought it the wisest way, first, to bring the authority and credit hereof in question, and to say that Epiphanius never wrote any such epistle. Next he saith, The same epistle was never translated by St Hierome. But, forasmuch as he saw that his folly herein was open and easy to be controlled, thirdly, he saith that the image that Epiphanius rent in sunder was not the image either of Christ, or of any christian saint, but the heathen image of Jupiter, or Hercules, or some other idol, he knoweth not what. Fourthly, he saith, The said holy father Epiphanius was an heretic, one of those that were called Anthropomorphitæ, whose error was that God in his divinity had the whole shape and proportion of a man. Howbeit, this folly far passeth all the rest: for it behoved those heretics most of all others, for defence of their error, to maintain images. And yet it seemeth a very uncivil part to condemn so reverend and so godly a father of so gross an heresy, without proof; and specially such a father as hath so learnedly written against all heresies. Fifthly, he saith, even as M. Harding here saith, Epiphanius was but a man, and one man, and his judgment singular, and therefore the less to be esteemed. Last of all, he saith, The same holy father Epiphanius was a Jew; and, being a Christian, and a reverend father, and a christian bishop, yet notwithstanding maintained the religion of the Jews, and therefore rent in sunder the image of Christ in despite of Christ[9]. And for proof hereof he alleged[10] Simeon Metaphrastes, a doctor as wise as himself[11].

1. Cop. Dial. 5. p. 692.
2. Cop. p. 698.
3. Cop. p. 702.
4. Cop. p. 703.
5. Cop. p. 703.
6. Cop. pp. 705, 707.
Simeon Metaphrastes.

M. Harding, for that he imagined these shifts were very unsavoury, and would hardly serve, therefore hath devised to convey himself out some other way. First, he saith we falsify this holy father, and allege his words otherwise than they be. Secondly, he saith it was not the image of Christ that Epiphanius found painted in the veil, but some other pretty thing, he knoweth not what. Lastly, he saith Epiphanius reproveth not generally all such veils, so painted, but only that one veil that he found.

For trial hereof I refer myself[12] to the original. The words thereof be these: *Inveni ibi velum pendens in foribus ejusdem ecclesiæ, tinctum atque depictum, et habens imaginem, quasi Christi aut sancti cujusdam. Non enim satis memini cujus imago fuerit. Cum ergo hoc vidissem in ecclesia Christi, contra auctoritatem scripturarum, hominis pendere imaginem, scidi illud, et magis dedi consilium custodibus ejusdem loci, ut pauperem mortuum eo obvolverent, et efferrent, &c. Quæso ut jubeas presbyteros ejusdem loci.... præcipere, in ecclesia Christi istiusimodi vela, quæ contra religionem nostram veniunt, non appendi; decet enim honestatem tuam hanc magis habere sollicitudinem, ut scrupulositatem tollat, quæ indigna est ecclesia Christi et populis qui tibi crediti sunt*[13]: "I found there a veil hanging at the entry of the church, stained and painted, and having the image, as it were, of Christ or of some saint: for whose picture it was, indeed I do not remember. Therefore, when I saw the image of a man to hang in the church of Christ, contrary to the

Epiph. ad Johan. Hieros. apud Hieron. Tom. II.

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[9] An non ex eo igitur probabiliter conjicere potes, hanc epistolam vel forte suppositiam esse... forte dubitarem, an hæc Hieronymo esset attribuenda oratio....Discidit quidem velum, in quo non Christi, non sanctialicujus(absit), sed profani cujusdam hominis (forte Jovis aut Herculis) imago depicta erat....Non ignoro alios respondere, suspectum fuisse Epiphanium hæresis Anthropomorphitarum...alios non debere nos...privatam et singularem unius alicujus patris opinionem ... respicere atque sequi ... Judæus fuit; nosti vero Judæos Christianorum imagines cum primis odisse, &c.—Copi Dial. Sex, Antv. 1566. Dial. v. capp. xx. xxi. pp. 692-707.]

[10] Allegeth, 1567, 1570.]

[11] Epiph. Vit. in Sur. De Prob. Sanctor. Hist. Col. Agrip. 1570-5. Tom. III. p. 181.]

[12] Meself, 1567, 1570.]

[13] Epiph. ad Johan. Episc. Jerosol. Epist. cx. in Hieron. Op. Par. 1693-1706. Tom. IV. Pars II. cols. 828, 9; where *vel sancti*, and *precor ut jubeas*.]

Images in Churches.

commandment of the scriptures, I tare it in sunder, and gave counsel to the wardens of that church, that they should wind and bury some poor body in it, &c. I beseech you, charge the priests of that place that they give commandment that[1] such veils as be contrary to our religion be no more hanged up in the church of Christ. It behoveth your reverence to have care hereof, that this superstition, unmeet for the church of Christ, and unmeet for the people to thee committed, be removed." Now judge you, M. Harding, wherein we have falsified this learned father's words. You say, "He speaketh not one word against the image of Christ or his saints." I beseech you, then, against what other image speaketh he? Epiphanius saith plainly, "It had the image, as it were, of Christ or of some saint." You say, "He found fault with that veil only," and not with any other. Once again, I beseech you, tell us what had the image of Christ, or of his saints, offended Epiphanius more than other images? If the image of Christ may not be suffered in the church of Christ, what image then may be suffered? What cause of difference can you imagine, that any other veils should be allowed rather than this? Your answer is this: "We cannot say any thing determinately thereof." Whereby it appeareth ye would fain say somewhat, if ye wist what. Yet must we be overruled by all and every such your[2] determinations, yea, although you yourself confess ye can determinately determine nothing.

Habens imaginem, quasi Christi vel sancti cujusdam.

Notwithstanding, the ancient fathers of the church have long sithence determinately and plainly judged against you. Lactantius saith in plain words: *Non est dubium, quin religio nulla sit, ubicunque simulacrum est*[3]: "Determinately and[4] out of all doubt, there is no religion wheresoever there is an image." Tertullian saith: *Idolum tam fieri quam coli Deus prohibet. Quanto præcedit ut fiat quod coli possit, tanto prius est ne fiat, si coli non licet.... Facio, ait quidam, sed non colo; quasi ob aliquam causam colere non audeat nisi ob quam et facere non debeat, scilicet, ob Dei offensam utrobique. Imo tu colis, qui facis ut coli possit*[5]: "God hath forbidden an image, or an idol, as well to be made, as to be worshipped. As far as making goeth before worshipping, so far is it before that the thing be not made that may not be worshipped. Some man will say, I make it, but I worship it not; as though he durst not to worship it for any other cause, but only for the same cause for which he ought not to make it, I mean both ways for God's displeasure. Nay, rather, thou worshippest the image that givest the cause for others to worship it."

Lactant. Lib. ii. cap. xix.

Tertull. de Idolat.

Therefore St Augustine, speaking of the image of God the Father, saith thus: *Tale simulacrum Deo fingere, nefarium est*[6]: "To devise such an image for God, it is abominable."

August. de Fid. et Symb. cap. vii.

Theodorus the bishop of Ancyra saith: *Sanctorum imagines et species ex materialibus coloribus formari, minime decorum putamus.... Manifestum enim est, quod vana sit hujusmodi cogitatio, et diabolicæ deceptionis inventum*[7]: "We think it not convenient to paint the images of saints with material or earthly colours. For it is evident that this is a vain imagination, and the procurement of the deceitfulness of the devil."

Citat. in Concil. Nic. 2. Act. 6.

To like purpose writeth Epiphanius: *Estote memores, dilecti filii, ne in ecclesias imagines inferatis, neque in sanctorum cœmeteriis eas statuatis. Sed perpetuo circumferte Deum in cordibus vestris. Quinetiam, neque in domo communi tolerentur. Non enim fas est Christianum per oculos suspensum teneri, sed per occupationem mentis*[8]: "My dear children, be ye mindful that ye bring no images into the churches, and that ye erect up none at the burials of the saints. But evermore carry God in your hearts. Nay, suffer not images to be, no, not in your private houses. For

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[1] They command that, 1567.]

[2] Every your, 1567.]

[3] Lactant. Op. Lut. Par. 1748. Div. Inst. Lib. II. cap. xix. Tom. I. p. 185.]

[4] The two preceding words are not in 1567.]

[5] Tertull. Op. Lut. 1641. De Idolol. 4, 6. pp. 105, 7; where *ut coli possint.*]

[6] Tale enim simulacrum Deo nefas est Christiano in templo collocare.—August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. Lib. de Fid. et Symb. cap. vii. 14. Tom. VI. col. 157.]

[7] Refut. &c. Tom. v. in Concil. Nic. II. Act. VI. in Concil. Stud. Labb. et Cossart. Lut. Par. 1671-2. Tom. VII. col. 492.]

[8] Ibid. col. 473. The Greek text of the latter part of this citation is: *οὐκ ἔξεστι γὰρ Χριστιανῷ δι' ὀφθαλμῶν μετεωρίζεσθαι καὶ ῥεμβασμῶν τοῦ νοός.*]

it is not lawful to lead a christian man by his eyes, but rather by the study or exercise of his mind."

Reading of the Scriptures.

For this cause Epiphanius saith: "The superstition of images is unfit for the church of Christ."

The Apology, Chap. iii. Division

The old fathers Origen[9] and Chrysostom[10] exhort the people to read the scriptures, to buy them books, to reason at home betwixt themselves of divine matters; wives with their husbands, and parents with their children. These men condemn the scriptures as dead elements, and, as much as ever they may, bar the people from them.

Orig. in Levit. cap. xvi. Chrysost. in Matt. Hom. 2. Idem in Johan. 31.

M. HARDING.

Hom. ix. in Levit. cap. xvi. [a]*Partly it is true, partly false, that you say. Origen exhorteth all to resort to the churches in the holy days, and there to hear the words of God; and thereof afterward to think earnestly, and to meditate on the law of God, and to exercise their minds in it day and night, in the way, in their house, in their bed, and when they rise*[11]. *This hold we withal, and be desirous the* [b]*people bear away that the true and godly preachers teach them in the church, and that they think of it, and put it in daily practice of life: for else to what serveth all our preaching?*

[a] Untruth. For the whole hereof is true, and no part false.

[b] O vain excuse! Many of your people never hear sermon in all their lives.

Chrysostom, Homil. 2 in Matt. *speaketh against them which contemned the scriptures and said, they were no monks, but had wives and children, and care of household; as though it pertained not to married men to read any part thereof, but to monks only*[12]...

If in our time the people might be induced to read the holy scripture[13]*, with such minds, for such causes, to such intents and purposes only, as Chrysostom requireth, God forbid we should by any means stay them therefrom.* [c]*But considering the manner of our time, and calling to due examination the curiosity, the temerity, the unreverence, the contempt of all holy things, that now all men may espy in the people; if we think it not good they be admitted to the reading of the scriptures freely and without any limitation, howsoever you and your fellows judge of us, we doubt not of the account we have to make of that our meaning before our Lord's dreadful seat of judgment.... Now, to conclude, we tell you that you have misreported both Chrysostom, and specially Origen. For, howsoever they speak of the reading and meditation of the scriptures for amendment of life, verily in the places by you quoted* [d]*they exhort not the people to reason and dispute of divine matters among themselves, specially the husbands with their wives, the parents with their children, as you say they do....*

[c] M. Harding's favourable opinion of the people.

[d] Manifest untruth. Read the answer.

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

Forasmuch as ye say, "Part hereof is true, and part false," I trust ye will give us leave freely to use the truth, until ye shall find yourself better able to prove the falsehood[14]. It seemeth not greatly to mislike you, that the people have some little liberty to read some such part of the scriptures as you may best spare them, for the ordering of their lives. Whereby it appeareth that, for quieting of their consciences in matters of religion, and causes of truth, ye think it best they read nothing. "And this" (ye say) ye are "able to answer before the dreadful seat of God's judgment." Touching the truth hereof, to say so much as might be said, it would require great waste of time[15]. St Augustine saith:

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[9] Optamus tamen ut vel his auditis operam detis, non solum in ecclesia audire verba Dei, sed et in domibus vestris exerceri, et meditari in lege Domini die ac nocte.—Orig. Op. Par. 1733-59. In Levit. Hom. ix. 5. Tom. II. p. 240.]

[10] Chrysost. Op. Par. 1718-38. In Matt. Hom. ii. Tom. VII. pp. 29, 30; Id. in Joan. Hom. xxxii. Tom. VIII. p. 188.]

[11] See above, note 9.]

[12] See above, note 10.]

[13] Scriptures, Conf. and Def. 1567, 1570, 1609.]

[14] Falshead, 1567, 1570.]

[15] Waste time, 1611.]

Reading of the Scriptures.

Si... desit, aut ignoretur, qua eundum[1] *sit, quid prodest nosse quo eundum sit*[2]*?* "If ye[3] have not, or know not what way to go, what shall it profit you to know whither to go?" St Hierome saith: *Ut majus est voluntatem Domini facere quam nosse, ita prius est nosse quam facere. Illud... merito præcedit; hoc ordine*[4]*:* "As it is more to do the will of our Lord than to know it, so the knowledge of the same goeth before the doing. In goodness, doing goeth before; in order, knowing." Again, St Augustine saith: *Si scripturas divinas aut non legimus ipsi, aut legentes alios non libenter audimus, ipsa nobis medicamenta convertuntur in vulnera; et inde habebimus judicium, unde potuimus habere remedium*[5]*:* "If we either read not the scriptures ourselves, or be not desirous to hear others read them, then are our medicines turned into wounds; and then, where we might have had remedy, we shall have judgment." Such sayings are common and ordinary in St Chrysostom. Thus he saith: *Librum divinum accipiat aliquis in manum; convocatisque proximis, per divina eloquia riget et suam mentem et convenientium, ut sic diabolicas insidias effugere valeamus*[6]*:* "Let one of you take in hand the holy book, and let him call his neighbours about him, and by the heavenly words let him water and refresh both their minds and also his own." Again he saith: *Poterimus et domi versantes, ante et post convivium, acceptis in manus divinis libris, utilitatem inde capere, et spiritualem cibum animæ præbere*[7]*:* "Being at home, we may both before and after meat take the holy books in hand, and thereof receive great profit, and minister spiritual food unto our soul." And again: *Etiam domi vacemus divinarum scripturarum lectioni*[8]*:* "Even when we be at home, let us bestow our time in reading the scriptures."

August. de Civ. Lib. ii. cap. ii. Hieron. ad Demet. de Virgin. Tuend. August. de Temp. Serm. 55.

Chrysost. in Gen. Hom. 6.

Chrysost. in Gen. Hom. 10.

Chrysost. in Gen. Hom. 29.

Origen saith: *Utinam... omnes faceremus illud quod scriptum est, Scrutamini scripturas*[9]*:* "Would God we would all do accordingly as it is written, 'Search the scriptures.'"

Orig. in Esai. Hom. 2.

But ye say we have "misreported both Chrysostom and Origen. For they exhort not the people (as you say) to reason of divine matters among themselves, specially the husbands with their wives, &c." Whether of us both maketh truer report, let us be tried by Chrysostom. Thus he saith: *Neque in hoc tantum consessu, sed domi quoque, vir cum uxore, pater cum filio, invicem de his frequenter loquantur; et ultro citroque suam et ferant et inquirant sententiam; velintque hanc probatissimam inducere consuetudinem*[10]*:* "Hearken not hereto only here in the church, but also at home: let the husband with the wife, let the father with the child, talk together of those[11] matters, and both to and fro let them both inquire, and give their judgments. And would God they would begin this good custom."

Chrysost. in Johan. Hom. 2. Chrysost. in Matt. Hom. 78.

Here have you, M. Harding, the husband communing of divine matters with his wife, and the father with his child. Therefore so unadvisedly to say, we have "misreported" this holy father, it was of your part a misreport.

Likewise St Hierome saith: *Hic ostenditur, verbum Christi non sufficienter, sed abundanter etiam, laicos habere debere; et docere se invicem, vel monere*[12]*:* "Here we are taught that even the laymen ought to have the word of God, not only sufficiently, but also abundantly; and one to instruct and to warn another." Again he saith: *Solent et viri, solent et monachi, solent et mulierculæ hoc inter se habere certamen, ut plures ediscant scripturas*[13]*:* "Both married men, and monks, and wives, commonly have this contention among themselves, who may learn most scriptures."

Hieron. in Epist. ad Col. cap. iii. In illud, Verbum Dei habitet in vobis. Hieron. in Psal. cxxxiii.

To conclude, Theodoretus saith thus: *Passim videas nostra dogmata non ab iis*

Theodor. de Corrig. Græc. Affect. Lib. v.

[1 Eundem, 1570.]

[2 August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. De Civ. Dei, Lib. xi. cap. ii. Tom. VII. col. 273.]

[3 We, 1611.]

[4 Hieron. Op. Par. 1693-1706. Ad Demetr. de Virgin. Epist. Tom. V. col. 17. This epistle is spurious.]

[5 August. Op. Serm. cxl. in Quadr. i. 1. Tom. V. Append. col. 249; where *aut ipsi non legimus.* This sermon was probably by Cæsarius.]

[6 Chrysost. Op. Par. 1718-38. In cap. i. Gen. Hom. vi. Tom. IV. p. 48.]

[7 Id. ibid. Hom. x. p. 81.]

[8 Id. in cap. ix. Hom. xxix. p. 281.]

[9 Orig. Op. Par. 1733-59. In Isai. Hom. ii. 2. Tom. III. p. 109.]

[10 Chrysost. Op. In Joan. Hom. iii. Tom. VIII. p. 16. Conf. In Matt. Hom. lxxvii. Tom. VII. p. 749.]

[11 These, 1567, 1570, 1609.]

[12 Hieron. Op. Comm. in Epist. ad Coloss. cap. iii. Tom. V. col. 1074.]

[13 Id. Breviar. in Psalt. Psalm. cxxxiii. Tom. II. Append. col. 474.]

solum teneri, &c.[14] "Ye may commonly see that our doctrine is known not only of them that are the doctors of the church, and the masters of the people, but also even of the tailors, and smiths, and weavers, and of all artificers; yea, and further also, of women; and that not only of them that be learned, but also of labouring women, and sewsters, and servants, and handmaids. Neither only the citizens, but also the country-folks, do very well understand the same. Ye may find, yea the[15] very ditchers, and delvers, and cow-herds, and gardeners, disputing of the holy Trinity, and of the creation of all things." Now judge you, M. Harding, whether of us two hath erred in his report[16].

Reading of the Scriptures.

De divina Trinitat. rerumque omnium creatione dissertantes.

The Apology, Chap. iii. Division 4 and 5.

The ancient fathers Cyprian[17], Epiphanius[18], and Hierome[19], say, for one who perchance hath made a vow to lead a sole life, and afterward liveth unchastely and cannot quench the flames of lust, it is better[20] to marry a wife, and to live honestly in wedlock. And the old father Augustine judgeth the self-same marriage to be good and perfect[21], and that it ought[23] not to be broken again[24]. These men, if a man have once bound himself by a vow, though afterward he burn, keep queans, and defile himself with never so sinful and desperate a life, yet they suffer not that person to marry a wife; or, if he chance to marry, they allow it not for marriage. And they commonly teach it is much better and more godly to keep a concubine, or[25] an harlot, than to live in that kind of marriage.

Cypr. Epist. 11. Lib. i. Epiph. contr. Apost. Hær. 61. Hieron. ad Demetr. August. de Bon. Vid. cap. x.[22]

The old father St[26] Augustine complaineth[27] of the multitude of vain ceremonies, wherewith he even then saw men's minds and consciences overcharged[28]: these men, as though God regarded nothing else but their ceremonies, have so out of measure increased them, that there is now almost none other thing left in their churches and places of prayer.

August. ad Jan. Epist. 118.

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

All that M. Harding hath here to say, hath been both alleged, and also fully answered, before in a place more convenient[29].

In the II. part, 8 chap. 1 Division. And II. part, 17 Chap. 1 Division.

The Apology, Chap. iii. Division 5.

Again, that old father St[26] Augustine denieth it to be lawful[30] for a monk to spend his time slothfully in idleness[31], and, under a pretensed

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[14] ...καὶ ἔστιν ἰδεῖν ταῦτα εἰδότας τὰ δόγματα, οὐ μόνους γε τῆς ἐκκλησίας τοὺς διδασκάλους, ἀλλὰ καὶ σκυτοτόμους, καὶ χαλκοτύπους, καὶ ταλασιουργοὺς, καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἀποχειροβιώτους· καὶ γυναῖκας ὡσαύτως, οὐ μόνον τὰς λόγων μετεσχηκυίας, ἀλλὰ καὶ χερνήτιδας, καὶ ἀκεστρίδας, καὶ μέντοι καὶ θεραπαίνας. καὶ οὐ μόνον ἀστοὶ, ἀλλὰ καὶ χωρητικοὶ τήνδε τὴν γνῶσιν ἐσχήκασι· καὶ ἔστιν εὑρεῖν καὶ σκαπανέας, καὶ βοηλάτας, καὶ φυτουργοὺς, περὶ τῆς θείας διαλεγομένους Τριάδος, καὶ περὶ τῆς τῶν ὅλων δημιουργίας.—Theodor. Op. Lut. Par. 1642-84. Græc. Affect. Cur. Serm. v. Tom. IV. p. 556.]

[15] Yea even the, 1567, 1570, 1609.]

[16] This sentence is not in 1567.]

[17] Cypr. Op. Oxon. 1682. Ad Pompon. Epist. iv. p. 8. See Vol. III. page 399.]

[18] Κρεῖττον πεσόντα ἀπὸ δρόμου φανερῶς ἑαυτῷ λαβεῖν γυναῖκα κατὰ νόμον, καὶ ἀπὸ παρθενίας πολλῷ χρόνῳ μετανοήσαντα εἰσαχθῆναι πάλιν εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, κ.τ.λ.—Epiph. Op. Par. 1622. Adv. Hær. Lib. II. Hær. lxi. Tom. I. p. 512.]

[19] Hieron. Op. Ad Demetr. Epist. xcvii. Tom. IV. Pars II. col. 796. See Vol. III. pages 399, 400.]

[20] *It is better* precedes *for one*, Conf.]

[21] Perfite, Conf. and Def. 1567, 1570.]

[22] This reference is not in Conf.]

[23] And ought, Conf.]

[24] August. Op. De Bon. Vid. cap. x. 13. Tom. VI. col. 375. See before, page 788, note 8.]

[25] And, Conf.]

[26] Conf. omits *St.*]

[27] Complained, Conf. and Def. 1567, 1570, 1609.]

[28] ...ipsam...religionem...servilibus oneribus premunt, &c.—Id. ad Inq. Jan. Lib. II. seu Epist. lv. 35. Tom. II. col. 142.]

[29] See Vol. III. pages 387, &c. 569, &c.]

[30] Leeful, Conf.]

[31] Slothfully and idly, Conf.]

Monks. God's service.

and counterfeit holiness, to live all upon others[1]. And whoso thus liveth, the[2] old father Apollonius likeneth him to a thief[3]. These men have (I wot not whether to call[4] them droves or herds of monks), who for all that they[5] do nothing, nor yet once intend to bear any shew of holiness, yet live they not only upon others, but also riot lavishly of other folks' labours.

M. HARDING.

[a] But St Augustine calleth it worse than idleness.

[a] *We do not maintain that a monk should live idly. But we reprove you for accounting the service of God idleness. Neither is that the thing only which ye can allege in defence of that your brethren have done to monasteries in the countries where your gospel proceedeth; for ye have removed not only such monks as were proved idle, but all monks generally, that would serve God according to that vow which they made under the* [b] *approved rule of St Benedict, St Augustine, St Francis, St Dominic, or of any other. You say, we have "droves and herds of monks," thereby signifying they are beasts rather than men: whereas St Augustine calleth them* servos Dei[6], *"the servants of God," in that very work which you allege....*[7]

[b] As though Christ's rule were lost, or were not sufficient.

... Sith that our monks (I mean all religious men) served the altar, and were appointed to preach, minister the sacraments, and bestow their time in prayer for their own infirmities, and for the sins of the people[c]*; by the doctrine of St Augustine they are not bound to labour, as they who, for sowing spiritual things to the behoof of others, may reap their temporal things to their own necessary sustenance*[8]*...*

[c] Untruth, plain contrary to St Augustine.

De Opere Monach. cap. xxi.

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

"Monks (ye say) be God's servants;" and monks' life is "the service of God." And herein ye use such earnest talk as though, if the whole generation of monks were removed, God should sit without service. Indeed St Augustine, shewing us what good service the monks of his time did unto God, saith thus: *Isti non Deo serviunt, sed suo ventri*[9]*:* "These monks serve not God, they serve their bellies." Again he saith: *Jactantia eo est periculosior, quo sub nomine servitutis Dei decipit*[10]*:* "Hypocrisy, or vaunting of holiness, is the more dangerous, for that it deceiveth us under the name of God's service." Again he saith: *Fallit dolosa imagine sanctitatis*[11]*:* "It deceiveth us by the deceitful countenance or image of holiness." Again, touching these monks, he saith: *Non apparet utrum ex proposito servitutis Dei venerint, an vitam inopem et laboriosam fugientes, vacui pasci et vestiri voluerint*[12]*:* "We cannot tell whether they became monks for purpose to serve God, or else, being weary of their poor and painful life, were rather desirous to be fed and clothed doing nothing." And therefore he calleth the almouse that they get, *sumptus lucrosæ egestatis, et simulatæ pretium sanctitatis*[13]*:* "The charges of gainful poverty, and the price of feigned holiness." Again he saith: *Venalem circumferunt hypocrisim*[14]*:* "They carry their hypocrisy about to sale."

August. de Op. Monach. cap. xii.

August. de Serm. Dom. in Mont.

Eod. loc.

August. de Op. Monach. cap. xxii.

August. de Op. Monach. cap. xxviii.

August. de Op. Monach. cap. xxxi.

St Hilary, speaking of the same kind of holy people, saith thus: *Convivia sub*

Hilar. in Psal. lii.

[1 See below, notes 9—14.]

[2 An, Conf.]

[3 ...ἄλλος δέ τις ἔλεγεν, ὅτι ὁ μοναχὸς εἰ μὴ ἐργάζοιτο, ἐπίσης τῷ πλεονέκτῃ κρίνεται.—Socrat. in Hist. Eccles. Script. Amst. 1695-1700. Lib. IV. cap. xxiii. p. 192. See below, page 800, note 8.]

[4 Name, Conf. and Def. 1567, 1570.]

[5 All they, Conf.]

[6 August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. De Op. Monach. cap. xvii. 20. Tom. VI. col. 489.]

[7 Harding alleges one or two other passages from St Augustine.]

[8 Si enim evangelistæ sunt, fateor, habent [potestatem non operandi]: si ministri altaris, dispensatores sacramentorum, bene sibi istam non arrogant, sed plane vindicant potestatem.—Id. ibid. cap. xxi. 24. col. 492.]

[9 Neque enim isti Deo, &c.—Id. ibid. cap. xii. 13. col. 484.—In quoting these words Augustine does not seem to be speaking of the monks of his time.]

[10 ...jactantiam, et eo periculosiorem, quo, &c.—Id. de Serm. Dom. in Mont. sec. Matt. Lib. II. cap. xii. 41. Tom. III. Pars II. col. 216.]

[11 ...nec quemquam fallit, &c.—Id. ibid.]

[12 Id. de Op. Monach. cap. xxii. 25. Tom. VI. col. 492; where *neque enim apparet*, and *atque vestiri*.]

[13 Id. ibid. cap. xxviii. 36. col. 498; where *aut simulatæ*.]

[14 Id. ibid. cap. xxxi. 39. col. 501; where *circumferentes*.]

obtentu religionis sumptuosa sectantur... Apothecas suas inutili religiosorum obsequio defendunt:....de quibus scriptum est, Comedentes domos viduarum.... Etiamsi Dominum se credant invocare, tamen audient, quod est in evangelio, Scimus... quia peccatores Deus non audit[15]*:* "Under the colour of holiness they seek for dainty and costly fare: they maintain their store-houses by the unprofitable service of religious people; of whom it is written, 'They devour up poor widows' houses.' Matt. xxiii. Although they think they serve God, yet the same answer shall be made them that is written in the gospel, 'We know that God giveth no ear to sinners.'" John ix. Upon these words of the gospel, "Sell all that thou hast, and give it to the poor, Luke xviii. and come and follow me," your very ordinary gloss saith thus: *Bene operando, non mendicando*[16]*:* "Follow me in well-doing, not in begging." Matt. xix.

And, lest ye should think we speak only of old foreign faults, and that all such things sithence those days have been reformed, Nicolaus Cusanus, a cardinal of Rome, one of your new doctors, saith: *Vix fallacia illorum, qui sub habitu Christi apparent, potest sciri ob suam varietatem. Nam alius quidem sub hac veste,... alius sub capitio, alius sub hoc religionis signo, alius sub alio, Christo se militare asserit; licet pene omnes, non quæ Christi, sed quæ sua sunt, quærant. Omnes enim student avaritiæ a maximo usque ad minimum. Et in his omnibus una doctrina comperit eorum fallaciam, scilicet, Ex fructibus eorum cognoscetis eos*[17]*:* "The deceitfulness of them that shew themselves under the apparel of Christ because of their variety can hardly be known. For one of them saith he serveth Christ under one weed, another[18] under another; one under a hood, another under one[19] badge of religion, another under another. Notwithstanding, they all for the most part seek their own, and not the things that pertain to Christ Jesus. For they are all given to covetousness, from the most to the least. And yet in all these diversities, by this mark or doctrine ye may descry their falsehood[20]: 'By their works ye shall know them'[21]." Nic. Cus. Excit. Lib. vii. Moneta.

We grant the service of God may not rightly be called idleness. But what if St Bernard say of your monks, *Servi Christi serviunt antichristo*[22]*:* "They pretend Christ's service, and serve antichrist? For where did God ever require you to do him such[23] service?" St Hierome saith of them: *In statu servili et abjectionis esse abhorrent. Laborare recusant præ pigritia: mendicare erubescunt validi; quia nihil daretur eis*[24]*:* "They are loth to be abjects and in servile state. For idleness they will not labour, and to beg they are ashamed; for, being valiant and lusty people, no man would give them any thing." Likewise saith St Augustine: *Tanquam conservatricem evangelii prædicant pigritiem*[25]*:* "They speak much of their idleness, as if it were the keep and castle of the gospel." Again he saith: *Contingit ... eis, quod in viduis junioribus indisciplinatis cavendum.... Apostolus dicit: Simul... et otiosæ esse discunt; non solum autem otiosæ, sed et curiosæ et verbosæ, loquentes quæ non oportet*[26]*:* "The same thing happeneth unto them that St Paul speaketh of young widows, living out of order: 'they learn to be idle; and not only idle, but also curious, and full of words, speaking such things as are not meet.'" Thus ye see, M. Harding, that this pretence and colour of God's service hath oftentimes of the ancient fathers been called idleness. Bernard. in Cant. Cant. Hieron. ad Eustoch. August. de Op. Monach. cap. xxii. August. eod. cap.

Ye say monks now serve the altar and minister sacraments, and therefore

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[15] Hilar. Op. Par. 1693. Tractat. in Psalm. lii. 13. col. 89; where *obsequio distendunt*, and *Dominum invocare se credunt, audient dictum in evangelio fuisse, scimus.*]

[16] These words do not appear in the ordinary gloss in the place referred to; but they may perhaps be inferred from the note of Lyra who says:...abjicere temporalia propter ostentationem non est meritorium...in sequela Christi per opera caritatis consistit perfectio principaliter, in paupertate autem voluntaria consistit inchoative per modum removentis prohibens et disponentis.—Bibl. cum Gloss. Ord. et Expos. N. de Lyra, Basil. 1502. Matt. cap. xix. Pars V. fol. 59. 2. Conf. Marc. cap. x. fol. 108. 2; where the interlineary gloss has: imitando: sicut ego ambulo ambulando.]

[17] Nic. de Cusa Op. Basil. 1565. Excit. Lib. VII. Tom. II. p. 548; where *fallacia eorum.*]

[18] Weed and another, 1570.]

[19] The, 1611.]

[20] Falshead, 1570.]

[21] This paragraph is not in 1567.]

[22] Bernard. Op. Par. 1690. In Cant. Serm. xxxiii 15. Vol. I. Tom. IV. col. 1393. See Vol. I. page 382, note 11.]

[23] Do such, 1567.]

[24] These words do not appear in the place noted; but see Hieron. Op. Par. 1693-1706. Ad Eustoch. Epist. xviii. Tom. IV. Pars II. cols. 44, 5; where expressions somewhat similar may be found.]

[25] August. Op. De Op. Monach. cap. xxii. 26. Tom. VI. col. 493; where *prædicantes pigritiam.*]

[26] Id. ibid. col. 492; where *sed etiam curiosæ*, and *oporteat.*]

Monks. Bodily labour.

are not bound to bodily labour. This is a fair colour to shadow their idleness. For who ever bade monks to serve the altar, or gave them authority to minister sacraments? What doctor? What father? What ancient council? In old times it was not lawful for a monk to be a priest. St Gregory saith: *Nemo potest . . . ecclesiasticis officiis deservire, et in monastica regula ordinate persistere*[1]: "No man can serve the ecclesiastical office, and orderly keep the rule of monkery." And St Hierome saith: *Monachus non docentis, sed plangentis habet officium*[2]: "A monk's office is not to preach, but to mourn." Again he saith: *Alia causa est monachi, alia clerici: clerici oves pascunt; ego pascor*[3]: "The state of a monk is one thing, and the state of a priest is another. Priests feed the flock: I (being a monk) must be fed." Whereupon the gloss saith: *Ego pascor . . . sacramentis ipsorum*[4]: "I am fed with the sacraments of the priests." Whereby it is evident that the monk himself had no authority to minister sacraments, no, not so much as privately to himself. But touching bodily labour, St Hierome saith, "This was holden as a law among the monks in Egypt, that whoso would not labour should not eat[5]."

xvi. Quæst. 1. Nemo.

xvi. Quæst. 1. Monach.

xvi. Quæst. 1. Alia causa.

Glossa.

Hieron. ad Rustic. et in Vit. Hilar.

August. ad Fratr. in Erem. Serm. 1.

And St Augustine saith, as it is alleged in his name: *Nihil . . . Dei servis pejus [est] otiositate. Operentur ergo in nomine Domini*[6]: "Unto the servants of God there is nothing worse than idleness. Let them work therefore in the name of our Lord."

August. de Op. Monach. cap. xxiii.

Hist. Trip. Lib. viii. cap. i.

Bernard. in Psal. lxxii.

Of such idle monks St Augustine saith: *Isti manus otiosas et repositoria plena habere volunt*[7]: "These monks will have idle hands and full cellars." A learned father was wont to say by the report of Socrates: "A monk that laboureth not with his hands may be resembled unto a thief[8]." St Bernard saith: *Restat ut sint in laboribus dæmonum, qui in laboribus hominum non fuerunt*[9]: "They must needs be in the travails of devils, that were not in the travails of men."

August. de Op. Monach. cap. xxviii.

Of these St Augustine saith: [*Diabolus*] *tam multos hypocritas sub habitu monachorum usquequaque dispersit*[10]: "Such a number of hypocrites hath the devil scattered abroad every where under the colour of monks."

The first suppressors of monasteries within this realm in our memory were two of your dearest friends, cardinal Wolsey, and Doctor Fisher, the bishop of Rochester; either of them well warranted thereto by the authority of the pope. Long before that time the godly-learned bishop Letoius overthrew and burnt the Messalians' monasteries, and said they were dens of thieves; and, as Theodoretus reporteth, chased the wolves away from the fold[11].

Theod. Lib. iv. cap. 11. σπηλαια λησταρικά. Τοὺς λύκους ἐκ τῆς ποίμνης ἐξήλασε.

Of late years sundry of the cardinals of Rome, amongst whom also was cardinal Poole, being specially appointed in commission by pope Paulus III. to view the disorders and deformities of the church, returned their answer in this sort:. *Alius abusus corrigendus est in ordinibus religiosorum; quod adeo multi deformati sunt, ut magno sint scandalo secularibus, exemploque plurimum noceant. Conventuales ordines abolendos esse putamus omnes*[12]: "Another abuse there is to be reformed in the orders of monks and friars. For many of them are so vile, that they are a shame unto the seculars, and with their example do much ill. As for conventual orders, we think it good they be all abolished."

Concil. Tom. III. Con. Delect. Card. p. 822.

This, M. Harding, was the judgment of your own friends. And therefore ye

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[1 Gregor. in Corp. Jur. Canon. Lugd. 1624. Decret. Gratian. Decr. Sec. Pars, Caus. xvi. Quæst. i. can. 2. col. 1092; where in the text *ecclesiasticis obsequiis*.]

[2 Hieron. in eod. ibid. can. 4.]

[3 Id. in eod. ibid. can. 6. col. 1093; where *monachorum, alia clericorum*, and *pascunt oves*.]

[4 Gloss. ibid.]

[5 Ægyptiorum monasteria hunc morem tenent, ut nullum absque operis labore suscipiant, non tam propter victus necessitatem, quam propter animæ salutem.—Hieron. Op. Par. 1693-1706. Ad Rustic. Monach. Epist. xcv. Tom. IV. Pars II. col. 774. Conf. Vit. Hilar. ibid. col. 76.]

[6 August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. Ad Fratr. in Erem. Serm. i. Tom. VI. Append. col. 305; where *otiositate pejus*. These sermons are not genuine.]

[7 Id. de Op. Monach. cap. xxiii. 27. Tom. VI. col. 493; where *plena repositoria volunt habere*.]

[8 Alter quidam dicebat: monachus nisi operatus fuerit, violento judicatur æqualis.—Hist. Tripart. Par. Lib. viii. cap. i. fol. Q. 2. Apollonius is mentioned afterwards in the same chapter, fol. Q. 5. See before, page 798, note 3.]

[9 Nam qui in labore hominum non sunt, in labore dæmonum profecto erunt, dicente Judice: Ite maledicti, &c.—Bernard. Op. Par. 1690. In Cant. Serm. xxiii. 13. Vol. I. Tom. iv. col. 1344.]

[10 August. Op. De Op. Monach. cap. xxviii. 36. Tom. VI. col. 498.]

[11 Theodor. in Hist. Eccles. Script. Amst. 1695-1700. Lib. iv. cap. xi. p. 163.]

[12 Suggest. Delect. Card. in Crabb. Concil. Col. Agrip. 1551. Tom. III. p. 822.]

have the less cause to be offended with the suppressing of abbeys. For your own dear catholic fathers, cardinal Wolsey, cardinal Poole, Doctor Fisher, and others[13], partly have suppressed them themselves, and partly have consented unto the same. In the book called *Opus Tripartitum*, joined unto the council of Lateran, it is written thus: *Totus fere mundus obloquitur, et scandalizatur de tanta multitudine religiosorum pauperum, qui introierunt in mundum*[14]: "Well-near the whole world crieth against, and is offended for so great a multitude of begging monks and friars that are entered into the world."

A Priest keeping a Concubine.

Concil. Tom. II. p. 1000. Op. Trip. Lib. iii. cap. iii.

Therefore was this decree published in the council of Lateran: *Ne nimia religiosorum diversitas gravem in ecclesiam Dei offensionem inducat, firmiter prohibemus, ne quis de cetero novam religionem inveniat*[15]: "Lest over-great diversity of religious folk bring great offence into the church of God, we do earnestly forbid that from henceforth no man devise any new religion." Thus it appeareth, your pope himself and his cardinals were so wearied and accloyed with multitudes of monks, that they would have them increase no further[16]. Damasus, speaking of the order of them that were called *chorepiscopi*, saith thus: *Unde iste tertius [ordo] processerit, ... ignoramus; et quod ratione caret extirpari*[17] *necesse est*[18]: "From whence this third order is come, we cannot tell: and the thing that wanteth reason must needs be taken up by the roots."

Concil. Lat. Sub Innoc. III. cap. xiii.

Dist. 68. Chorepisc.

The Apology, Chap. iii. Division 6.

The old council of[19] Rome decreed that no man should come to the service said by a priest well known to keep a concubine[20]. These men let concubines to farm[21] to their priests, and yet constrain men by force against their will to hear their cursed paltry service.

Concil. Rom. cap. iii.

M. HARDING.

[a] *We find no such canon in the old Roman councils. Your allegations noted in the margin*[22] *be false for the most*[23] *part, as your doctrine is. Yet find we that Nicolaus and Alexander, popes, have willed no man to hear the mass of that priest whom he knoweth undoubtedly to keep a concubine.* [b] *But wise men in the law think only that to be an undoubted knowledge, when either the judge hath by open sentence published such a man to keep a concubine, or the fact itself is notorious....*

Dist. 25. cap. Nullus.

[a] Untruth. For it is easy to be found.

[b] Such wise men be the proctors of filthiness.

[c] *Whereas you say, we let concubines out to farm to our priests, it is meet for you to say it, because it is false and slanderous.* [d] *Neither was ever any man, or at this day is, driven to hear his mass who keepeth a concubine. For, if he will take upon him to prove any priest to keep a concubine, himself not being so infamous as he may not stand in judgment, it is certain he shall be heard. If he cannot prove it, then is not he out of doubt by order of law, that this priest keepeth a concubine, and therefore he is bound as other christian people be to hear his mass;* [e] *which is no sacrilege, as your sacrilegious heart thinketh, and blasphemous tongue uttereth, but the blessed and holy sacrifice, which Christ made at his last supper.*

[c] Untruth, notorious and manifest to the world. The bishop of Argentine hath a florence[24] by the year of every priest that keepeth a concubine; and, if she bear a child, he hath four.

[d] Untruth. Read the answer.

[e] Untruth. For pope Hildebrand saith: *Benedictio eorum vertitur in maledictionem*[25].

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

If it had pleased you better to have perused your books, ye might[26] soon have found these self-same words in the council of Rome, holden there under pope

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[13] 1567 has not these eight words.]

[14] Opusc. Tripart. Lib. III. cap. iii. in eod. Tom. II. p. 1000.]

[15] Concil. Later. Inst. cap. 13. in eod. Tom. II. p. 952; where *in ecclesia*.]

[16] This sentence is not in 1567.]

[17] Extirpare, 1567, 1570.]

[18] Damas. Papa in Corp. Jur. Canon. Decret. Gratian. Decr. Prim. Pars, Dist. lxviii. can. 5. col. 345.]

[19] At, Conf. and Def. 1567.]

[20] Synod. Rom. sub Nicol. I. in Crabb. Concil. Tom. II. p. 765. See below, page 802, note 6.]

[21] Let to farm concubines, Conf.]

[22] Margent, Conf. and Def. 1567, 1570.]

[23] More, Conf. and Def. 1567, 1570.]

[24] Florene, Def. 1567, 1570.]

[25] See below, page 803, note 14.]

[26] Mought, 1567, 1570.]

Concil. Rom. sub Nicol. II.[2] Concil. Tom. II. p. 795. anno 880.

Nicolas the second[1]; which, although it be not so old as may be compared with the ancient fathers' councils, yet it is elder than some parts and branches of your new religion. To like purpose writeth pope Zachary: *Quis... sapiens... judicabit eos esse sacerdotes, qui nec a fornicationibus abstinent*[3]? "What wise man will reckon them to be priests, that abstain not so much as from fornication?" If no wise man can judge them to be priests, what man then is he that will authorise them to minister sacraments?

Zach. pp. in Epist. ad Bonif.

Now of the other side, M. Harding, consider you the common and ordinary practice of your church of Rome. First, touching the pope himself, your gloss saith: *Facta papæ excusantur, ut... adulterium Jacob*[4]: "The pope's doings (or advouteries) are excused as the advoutry of Jacob." And again: *Communiter... dicitur, quod pro simplici fornicatione quis deponi non debet; cum pauci sine illo vitio inveniantur*[6]: "It is commonly said that a man may not be deposed or deprived for simple fornication, forasmuch as few (priests) be found without that fault."

Dist. 40. Non nos. in Gloss. Dist. 81. Maxim. in Gloss.

Dist. 32. Nullus.

Again, whereas the words of the decree are these, *Nullus audiat missam presbyteri, quem scit concubinam indubitanter habere*[6]; "Let no man hear the mass of that priest whom he undoubtedly knoweth to keep a concubine;" the gloss upon the same saith thus: *Hic canon quandoque fuit latæ sententiæ; sed hodie non est*[7]: "This decree in old times stood as a ruled case; but now it is[8] not so." *Ideo, licet notoria sit fornicatio, tamen non est propter eam abstinendum ab officiis presbyterorum*[7]: "And therefore, although the fornication be notoriously known, yet may we not therefore refrain from the service of the priest."

De Conc. Cler. Rem. Licet ad profligandum.

Hereunto very well agreeth the gloss upon Otho's Legantines: *Quid ergo si sacerdos inveniatur coire cum muliere? Respondeo: adhuc dicitur occultum; nec propter hoc debet eum vitare in publico, nisi aliter convincatur*[9]: "What if a man find the priest in the manner with a woman? I answer: All that notwithstanding, the fault is privy; neither may a man therefore avoid that priest's service, unless he be otherwise convicted."

Gloss. in eund. Tit.

And again in the same gloss upon these words, *Qui... publice detinet concubinas*, it is noted thus: *Tu dic publice, quando multitudini se patere non expavet... Secus ergo, si secrete intra domum propriam vel alienam detineat hanc concubinam. Nam tunc pœnam hujus constitutionis non incurret. Domus enim rem secretam, non autem publicam denotat*[10]: "By this word 'openly,' understand thou, if he be not afraid lest the world espy him. Therefore he[11] is otherwise, if he keep the same concubine secretly, whether it be in his own house or in some other man's. For then he is not within the danger of this law: for a house betokeneth a thing to be secret, and not open."

By this favourable and gentle construction, unless the priest keep his woman openly in the market-place, he is without all danger of laws and canons; and we may not refrain to hear his service.

"It is no sacrilege (you say), but the blessed and holy sacrifice." Hereto I may answer you with[12] the words of St Augustine: *Quæ sunt sacrilegia, si illa erant sacra? Aut quæ inquinatio, si illa lavatio*[13]? "What is sacrilege, if this be a sacrifice? Or what is staining, if this be washing?" Verily your own pope Hildebrand hereof writeth thus: *Imperamus vobis, ne eorum officia, orationes, et cultus audiatis; quia benedictio eorum vertitur in maledictionem, et oratio in peccatum: testante Domino per prophetam, Maledicam... benedictionibus vestris. Qui*

August. de Civ. Lib. ii. cap. iv.

Dist. 81. Si qui.

[1 Nicolas the first, 1567; Nicolas first, 1570.]

[2 Nicol. I. 1567, 1570.]

[3 Zach. Papæ Epist. ad Bonifac. Episc. in Crabb. Coneil. Col. Agrip. 1551. Tom. II. p. 454; where *eos æstimet sacerdotes qui neque.*]

[4 Corp. Jur. Canon. Lugd. 1624. Decret. Gratian. Decr. Prim. Pars, Dist. xl. Gloss. in can. 1. col. 194; where *accusantur.* See before, page 702, note 10.]

[5 Ibid. Dist. lxxxi. Gloss. in can. 6. col. 386.]

[6 Nicol. Papa ibid. Dist. xxxii. can. 5. col. 156; where *missam audiat.*]

[7 Barth. tamen dicit hunc canonem fuisse quandoque latæ &c. non esse...et ideo licet notoria sint [crimina], non est propter illa abstinendum ab officiis ipsorum.—Gloss. ibid.]

[8 Is it, 1567, 1570.]

[9 Const. Dom. Othon. ad calc. Lyndw. Provinc. Oxon. 1679. De Conc. Cler. Rem. Gloss. p. 43; where *si quis inveniatur*, and *responsio adhuc.*]

[10 Id. ibid. pp. 43, 4; where *detinent publice*, and *incurret, cum domus rem.*]

[11 It, 1567, 1570, 1609.]

[12 Answer with, 1567.]

[13 August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. De Civ. Dei, Lib. II. cap. iv. Tom. VII. col. 34; where *illa sunt.*]

vero huic saluberrimo præcepto obedire noluerint, idololatriæ pœnam incurrent[14]: "We command you that you hear neither their offices, nor their prayers, nor their service. For their blessing is turned into cursing, and their prayer into sin: as the Lord himself witnesseth by the prophet: 'I will curse your blessings, saith the Lord.' And whosoever will not obey this wholesome commandment, he shall fall into the pain of idolatry." Judge ye now, M. Harding, whether this be sacrilege, as we[15] say, or as you say, "a blessed and a[16] holy sacrifice." If it be a sacrifice, if it be blessed, if it be holy, why should he be accursed as an idolater that will come unto it[17]? Matrimony chaste and pure.

The Apology, Chap. iii. Division 7.

The old canons of the apostles command that bishop to be removed from his office, which will supply the place both[18] of a civil magistrate and also of an ecclesiastical person[19]. These men for all that both do and will needs serve both places. Nay rather, the one office, which they ought chiefly to execute, they once touch not; and yet nobody commandeth them to be displaced.

M. HARDING.

...[20] *If we ought to stick at any one certain worldly business, *which may seem unseemly for a bishop or a priest, as too base for his dignity and too much hinderance to his vocation, undoubtedly marriage is of that sort. Whom may we better credit for this case than St Paul? *"He that is without a wife," saith he, "is careful for the things that be of our Lord, how he may please God. But he that is coupled with a wife is careful about the things which are of the world, and is divided."*... 1 Cor. vii.[22]

* Untruth, vain[21] above measure. For it was not unseemly for Christ's apostles to be married. * St Paul speaketh thus not only of priests, but also of every private christian man.

But with our fleshly ministers this business is not fleshly and worldly at all, but altogether spiritual; because their spirit is wholly occupied therein...

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

Christ thought so little hinderance to be in marriage towards the preaching of the gospel, that of his twelve apostles he chose eleven that were married. So St Ambrose saith, as it is alleged before: *Apostoli omnes, exceptis Johanne et Paulo, uxores habuerunt*[23]: "All the apostles had wives, saving only St John and St Paul." Ambros. 2 Cor. xi.

But ye say, "With our fleshly ministers this business is not fleshly, but altogether spiritual; because their spirit is wholly occupied therein." It pitieth me, M. Harding, to see you so vainly to bestow your spiritual cogitations. Matrimony is God's ordinance. God never ordained man to live in villany and filthiness. St Paul saith: "Matrimony is honourable in all men (as well in priests as in others), and the bed undefiled: but advouterers and fornicators the Lord himself will judge." And again, writing unto the married people of Rome, he saith: *Vos non estis in carne, sed in Spiritu:* "You are not in the flesh, but in the Spirit." They were married, and lived in the laws of marriage. Yet St Paul saith, they were "not in the flesh, but in the Spirit." Heb. xiii. Rom. viii.

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[14] Si qui vero in suo peccato perseverare maluerint, nullus vestrum officium eorum audire præsumat: quia &c. noluerit, idololatriæ peccatum incurrit.—Gregor. VII. in Corp. Jur. Canon. Decret. Gratian. Decr. Prim. Pars, Dist. lxxxi. can. 15. col. 389.]

[15] Ye, 1609, 1611.]

[16] An, 1567, 1570.]

[17] The last sentence is not in 1567.]

[18] Will both supply the place, Conf. and Def. 1567.]

[19] Ἐπίσκοπος, ἢ πρεσβύτερος, ἢ διάκονος στρατείαν σχολάζων, καὶ βουλόμενος ἀμφότερα κατέχειν, Ῥωμαϊκὴν ἀρχὴν καὶ ἱερατικὴν διοίκησιν, καθαιρείσθω.—Can. Apost. 82. in Concil. Stud. Labb. et Cossart. Lut. Par. 1671-2. Tom. I. col. 44. Conf. cans. 7, 80. ibid.]

[20] In the part omitted, Harding asserts that the canons meant that a bishop should not engage in any mean worldly business or charge.]

[21] Impudent, Def. 1567.]

[22] This reference is inserted from Conf. and Def. 1567.]

[23] Ambros. Op. Par. 1686-90. Comm. in Epist. ad Cor. II. cap. xi. v. 2. Tom. II. Append. col. 198; where *omnes apostoli.*]

Marriage in Priesthood.

St Augustine saith: *Sancta sunt... etiam corpora conjugatorum fidem sibi et Domino servantium*[1]: "The bodies of married people, keeping faith both to themselves and to the Lord, are clean and holy." Origen saith: *Non solum virgines aut continentes offerunt corpora sua hostiam sanctam*[2]: "Not only virgins or others that live in single life (but also married folks) offer up their bodies a holy sacrifice." Chrysostom saith: *Sanctificationem Paulus vocat pudicitiam et temperantiam conjugalem*[3]: "The honest chastity and temperance that is between man and wife, St Paul calleth holiness." And again: *Carent culpa nuptiæ, nec a virtute quicquam prohibent*[4]: "Marriage is void of fault, and is no hinderance unto virtue."

August. de Bon. Conj. cap. xi. Orig. in Epist. ad Rom. cap. xii. Chrysost. ad Heb. Hom. 57.

Hereof we have spoken before more at large[5]. But touching the chaste life of your spiritual clergy, M. Harding, as sundry your own friends have recorded, and as the whole world is well able to judge, it is nothing else but a spiritual filthiness.

The Apology, Chap. iii. Division 8.

The old council of Gangra[6] commandeth that none should make such difference between an unmarried priest and a married priest, as to[7] think one more holy than the other for single life's[8] sake. These men put such a difference between them, that they straightway think all their holy service to be defiled, if it be done by a good and honest man that hath a wife.

M. HARDING.

It was not for your purpose, sirs, to use true dealing, and to allege the words as they are in that old council. For they speak of an [a]*external sacrifice* [b]*which the church calleth the mass. The same it behoved you to dissemble, lest ye bewrayed your cause. The words be these: "If any man make a difference of a priest, who hath been married, as though, when he sacrificeth, a man might not communicate with his oblation, be he accursed*[9]*." Those fathers spake*[10] *evidently of a priest, who hath sometime been married, that is to say, before his priesthood.* [c]*For after priesthood it was never heard, sithence the time of Christ, that any priest might marry by the law either of the Greek or of the Latin church. We therefore condemn the marriages of priests, which be made after the taking of holy orders, and say that he is no good and honest man, but an incestuous advouterer, that marrieth afterward....*

Can. 4.

[a] Untruth, fond and peevish. For this word, "external," is not once named in all that council.
[b] The council of Gangra never once named the mass.
[c] Untruth, so vain, that I marvel M. Harding can report it without blushing.

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

To answer all your trifles, M. Harding, it were too long. We refuse not the names of "oblation" or "sacrifice." We know that the holy ministration is commonly so called by the ancient fathers; for that, as Chrysostom saith, it is the "memory," the "remembrance," the "samplar," the "token" of that one sacrifice that Christ once offered in his body upon the cross[11]. Howbeit, the

Chrysost. ad Heb. Hom. 17. Hoc sacrificium exemplar illius est. Magis recordationem sacrificii operamur.

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[1] August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. De Bon. Conj. cap. xi. 13. Tom. VI. col. 327.]

[2] Verum quoniam videmus nonnullos sanctorum, aliquos etiam apostolorum habuisse conjugia, &c. in ecclesia prima post apostolos hostia martyrum, secunda virginum videatur, tertia continentium; puto tamen quod neque illi qui in conjugiis positi sunt...negandi sunt corpora sua exhibere posse hostiam viventem, sanctam, Deo placentem.—Orig. Op. Par. 1733-59. Comm. in Epist. ad Rom. Lib. IX. 1. Tom. IV. p. 644.]

[3] There is a mistake in the reference; but see for the passage intended Chrysost. Op. Par. 1718-38. In Epist. ad Hebr. cap. xii. Hom. xxxi. p. 284. Conf. in cap. xiii. Hom. xxxiii. Tom. XII. p. 302.]

[4] [Id. in Epist. ad Tit. cap. i. Hom. ii. Tom. XI. p. 738.]

[5] See Vol. III. pages 413, &c.]

[6] Council Gangrense, Conf.]

[7] As he ought to, Conf.]

[8] Life, Conf.]

[9] Εἴ τις διακρίνοιτο παρὰ πρεσβυτέρου γεγαμηκότος, ὡς μὴ χρῆναι λειτουργήσαντος αὐτοῦ προσφορᾶς μεταλαμβάνειν, ἀνάθεμα ἔστω.—Concil. Gangr. can. 4. in Concil. Stud. Labb. et Cossart. Lut. Par. 1671-2. Tom. II. col. 419.]

[10] Speake, Conf. and Def. 1567.]

[11] Τοῦτο ἐκείνης τύπος ἐστὶ, καὶ αὕτη ἐκείνης... μᾶλλον δὲ ἀνάμνησιν ἐργαζόμεθα θυσίας.—Chrysost. Op. In Epist. ad Hebr. cap. x. Hom. xvii. Tom. XII. pp. 168, 9.]

Marriage in Priesthood.

reason hereof, that ye would seem to wrest out of the Greek word λειτουργήσαντος αὐτοῦ, is very simple, and bewrayeth in you either want of skill, or great corruption. For, being learned in the Greek tongue, ye must needs know that λειτουργία signifieth not a sacrifice, but a ministry or public service. Plutarchus saith thus: *Lictores quasi litores dicebantur, quod essent* λειτουργοί. Ληΐτὸν γὰρ τὸν λαὸν ἢ τὸν δῆμον ἔτι καὶ νῦν οἱ Ἕλληνες ὀνομάζουσι[12]. Hereby it appeareth that the common hangman of the city was called λειτουργὸς, and his office λειτουργία: which I trow, M. Harding, ye would not have to be called a sacrificer, and a sacrifice. Pachymeres in his Annotations upon Dionysius saith thus: λειτουργοὺς *appellat diaconos, aut eos qui nunc hypodiaconi appellantur*[13]: "He calleth them λειτουργοὺς, that are called deacons or subdeacons." St Paul, speaking of kings and civil princes, saith: λειτουργοὶ Θεοῦ εἰσί: λειτουργοὶ, *aut ministri Dei sunt.* I reckon ye will not say that either deacons, or subdeacons, or kings, or princes, had authority to minister the holy communion, or, as you say, "to offer up the daily sacrifice." Whereas St Luke saith, λειτουργούντων αὐτῶν, *ministrantibus illis*, Chrysostom demandeth this question: *Quid est ministrantibus,* λειτουργούντων? He answereth, *prædicantibus*[14]. Whereby it appeareth that the apostles' sacrificing was their preaching. It had been overmuch vanity to note these things, had not your vain quarrel given the occasion. Certainly there is no mention in the said council of Gangra, either of your mass, or of your external sacrifice.

Plutarch. in Romul. Alex. ab Alex.

Pachym. λειτουργοὺς λέγει τοὺς διακόνους καὶ τοὺς νῦν ὑποδιακόνους λεγομένους. Rom. xiii.

Acts xiii. Chrysost. in Act. Hom. 27.

"After priesthood (ye say) it was never heard, sithence the time of Christ, that any priest might marry by the law either of the Greek or of the Latin church." This warrant were undoubtedly good[15], if every your word were a gospel. But what if your own gloss, that is to say, the very ground and mother of your divinity, stand against you, and say ye warrant unwisely, or, if that mislike you, unadvisedly, ye know not what? Verily, upon the pope's own decrees ye shall find it noted thus: *Multi ex hac litera dixerunt, quod orientales possunt contrahere in sacris ordinibus*[16]: "Of these words many have gathered that the priests of the East church may marry, being within holy orders." Nicephorus saith that Eupsychius, being a priest and the bishop of Cæsaria[17] in Cappadocia, married a wife a little before that he was martyred[18]. The like he seemeth to write of Apollinaris the elder, that, being a priest, married a wife at Laodicea[19].

Dist. 31. Aliter, in Gloss.

Niceph. Lib. x. cap. x.

Niceph. Lib. ix. cap. xvii.

Here M. Harding will answer us boldly, as he hath done before, that this Eupsychius was neither bishop nor priest, but only a gentleman of noble parentage; and for proof thereof he will allege Sozomenus and Nicephorus[20]. But let him read the second council of Nice: there shall he find that the same Eupsychius is called *Eupsychius presbyter*[21], "Eupsychius the priest." Let him read the ancient learned father Athanasius: there shall he find that the same Eupsychius is called *episcopus Cappadociæ*[22], "the bishop of Cæsaria in Cappadocia." Thus shall M. Harding find that Eupsychius was both a priest and a bishop too. And I speak of the same Eupsychius the martyr, and of none

Concil. Nic. II. Act. 6.

Athanas. contr. Arian. Orat. 1.

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[12] Εἰκὸς δὲ λικτώρεις...νῦν ὀνομάζεσθαι· πρότερον γὰρ λιτώρεις, Ἑλληνιστὶ δὲ λειτουργοὺς ὄντας. Ληΐτὸν γὰρ τὸν δῆμον ἔτι νῦν καὶ Ἕλληνες, καὶ λαὸν τὸ πλῆθος ὀνομάζουσιν.—Plutarch. Op. Lut. Par. 1624. Rom. Vit. Tom. I. p. 34. Apud Athenienses, et omnem fere Græciam...magistratus non lictores, sed lixas simul et virgas habuerunt vice lictorum, quos λειτουργοὺς nuncupant.

Alex. ab Alex. Gen. Dier. Libr. Lugd. Bat. 1673. Lib. I. cap. xxvii. Tom. I. p. 212.]

[13] This annotation is to be found in the scholia of St Maximus. Dion. Areop. Op. Antv. 1634. Eccles. Hierarch. cap. iii. Tom. I. p. 305; where λειτουργοὺς φησι.]

[14] Chrysost. Op. In Act. Apost. Hom. xxvii. Tom. IX. p. 216.]

[15] True, 1567.]

[16] Corp. Jur. Canon. Lugd. 1624. Decret. Gratian. Decr. Prim. Pars, Dist. xxxi. Gloss. in can. 14. col. 154.]

[17] A priest at Cæsaria, 1567.]

[18] Ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν Καισαρέα Εὐψύχιον Καππαδόκην εὐπατρίδην ὄντα...οὐ πάνυ πόρρω γαμετὴν ἀγόμενον, καὶ οἷον φάναι νυμφίον ὄντα ἐπιθαλάμιον.—Niceph. Call. Hist. Eccles. Lut. Par. 1630. Lib. x. cap. x. Tom. II. p. 28.]

[19] Ἀπολινάριος γὰρ ἑκάτερος ἐκαλεῖτο. πρεσβύτερος δ' ἦν ὁ πατήρ· ὁ δὲ παῖς τὴν τοῦ ἀναγνώστου τάξιν ἐπλήρου.—Id. Lib. IX. cap. xvii. Tom. I. p. 718.]

[20] See Vol. III. pages 125, 409, &c.]

[21] Concil. Nic. II. Act. VI. Refut. &c. in Crabb. Concil. Col. Agrip. 1551. Tom. II. p. 582. See Vol. III. pages 125, 410, note 8.]

[22] Athanas. Op. Par. 1698. Ad Episc. Ægypt. Epist. 8. Tom. I. Pars I. p. 278.]

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other. Therefore, good reader, it may please thee to tell M. Harding, he deserveth small credit in his answer, that will adventure to answer before he know[1].

In the council holden at Ancyra, there is a canon written thus: *Diaconi, quicunque ordinantur, si in ipsa ordinatione protestati sunt, et dixerunt velle se conjugio copulari, quia sic manere non possunt, hi, si postmodum uxores duxerint, in ministerio maneant, propterea quod eis episcopus licentiam dederit*[2]: "Deacons, that receive orders, if at the time of their admission they make protestation and say they will be married, for that they cannot otherwise continue, if they afterward marry, let them remain in the ministry, for that the bishop hath already dispensed with them."

Concil. Ancyr. Can. 10.

Chrysostom, speaking of the marriage of bishops, saith thus; *Quamvis nuptiæ plurimum difficultatis in se habent*[3], *ita tamen assumi possunt, ut perfectiori vitæ impedimento non sint, verum id plane perquam raro atque* [4]*difficile*[5]: "Notwithstanding marriage have in it much trouble, yet so it may be taken that it shall be no hinderance to perfect[6] life. But certainly that is a seldom thing and very hard[7]." He saith, "Marriage may be taken or chosen." And thus[8] he speaketh namely of the marriage of priests and bishops.

Chrysost. in Epist. 1. ad Tim. Hom. 10.

Addition.

☞ M. Hard. fol. 305. a. [Detect.]

M. Hard. fol. 305. b. [Detect.]

Addition. ☞ "Whereas M. Jewel beareth thee in hand, that Chrysostom saith, 'Marriage may be taken or chosen, and that of priests and bishops;' for of their marriage he speaketh, saith this man; all this is false. For first, understand thou, this sentence is not in Chrysostom at all; not in the Greek, I say, in which tongue only he wrote: for I have seen the Greek, and diligently conferred it myself[9]. But it is added unto his text, either by the translation, or by falsehood used at the printing, as in these corrupt times false printers have corrupted many books of the old fathers." Again: "These words are not spoken specially of priests' marriage, but generally and indefinitely of all marriage." *The answer.* I say, Chrysostom speaketh these words "namely of the marriage of priests and bishops." M. Harding answereth me gently, as his manner is, "All this is false." Gentle reader, I beseech thee, if thou be able, consider the whole place of Chrysostom, and weigh well the causes of his writing; so shalt thou be able indifferently to judge whether M. Harding or I have dealt untruly. First of all, Chrysostom expoundeth these words of St Paul, "A bishop must be the husband of one wife." This is the ground of the rest that followeth. And speaking hereof unto the people, he saith thus: *Cur non ait Paulus, oportet episcopum angelum esse, &c.*[10]: "Why did not St Paul say, a bishop must be an angel, subject to no infirmity, or affection, or vice of man, &c.? Why did he not say, a bishop must go out of the world, and be above all the cares of this life, &c.?" He answereth, "Lest the ministry of the church should be forsaken, St Paul required not in a bishop that virtue (of chastity) that is so high and so heavenly, but another virtue that is mean and reasonable, lest the church should be left without bishops."

Chrysost. in 1 Tim. cap. iii. Hom. 10.

To be short, in that very same place Chrysostom, above four and twenty times, hath the express names of priest and bishop. And yet must we believe M. Harding only upon his word, that Chrysostom speaketh these things only of the marriage of all men in general[11], and not one word specially of the marriage of priests. Now, forasmuch as M. Harding telleth us "all this is false," judge thou, good reader, between us both, in whether of us is the falsehood[12]: and as thou findest him herein, so think of the rest of all his dealings.

[1] This paragraph is not in 1567.]

[2] Concil. Ancyr. can. 10. in Concil. Stud. Labb. et Cossart. Lut. Par. 1671-2. Tom. I. col. 1460.]

[3] Habeant, 1567, 1570.]

[4] The clause after *sint* is not in 1567.]

[5] Quemadmodum enim divitiæ...ita et nuptiæ, licet difficultatis in se plurimum habeant: ita tamen &c.—Chrysost. Op. Lat. Basil. 1547. Ad Tim. I. cap. iii. Hom. x. Tom. IV. col. 1480. See below, notes 10, 17.]

[6] Perfite, 1567, 1570.]

[7] This sentence is not in 1567.]

[8] *Thus* is not in 1567.]

[9] Meself, 1570.]

[10] Διὰ τί γὰρ οὐκ εἶπεν, ὅτι δεῖ δὲ τὸν ἐπίσκοπον ἄγγελον εἶναι, μηδενὶ πάθει ἀνθρωπίνῳ ὑποκεῖσθαι;...διὰ τί γὰρ οὐκ εἶπες, δεῖ δὲ αὐτὸν ἤδη μεταστῆναι ἐκ τῆς γῆς;...ἐπεὶ οὖν ἐνεδρεύεσθαι ἔμελλε τὰ τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν, διὰ τοῦτο συμμεμετρημένην εἶπεν ἀρετήν, οὐκ ἐκείνην τὴν ἄνω, τὴν ὑψηλήν.—Id. Op. Par. 1718-38. In I. Epist. ad Tim. cap. iii. Hom. x. Tom. XI. p. 600.]

[11] Men general, 1570.]

[12] Falshead, 1570.]

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"These words are not in the Greek: I have conferred it: it is falsehood used at the printing: false printers have corrupted many books." *The answer.* What printers, M. Harding? What were their names? Where dwelt they? What did they? Will you pronounce your sentence of condemnation against them all, not knowing, neither against whom, nor against how many, nor wherefore? You say, ye "find not these words in the Greek." But what if your Greek books be corrupted? as indeed they are in sundry places. Certainly, all the Latin translations that I have seen, either printed or written, or old or new, have[13] this whole place, even word by word, as I have alleged it. But, because you think the Greek is best able to direct you, I will find you also the like sentence in Chrysostom in the Greek. These be his words: *Matrimonium non solum nihil obstat ad philosophandum Deo, si voluerimus*[14] *esse sobrii, sed etiam magnam adfert consolationem*[15]: "Marriage not only hindereth us nothing from the service of God, if we will be sober, but also bringeth us great comfort." These words both bear the same sense, and also are found in the Greek. You may confer them at your pleasure.

M. Hard. fol. 305. b. [Detect.]

Chrysost. in Gen. Hom. 21.

You say, although it be thus written, "Marriage may so be taken that it shall be no let unto perfect[16] life;" yet it followeth in the same sentence, "But certainly that is a thing very seldom, and of great difficulty." All this, M. Harding, you yourself have already answered: for you say, "It is not in the Greek, and therefore no part of Chrysostom, but shifted in by the falsehood of the printers." This is your answer, it may well be taken against yourself. I grant, there be many impediments in wife, children, servants, family, and worldly cares. But mark your uneven and partial dealing. The same Chrysostom, even in the same sentence, saith thus: "Abundance of riches doth hardly bring a man into the kingdom of heaven; yet oftentimes many rich men have entered into it: so also doth marriage[17]." As marriage hindereth, so do riches[18]; and no more the one than the other. Christ calleth riches "thorns and brambles." I do not remember that ever of marriage he said the like. Yet the pope restraineth his priests only from marriage, and alloweth them benefices, prebends, abbeys, bishopricks upon bishopricks, with money and treasure, as much as they list, and thinketh it no hinderance to perfect[16] life.

Luke viii. Matt. xiii.

Erasmus saith: "The priests of the Greek church this day, notwithstanding their orders, marry wives[19]." The like writeth Cornelius Agrippa against the Lovanians[20]. Your own gloss upon the decrees, as I have alleged before, noteth thus: *Dicunt quod olim sacerdotes poterant contrahere, ante Siricium*[21]: "They say that in old times, before pope Siricius, it was lawful for priests to contract matrimony." Likewise cardinal Cajetan saith: *Nec ratione nec auctoritate probari potest, quod absolute loquendo sacerdos peccet contrahendo matrimonium*[22]: "It cannot be proved, neither by reason nor by authority, speaking absolutely, that a priest offendeth God in marrying a wife."

Erasm. contr. Bed. p. 197. Corn. Agrip. contr. Lovan. Art. 18. Dist. 84. Cum in præter. In Gloss.

Cajet. in Quodlib.

How could he have said thus, if he had thought the vow of chastity had been annexed of necessity to the order of priesthood[23]?

Addition. "Cardinal Cajetan hath his errors. We are not bound to maintain whatsoever he saith, &c. Like as the order or habit of monks hath chastity annexed unto it, and therefore he that receiveth it is said therewith to

Addition.

M. Hard. fol. 307. b. [Detect.]

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[13] Hath, 1570.]

[14] Noluerimus, 1570.]

[15] ...οὐ μόνον οὐδὲν ἡμῖν ἐμποδίζει πρὸς τὴν κατὰ Θεὸν φιλοσοφίαν, ἐὰν βουλώμεθα νήφειν, ἀλλὰ καὶ πολλὴν ἡμῖν εἰσάγει τὴν παραμυθίαν μαινομένην τὴν φύσιν καταστέλλουσα.—Id. in cap. iv. Gen. Hom. xxi. Tom. IV. pp. 186, 7.]

[16] Perfite, 1570.]

[17] Ὥσπερ γὰρ ὁ πλοῦτος δυσχερῶς εἰσάγει εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν τῶν οὐρανῶν, πολλαχοῦ δὲ οἱ πλουτοῦντες εἰσῆλθον, οὕτω καὶ ὁ γάμος.—Id. in I. Epist. ad Tim. cap. iii. Hom. x. Tom. XI. pp. 599, 600.]

[18] Doth richesse, 1570.]

[19] Si Christus aut apostolicæ litteræ vetuerunt ne sacerdotes aut diaconi ducerent uxores, quomodo Græcis Christianis etiam hodie permittitur matrimonium?—Erasm. Op. L. Bat. 1703-6. Apolog. ad Notat. per N. Bedd. in Luc. Tom. IX. col. 488.]

[20] Et hodie adhuc Græcorum sacerdotes ducunt uxores, etiam post susceptum ordinem.—H. C. Agrip. Op. Lugd. 1531. Apolog. adv. Theolog. Lovan. Art. 18. Tom. II. pp. 293, 4.]

[21] Corp. Jur. Canon. Lugd. 1624. Decret. Gratian. Decr. Prim. Pars, Dist. lxxxiv. Gloss. in can. 3. col. 404.]

[22] Thom. de Vio Cajet. Opusc. et Quol. Venet. 1514. De Cast. fol. 49. 2. See Vol. III. page 403, note 21.]

[23] This sentence is not in 1567.]

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make a vow consequently; even so holy order in the west church hath chastity annexed inseparably, &c." *The answer.* Here is hard shift, M. Harding. Must these matters be proved by friars' weeds and monks' cowls? In the west church, you say, chastity is inseparably annexed unto priesthood. I trow you mean not true chastity indeed, but only the promise and vow of chastity: for otherwise both east and west may see by your concubines, and other practices, that your priesthood and chastity may well go asunder. But, if the vow of chastity be necessarily annexed unto priesthood, as you have told us, why speak you then more of the west church than of the east? Is their priesthood and yours of sundry natures? Why should you thus pester the world with so much vanity? Once again I say, if the vow of chastity be necessarily annexed to the order of priesthood, how can cardinal Cajetan say, "It cannot be proved, neither by reason nor by authority, speaking absolutely, that a priest offendeth God in marrying a wife?"

Anselm. Dial. Inquisit. Prima.

So likewise saith Anselmus in a dialogue between the master and the scholar touching these matters: *Desideramus certificari tua solutione super vulgari in toto orbe quæstione, quæ ab omnibus pene quotidie ventilatur, et adhuc lis indiscussa celatur, scilicet, an liceat presbyteris post acceptum ordinem uxores ducere*[1]: "We are desirous by your answer to be certified about this common question, that is now tossed through the world, and as yet lieth undiscussed, I mean, whether a priest being within orders may marry a wife." Hereby it appeareth that in the time of Anselmus, which was about[2] a thousand years after Christ, this matter lay in question, and was not yet discussed.

Addition.

M. Hard. fol. 308. a. b. [Detect.]

Addition. "Anselm wrote three dialogues, in which he maketh the master and the scholar to talk together. More dialogues he never wrote, that may appear by the works that are printed in his name; and in these there is no such dialogue touching these matters. There is no such thing at all among all his dialogues. Whether friar Bale[3], or Illyricus, or some other gatherer[4] of rifraff have deceived you, or yourself have used your own invention (I will not call it plain lying), I know not." *The answer.* And will you "not call it plain lying," M. Harding? There is the more courtesy in your dealing. Such talk becometh you so well, as nothing better. It is your manner to presume boldly before you know. Certainly there is such a dialogue of Anselmus: there is such a dialogue; and, although you saw it never, yet have I seen it: and, if any your friend, for his better satisfaction, shall desire the sight thereof, I am able to help him. If ye rest only upon the credit of printed books, ye may soon be deceived; for there are sundry books written by Anselmus that never were printed. Abbas Trithemius, after he had made a long rehearsal of his books,

Trithem. de Script. Eccles.

in the end saith thus: *Alia plura scripsisse*[5] *dicitur, quæ ad notitiam meam non venerunt*[6]: "Anselmus hath also written many other books, which never came to my knowledge."

But, touching the number and certainty of Anselm's books, I see no cause but Anselm himself may as well be believed as M. Harding. Anselm himself saith, he hath written more dialogues than those four that you have alleged; as you might easily have seen by his prologue before his dialogue *De Veritate.* One other dialogue he wrote *De Passione Domini;* the speakers whereof are Anselmus and Maria. He wrote another dialogue, between the master and the scholar, beginning thus: *Plura sunt de quibus tuam diu desidero responsionem.* There is another book of Anselmus, *De Corpore Christi;* and another, *De Conceptione*

[1] The Benedictine editor of Anselm directed attention, as observed Vol. III. page 130, note 3, to a MS. containing the *Offendiculum Sacerdotum*, in Corpus Christi College library, Cambridge. From that MS., once the property of archbishop Parker, Jewel quoted. The passage stands as follows: Desideramus ergo certificari, &c. Scilicet si liceat &c. ducere; aut si prosit vel liceat Christianis eorum missas audire, vel alia sacramenta ab eis percipere: præsertim cum apostolus nullum excipiens de omnibus viris dicat, propter fornicationem unusquisque uxorem habeat; melius esse enim nubere quam uri; et iterum, presbyteros constituendos esse unius uxoris viros: et necesse est ut hæc quæstio a te finiatur, &c.—MS. in C. C. C. No. xxxiv. p. 428. col. 2.]

[2] Above, 1567.]

[3] Ball, 1609, 1611.]

[4] Other such gatherer, 1570, 1609.]

[5] Recipisse, 1570.]

[6] ...alia nonnulla edidit, quæ ad manus nostras non venerunt.—Joh. Trithem. Op. Mogunt. 1605. De Vir. Illustr. Ord. S. Bened. Lib. II. cap. ci. p. 51.]

Beatæ Virginis Mariæ, beginning thus: *Principium quo salus mundi;* which, and other like books, I trow, in your printed Colonian tomes will not be found. There came lately abroad another dialogue of Anselm's, between the master and scholar, named *Promptuarium, seu Elucidarium,* printed at Paris, by Fredericus Morellus, Anno Domini 1560. Your Colonians, in their tomes of Anselm's works, have set forth one special book of his epistles, containing in the whole thirteen only epistles, and no more: yet, notwithstanding, I can send you to two several authentic books of Anselm, wherein you may find three hundred three-score and eight of his epistles[7]. Therefore, M. Harding, if you satisfy yourself only with the records of Colaine, you may happily be deceived. You may remember, Anselmus was the archbishop of Canterbury, and metropolitan of this realm of England: whether ever he saw the city of Colaine or no, I have not heard; therefore it were more wisdom for you to seek his books in England than in Colaine. Nay, your Colonians themselves confess that they have not printed all Anselm's books, but only so many as came to their hands. For thus they write in the inscription or title of the same: *Operum Anselmi, quæ quidem haberi potuerunt, omnium;* and again in the third tome: *Catalogus opusculorum omnium D. Anselmi, quæ ad hunc usque diem haberi potuerunt.*

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Spare therefore your unmannerly speeches of "plain lying," M. Harding, and learn rather yourself to speak the truth. As for the matter itself, that the priests of England were commonly and lawfully married in the time of Anselmus, which was in the year of our Lord a thousand and four-score, it is evident by all that have written the story of that age.

You may add further hereto the example of Moses, not the great captain of Israel, but a christian priest; who, as it appeareth by the pope's own records, being within holy orders, took a wife, and lived with her without any manner offence of law[8]. Your doctors tell you that, until the time of pope Siricius, that is to say, for the space well-near of four hundred years[9] after Christ, it was lawful for all priests to marry, without exception, neither vow, nor promise, nor law, nor ordinance, nor other restraint being then to the contrary[10]. Panormitane, your principal canonist, saith thus: *Si clare constet de matrimonio papæ, tunc aut uxor inducetur ad continentiam, aut si noluerit, reddat debitum, et nihilominus stet in papatu; quia non repugnat substantiæ papatus seu clericatus: nam et Petrus habebat uxorem cum promoveretur in papam. Continentia autem processit ex constitutione ecclesiæ*[11]: "If it may appear clearly that the pope hath a wife (as having married her before he was a pope[12]), then either his wife shall be persuaded to live single, or, if she will not, let the pope yield her marriage duty, and yet nevertheless remain in the popedom still; for marriage duty is not contrary to the substance and office neither of popedom nor of priesthood: for Peter had a wife when he was promoted to be a pope. As for the rule of single life, it was brought in by ordinance of the church." And therefore he saith further: *Unde videmus, quod presbyteri Græci sine peccato contrahunt matrimonium*[13]: "We see that the priests of Græcia, being within orders, do marry wives; and we see they do it, *sine peccato,* without sin or breach of law, either of God or of man." He goeth not by blind peradventure and by guess, as you do, M. Harding, but speaketh of certainty. "We know it," saith he, "and we see it." Another of your cardinals, Nicolaus Cusanus, saith: *In novo testamento, post aliquot tempora, visum fuit irrationabile fore, quod in sacris ordinibus existentes contraherent, similiter et solenniter voventes*[14]: "In the new testament, after a certain time, it was thought it should not be reasonable for priests, being within holy orders, to contract matrimony: likewise it was thought of them that had made solemn vows."

Dist. 84. Cum in præterito.

In ead. Dist.

Extr. de Elect. C. Licet de vit. Abb.

Nic. Cus. ad Bohem. Epist. 2.

[7 See J. A. Fabric. Biblioth. Lat. Med. et Inf. Ætat. Hamb. 1734-46. Tom. I. pp. 295, &c.]

[8 Corp. Jur. Canon. Lugd. 1624. Decret. Gratian. Decr. Prim. Pars, Dist. lxxxiv. Gloss. in can. 3. col. 404.]

[9 *Years* is not in 1570.]

[10 Corp. Jur. Canon. ubi sup. See before, page 807.]

[11 Si vero constat clare de matrimonio: tunc aut &c. noluerit continere reddat, &c. uxorem cum fuit promotus in &c.—Panorm. sup. Prim. Primi Decretal. Lugd. 1534. Tit. vi. cap. 6. fol. 123.]

[12 Was pope, 1570, 1609.]

[13 Id. ibid.]

[14 Nic. de Cusa Op. Basil. 1565. Ad Bohem. Epist. ii. Tom. II. p. 835; where *visum fuit post aliquot tempora.*]

"After a certain time (saith he) this decree was made." He meaneth the time of pope Siricius, as we have said; before which time it was lawful as well for priests, as also for them that had made a solemn vow of chastity, to marry lawfully without restraint.

Thus, M. Harding, you see by your canonists, that the priests of the east church may marry, being within holy orders; by the ancient council of Ancyra, that deacons, after protestation made, might lawfully marry; by Chrysostom, that priests and bishops may so take the state of marriage, that it shall be no hinderance to any perfection; by cardinal Cajetan, that, speaking absolutely, a priest offendeth not in marrying a wife, his orders or priesthood notwithstanding; by Anselm, that a xi hundred[1] years after Christ, that is to say, until within one hundred years sithence the Conquest, this matter, notwithstanding it had been much beaten through the world, yet lay still undiscussed; by Panormitane, Erasmus, and Agrippa, that the priests of Græcia marry this day, and that *sine peccato*, "without sin;" by others your doctors, that until the time of pope Siricius it was lawful for priests[2] to marry. You see that Moses, being a christian priest, and Eupsychius, being a christian bishop and a martyr, took either of them a lawful wife, and so lived in[3] marriage without offence. Yet, all this notwithstanding, can you say again without blushing, M. Harding, as you have said, "We deny utterly that any man, after that he hath received holy orders, may marry?" Or will you say, "It cannot be shewed that the marriage of such was ever accounted lawful in the catholic church?"

M. Hard. fol. 230. [Detect.]

If ye knew these things before, M. Harding, ye were to blame to dissemble them: if ye knew them not, ye were to blame to control them. I doubt not but it may appear by these few, that sithence the time of Christ's resurrection sundry priests being within holy orders have married wives; and that not only in the Greek church, but also in the church of Rome.

THE APOLOGY, Chap. iii. Division 9.

The ancient emperor Justinian commanded, that in the holy administration all things should be pronounced with a clear, loud, and treatable voice, that the people might receive some fruit thereby[4]. These men, lest the people should understand them, mumble up their[5] service, not only with a drowned and hollow voice, but also in a strange and barbarous tongue.

In Novell. Const. 123.

M. HARDING.

Justinian the emperor willeth prayers at the holy oblation (which these defenders here translate administration, as being ashamed of their own author, because they hold [a]*against the sacrifice of the mass) to be made not in silence, but with an audible voice. Not meaning as though prayers made in silence were unfruitful to the people; as these men would make us believe: and therefore they corrupt his words; as what thing do they not corrupt that cometh under their hands? They say Justinian made that law,* ut fructus ex ea re aliquis ad populum redire posset: "*that some fruit might come thereof to the people;*" *as who should say,* [b]*no fruit were like to come if prayer were made in silence. But what saith Justinian? His words be:* "Quo majore exinde devotione in depromendis Domini Dei laudibus audientium animi efferantur: "*To the intent the minds of the hearers may thereby with the more devotion be lifted up in setting forth the praises of our Lord God.*" *He saith that the loud voice helpeth to more devotion; he saith not, "that*[7] *some fruit," but, "with more devotion."* [b]*Some fruit is alway*[8] *had even by secret prayer, and more fruit sometime than by loud prayer.*

In Nov. Const. 123.

Two faults then are committed, or rather two lies made, in Justinian's words;

[a] Untruth, fond and peevish. For Justinian speaketh not of any sacrifice of the mass.

[b] Untruth. For St Augustine saith *Quid...prodest locutionis integritas, quam non sequitur intellectus audientis?*

[1] That eleven hundred, 1570, 1609.]
[2] For all priests, 1570, 1609.]
[3] *In* is not in 1570.]
[4] Corp. Jur. Civil. Amst. 1663. Auth. Coll. IX. Tit. XX. Novell. CXXXVII. 6. Tom. II. pp. 196, 7. See Vol. I. page 287, note 10. Conf. page 8, note 6.]
[5] Up all their, Conf. and Def. 1567.]
[6] See below, note 17.]
[7] To, Conf. and Def. 1567.]
[8] Always, Conf. and Def. 1567.]

one, that for "oblation" they turned "administration," which falsehood[9] *M. Jewel useth in his printed sermon, and in his replies to M. D. Cole*[10]. *Whether he be also guilty of this? Another*[11] *fault is, that for "more devotion" they put "some fruit." The third lie is, in that they say we do whisper all our service, so is the Latin, albeit this good lady liketh better the term of mumbling.* [e]*I ween few who have the sense of hearing will say with them, that the singing of psalms, hymns, epistle, gospel, grailes, offertories, preface, and such like service used in the catholic church, is whispering or mumbling. The fourth lie is, where they say we do it so "lest the people should understand" us.* [d]*We wish that all the people understood all our prayers. But we think it not convenient in a common profane tongue to utter high mysteries. Therefore we wish they would learn the* [e]*mystical tongue, and gladly do we teach their children the same.... St Dionyse, the Areopagite scholar to St Paul, teacheth Timothy, and in him all us,* Communicare ea quæ vim perficiendi habent cum iis qui perficiunt[12], "*To communicate those things which have power to make men perfect*[13] *with them who make men perfect*[13]*:*" [f]*that is to say, to publish priestly office of consecration (for nothing maketh us more perfect*[13]*) among them only who are priests, and not among others.*

Last of all, the fifth lie is, to say that we pronounce our service and our mysteries in a barbarous tongue: [g]*as though the Latin tongue were barbarous, and not rather every vulgar tongue. That tongue is most barbarous, which is most used of the vulgar sort, most private, most unknown in respect of all....* [h]*When England cometh to have a service of their own, a tongue of their own in churches, and hath a church of their own*[15] *beside the whole, then have they lost their part with the catholic church; whereunto God restore it again.*

[e] Untruth. For M. Harding's own councils express it by these words, *Insusurrare* and *Murmurare.*

[d] Untruth, notorious and contrary to their own principal position, "Ignorance is the mother of devotion."

[e] Mystical tongue. A mystical folly of all follies.

[f] Untruth, and a gloss contrary both to the text, and also to the continual practice of the church of Græcia.

[g] Folly[14]. For St Paul saith: "The tongue is barbarous that is not known."

[h] A solemn decree without sense.

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

O M. Harding, we corrupt not such things as come under our hands. The world seeth that is your ordinary and peculiar practice: it is not ours. Ye dub[16] us both here and elsewhere with your "lies" upon "lies." Such is the civility and courtesy of your speech. Yet hitherto we have not redubbed you with any one lie. Sobriety and modesty rather becometh them that speak of God.

Prayer in a strange Tongue.

First ye say, we have corrupted Justinian's words. And yet ye know we alleged only Justinian's meaning, and otherwise not one of all his words. Ye say: "Justinian meant not as though prayers made in silence were unfruitful to the people." For "some fruit (ye say) there is always had, even by secret and unknown prayer." But what fruit, or how much, or how ye know it, or can assure it, ye spare to tell us. Yet St Augustine saith: *Quid... prodest locutionis integritas, quam non sequitur intellectus audientis? Cum loquendi omnino nulla sit causa, si quod loquimur non intelligunt, propter quos, ut intelligant, loquimur*[17]*:* "What profit is there in speech, be it never so perfect[18], if the understanding of the hearer cannot attain it? For there is no cause why we should speak at all, if they understand not what we speak, for whose sake we speak, that they may understand us." Again he saith: *Mens mea sine fructu est: hoc ait, quando id quod dicitur non intelligitur*[19]*:* "'My mind is without fruit:' this the apostle St Paul saith, when the thing that is spoken is[20] not perceived." And again: *Si intellectum mentis removeas, nemo ædificatur audiendo quod non intelligit*[22]*:* "Set apart the understanding of the mind, and no man hath fruit or profit of that thing that he perceiveth not." Likewise, again he saith: *Quid opus est jubilare,... et non intelligere jubilationem; ut vox nostra sola jubilet, et cor non*

Justin. Imp. Auth. Const. 123. We command all bishops and priests to minister the holy oblation, &c., not under silence, but with a loud voice, &c., that the hearts of the hearers may be stirred to more devotion, &c.

Aug. de Doctr. Christ. Lib. iv. cap. x.

Aug. de Trin. Lib. xiv. cap. xvi.[21] 1 Cor. xiv.[23]

August. in Gen. ad Lit. Lib. xi. cap. viii.

August. in Psal. xcix.

[9] Falshead, Conf. and Def. 1567, 1570.]

[10] See Vol. I. pages 8, 57.]

[11] And other, Conf.]

[12] Dion. Areop. Op. 1634. De Eccles. Hierarch. cap. i. Tom. I. p. 236.]

[13] Perfite, Conf. and Def. 1567, 1570.]

[14] A folly, Def. 1567.]

[15] Owe, Def. 1570.]

[16] Dub: strike.]

[17] August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. De Doctr. Christ. Lib. iv. cap. x. 24. Tom. III. Pars i. col. 73.]

[18] Perfite, 1567, 1570.]

[19] ...*mens autem mea infructuosa est.* Hoc enim ait &c.—Id. de Trin. Lib. xiv. cap. xvi. 22. Tom. VIII. cols. 962, 3.]

[20] It, 1567.]

[21] These two references are inserted from 1567, instead of *August. de Doctr. Christ. Lib. iv. cap. xvi.* which the later editions have.]

[22] Id. de Gen. ad Litt. Lib. xii. cap. viii. 19. Tom. III. Pars i. col. 302.]

[23] This reference is inserted from 1567.]

Prayer in a strange Tongue.

jubilet? Sonus enim cordis intellectus est[1]: "What needeth us to sing, if we understand not what we sing; to sing with our voice, and not with our heart? For understanding is the sound or voice of the heart."

M. Harding telleth us sadly, The devout people is edified by the Latin prayers, though they understand not one word that is spoken. But St Augustine saith: "By that thing that he understandeth not no man is edified." M. Harding saith: "There is always some fruit even by secret and unknown prayer." But St Augustine saith: "There is no fruit in speech, be it never so perfect[2], if the understanding of the heart cannot attain it." So properly St Augustine and M. Harding agree together[3].

These words, 'whispering' and 'mumbling,' mislike you much. Yet your own friends, entreating hereof, have often used the same words. In your late council of Colaine, it is written thus: *Ut presbyteri preces non tantum ore murmurent, sed etiam corde persolvant, nunquam a manibus eorum liber legis, hoc est, biblia, deponatur*[4]: "That the priests may not[6] only mumble up their prayers, but also pronounce them from their hearts, let the book of the law, that is to say, the bible, never be laid from their hands."

Concil. Colon. cap. 5. Anno 1536. Part 2.[5]

Likewise, Regino reporteth the words of the council of Nantes: *Ridiculum est muris aut parietibus insusurrare ea quæ ad populum pertinent*[7]: "It is a peevish thing to whisper those things to the walls that pertain unto the people."

Regin. 2. Concil. Nan.

Notwithstanding, whether it be whispering or mumbling, or by whatsoever name else it shall please you to call it, that good emperor's commandment and meaning was, that ye should so utter all things in the congregation, distinctly and plainly, with loud and open voice, that the people might understand you, and answer, Amen[8]. Therefore St Augustine saith: *Nos... qui in ecclesia divina eloquia cantare didicimus, simul etiam instare debemus esse quod scriptum est, Beatus populus, qui intelligit jubilationem. Proinde, carissimi, quod consona voce cantavimus, sereno etiam corde nosse et tenere debemus*[9]: "We, that have learned to sing in the church the heavenly words of God, must also endeavour to be that thing that is written: 'Blessed is the people that understandeth what they sing.' Therefore, dearly beloved, that we have sung together with tunable voice, we ought also to know and see with pure heart." St Ambrose, declaring the ecclesiastical order of his time, saith thus: *Responsoriis psalmorum, cantu virorum, mulierum, virginum, parvulorum, consonus undarum fragor resultat*[10]: "With the answering of psalms, and with the singing together of men, women, maids, and little children, the church soundeth, as if it were the dashing and beating of[11] the sea."

Authen. Constit. 123.

August. in Psal. xviii.

Ambros. Hexam. Lib. iii. cap. v.

To like purpose Leo saith: *Totius ecclesiæ una est oratio, et una confessio*[12]: "The whole church hath one prayer, and one confession."

Leo de Jejun. Sept. Mens. Serm. 3.

That ye allege out of Dionysius is vain and childish, as is the rest of your talk, and quite contrary to the author's mind, and therefore not worthy to be answered. For Dionysius saith not as you have imagined, M. Harding, that the priest should talk alone in his mystical unknown tongue, as a jangling cymbal without sense; but rather telleth you that by his order the priest and the whole people should sing together. These be his words: *Percipiens ipse, et aliis tradens divinam communionem, postremo desinit in gratiarum actionem,... una cum tota ecclesiæ multitudine*[13]: "The priest, both receiving himself the holy

Dion. cap. iii. Μετὰ παντὸς τοῦ τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἱεροῦ πληρώματος.

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[1] Id. In Psalm. xcix. Enarr. 3. Tom. IV. col. 1072.]

[2] Perfite, 1570.]

[3] This paragraph is not in 1567.]

[4] Quas [preces] ut non &c. sed et corde, &c.—Concil. Colon. Pars II. cap. 5. in Crabb. Concil. Col. Agripp. 1551. Tom. III. p. 777.]

[5] 1567, 1570 omit *Part* 2.]

[6] Priests not, 1567.]

[7] ...aut si hæc muris et parietibus insusurraverit, ridiculum erit.—Regin. Abbat. Prum. Libr. de Eccles. Discipl. Par. 1671. Lib. I. cxci. p. 96. Conf. Burchard. Decret. Col. 1548. Lib. III. cap. 68. fol. 63.]

[8] See before, page 810, note 4.]

[9] August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. In Psalm. xviii. Enarr. 2. Tom. IV. cols. 81, 2; where *nosse ac videre debemus*.]

[10] Ambros. Op. Par. 1686-90. Hexaem. Lib. III. cap. v. 23. Tom. I. col. 42; where *cantus*.]

[11] The dashing of, 1567.]

[12] Leon. Magni Op. Lut. 1623. De Jejun. Sept. Mens. Serm. iii. 3. col. 240.]

[13] Dion. Areop. Op. Antv. 1634. De Eccles. Hierarch. cap. iii. 2. Tom. I. p. 284; where ὑπὸ παντός.]

communion, and also delivering the same unto others, last of all endeth with thanksgiving, together with all the whole multitude and[14] company of the church."

Prayer in a strange Tongue.

Thus out of one place ye have alleged two manifest testimonies against yourself; the one to condemn your private mass, the other to condemn your mystical prayers in unknown tongue[15].

Ye say: "We wish the people would learn the mystical Latin tongue, and gladly do we teach their children the same." Ye say, "The mystical Latin tongue." O vain man, and more vain than vanity itself! Why seek you so fondly to deceive God's people? Who ever taught you these kinds of mysteries? What scripture? What council? What doctor? What father? How know you that the Latin tongue, that every child may so commonly and so easily understand, should be so mystical? And wherefore are all other[16] tongues, the Greek, the Hebrew, the Chaldee, the Arabic, the Italian, the French, the Spanish, the Irish, less mystical than the Latin? What have these tongues offended? What hath that tongue deserved? The tongue is nothing else but a tongue. It is the matter and meaning of the words that is mystical. St Augustine saith: *Audimus hæc verba, beata vita; et rem ipsam omnes nos appetere fatemur. Non enim sono delectamur. Nam hoc cum Latine audit Græcus, non delectatur; quia ignorat quod dictum est:... sicut etiam Latinus, si Græce hoc audierit: quoniam res ipsa nec Græca nec Latina est*[17]: "We hear these words, blessed life, or the life to come; and the thing itself we all confess we desire to have. For we have no pleasure in the sound of the words. For, when a Grecian heareth these words spoken in Latin, he hath no pleasure in them, because he understandeth not what is spoken. Neither hath the Latin any pleasure if he hear the same spoken in Greek: for the thing itself is neither Greek nor Latin[18]." It were a great mystery to reach the bottom of your mysteries. St Panl calleth you, not the hiders, or couchers, but the dispensers and "stewards of God's mysteries." Your mystical policy is to lead God's people through mist and darkness. Ye "wish the people would learn the Latin tongue," which you call "mystical." No doubt, a worthy and learned[19] wish. Ye might as good cheap and as well have wished, that all the whole people of all countries would learn to speak Greek and Hebrew. But your meaning is that, until all the plowmen, and artificers, and labourers of the world be able to understand and to speak your mystical Latin tongue, they may not in any wise be allowed to understand any parcel of their prayers.

August. Conf. Lib. x. cap. xx.

1 Cor. iv.

Lactantius, speaking of the subtle practices and policies of the heathens, saith thus: *Hinc fida silentia instituta... sunt ab hominibus callidis; ut nesciret populus quid coleret*[20]: "Therefore trusty silence and secresy was appointed by subtle and false factors[21], that the people (still being blind) should never know what they worshipped."

Lactant. Lib. v. cap. xx.

This is not the mystery of the kingdom of heaven: it is rather the mystery of iniquity; the same mystery that St John mentioneth in his Revelations: *In fronte ejus nomen scriptum est, Mysterium: Babylon magna, mater abominationum et fornicationum terræ*: "A name was written in her forehead, a Mystery: Great Babylon, the mother of the abominations, and of the fornications of the earth." Of these holy mysteries your Latin tongue, as ye have used it, may well and justly be called mystical.

Matt. xiii. 2 Thess. ii. Rev. xvii.

St Hierome saith of your fathers in the old[22] time: *De domo Dei scenam fecere*[23] *populorum*[24]: "Of the house of God they have made a stage-play of the people." And, speaking of the Valentinian heretics, he saith: *Barbaro simplices quosque*

Hieron. in Epist. ad Eph. cap. v.

Hieron. ad Theod.

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[14] Or, 1567.]

[15] This paragraph is not in 1567.]

[16] Others, 1570.]

[17] August. Op. Confess. Lib. x. cap. xx. 29. Tom. I. col. 181; where *audimus nomen hoc et rem, quod dictum sit*, and *etiam ille si Græce*.]

[18] The sentences from *be so mystical* are not in 1567.]

[19] And a learned, 1567, 1570, 1609.]

[20] Lactant. Op. Lut. Par. 1748. Div. Inst. Lib. v. cap. xx. Tom. I. p. 413; where *nesciat* and *colat*.]

[21] Faitours, 1567, 1570.]

[22] In old, 1567, 1570, 1609.]

[23] Facere, 1611.]

[24] ...de Dei domo scenam fecere populorum.—Hieron. Op. Par. 1693-1706. Comm. Lib. III. in Epist. ad Ephes. cap. v. Tom. IV. Pars I. col. 387.]

Prayer in a strange Tongue.

terrent sono, ut, quod non intelligunt, plus mirentur[1]: "With a barbarous unknown sound of words they fear the simple, that, whatsoever they understand not, they may the more esteem, and have in reverence."

But the Latin tongue, ye say, is not barbarous; and therein, as your wont is, ye have noted a wonderful great lie in our Apology. Yet unto St Paul that tongue seemeth "barbarous" that is unknown unto the hearer, be it Latin, be it Greek[2]. Thus he saith: *Nisi sciero vim vocis, ero illi qui loquitur barbarus; et ille qui loquitur, mihi barbarus:* "Unless I understand the power or meaning of the words, I shall be barbarous to him that speaketh; and he that speaketh (in what tongue soever he speaketh[3]) shall be barbarous unto me." Hereof I had occasion to say somewhat in my former Reply[4]. St Augustine saith: *Mallet quisque cum cane suo versari, quam cum homine ignotæ linguæ*[5]: "Any man would rather dwell with his dog than with a man of an unknown tongue."

1 Cor. xiv.

Art. III. Div. 3. Ludov. Viv. de Trad. Discip. Lib. iii. fol. 97.

To conclude, ye say: "When England cometh to have a service of their own, and a tongue of their own in churches, then have they lost their own part[6] with the catholic church." Here, M. Harding, a little more reason would have given some credit to your words. For, as touching the public service of the church, I beseech you, even in your own time of barbarous blindness, what service had the church of England, but peculiar and special to herself? Touching the variety of tongues, St Augustine saith: *Astitit regina a dextris tuis in vestitu deaurato, circundata varietate. Ubi significatur linguarum varietas in omnibus gentibus; quarum tamen una est intus et simplex fides*[7]: "The queen stood at thy right hand, apparelled in cloth of gold, adorned with variety. Hereby is signified the diversity of tongues in all nations; the faith whereof, that lieth within, is one and simple." Likewise again he saith: *Vestitus reginæ hujus quis est? Et pretiosus ... et varius est; sacramenta doctrinæ in linguis omnibus variis. Alia lingua Aphricana; alia Syra*[9]*; alia Græca; alia Hebræa; alia illa, et illa. Faciunt istæ linguæ varietatem vestis reginæ hujus. Quomodo autem omnis varietas vestis in unitate concordat, sic et omnes linguæ ad unam fidem. In veste varietas sit, scissura non sit; ecce varietatem intelleximus de diversitate linguarum, et vestem intelleximus propter unitatem*[10]: "What is this queen's apparel? It is precious and full of variety; the mysteries of doctrine in all sundry tongues. There is one tongue of Africa; another of Syria; another Greek; another Hebrew; another this, another that. These tongues make up the variety of the queen's apparel. But as all the variety of colours in the apparel agreeth in[11] unity, even so all the tongues[12] agree in one faith. Let there be variety in the apparel; but rent or cut there may not be. Behold, by the variety we understand the diversity of tongues; and by the apparel we understand the unity" (of the church). Again he saith: *Distant inter se linguæ; sed linguarum distantiæ non sunt schismata*[13]: "Tongues are divided one from another; but the division of tongues is no schism or division in religion." Therefore, M. Harding, why send ye us over this wanton talk? Why tell you us that, "when England hath a tongue of her own in the churches, then hath she lost her part with the catholic church?" Behold, St Augustine saith: "The division of tongues is no division in religion[14]."

August. adv. Jud. cap. iv.[8]

August. in Psal. xliv.

August. in Johan. Tract. 6.

The Apology, Chap. iii. Division 10.

Concil. Carth. 3.

The old council at Carthage commanded that nothing should be read[15] in Christ's congregation but the canonical scriptures: these men

[1] Id. ad Theodor. Epist. liii. Tom. IV. Pars II. col. 581; where *terrentes.*]

[2] The last six words are not in 1567.]

[3] Speak, 1567, 1570.]

[4] See Vol. I. pages 267, 8.]

[5] J. Lod. Viv. Op. Basil. 1555. De Tradend. Discipl. Lib. III. Tom. I. p. 463.]

[6] Their part, 1567, 1570, 1609.]

[7] Adstitit &c. circumamicta varietate. &c. tamen una et simplex fides est intus.—August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. Tractat. adv. Jud. cap. iv. 5. Tom. VIII. col. 31.]

[8] Orat. 4. 1567, 1570.]

[9] Syria, 1570, 1609, 1611.]

[10] Id. in Psalm. xliv. Enarr. 24. Tom. IV. col. 394; where *lingua Afra.*]

[11] 1611 omits *in.*]

[12] All tongues, 1567, 1570, 1609.]

[13] Id. in Johan. Evang. cap. i. Tractat. vi. 3. Tom. III. Pars II. col. 331; where *distantia.*]

[14] The sentences from *in religion* are not in 1567.]

[15] Commanded nothing to be read, Conf.]

read such things in their churches as themselves know for a truth to be stark lies and fond fables.

Scriptures only to be read in Churches.

M. HARDING.

*A man were better, I assure thee, good reader, to make two new books than to correct one so full of lies and falsified places, as this Apology is. *This old council of Carthage is newly falsified by our new clergy. The words of the council are these:* Placuit, ut præter scripturas canonicas nihil in ecclesia legatur sub nomine divinarum scripturarum[16]: *"It hath seemed good unto us, that besides the canonical scriptures nothing be read in the church under the name of holy*[17] *scriptures." They, leaving out these four words* sub nomine divinarum scripturarum, *"under the name of the divine*[18] *scriptures," would bear men in hand the council willed nothing to be read in the church besides the holy scriptures. Are not these trusty men, to whom ye may commit the charge of your souls for your faith and salvation?*

* Untruth. For, if this council be falsified, it was falsified twelve hundred years ago in the council of Hippo.

Concil. Carth. 3. cap. 47.

It followeth in the same decree: Liceat etiam legi passiones[19] martyrum, cum anniversarii dies... celebrantur[20]: *"Let it be lawful also for the martyrdoms of martyrs to be read when their yearly feasts are kept." And yet dare they not only to say, nothing must be read besides the scriptures, but also to allege that very place for that special lie, which saith the contrary. Look in the book thyself, good reader, and see how falsely they handle so holy matters. *Another lie is, when they say we read those things in the churches*[21] *which ourselves "know to be stark lies and fond fables." When they cannot themselves shew that we have any such, it is vain*[22] *lying rhetoric to say we doubt not of it, or know it ourselves for a truth. I wonder not if they blush not in belying us, who have belied so many scriptures, councils, and fathers.*

* Untruth. For it is confessed by the best of M. Harding's own side.

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

It standeth well with your truth, M. Harding, so often to charge us with lies and falsehood[23]. I trust it will appear ye had no great cause to keep so great revel upon so poor a conquest. Indeed these words be not expressly found[24] in the third council of Carthage; yet are they found in the council of Hippo, which is the abridgement of the third council of Carthage, as it appeareth by the title of the same: *Concilii Hipponensis Abbreviationes factæ in Concilio Carthaginensi Tertio.*

The words of the council of Hippo, and for so much also of the third council of Carthage, be these: *Scripturæ canonicæ in ecclesia legendæ quæ sunt; et præter quas alia non legantur*[25]: "The scriptures canonical, which are to be read[26] in the church; and besides which nothing may[27] be read." Here have you, M. Harding, the plain words of the council of Hippo, abridged out of the third council of Carthage, "that nothing may be read in the church but only the canonical scriptures." Judge you therefore how just cause ye had so unadvisedly (for I dare not say[28] so unlearnedly) to charge the Apology with lies and falsehood[23].

Concil. Hipp. cap. 38.

Here[29] may we add the like decree of the council holden at Laodicea: *Sabbatis evangelia cum aliis scripturis legenda esse censemus*[30]: "We agree that the gospel, with other scriptures, be read upon the sabbath-day." If these words seem not sufficient, it followeth further in the same council: *Non oportet... libros, qui sunt extra canonem, legere, nisi solos canonicos veteris et novi testamenti*[31]: "We may not read any books that be without the canon, but only the canonical books of the old and new testament."

Concil. Laod. cap. 16.

Concil. Laod. cap. 59.

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[16] Concil. Carthag. III. cap. 47. in Crabb. Concil. Col. Agrip. 1551. Tom. I. p. 431.]

[17] Of the holy, Conf. and Def. 1567, 1570, 1609.]

[18] Of divine, Conf. and Def. 1567.]

[19] Passionis, Def. 1570.]

[20] Ibid.]

[21] Church, Conf. and Def. 1567.]

[22] Is a vain, Conf. and Def. 1567, 1570, 1609.]

[23] Falshead, 1567, 1570.]

[24] Not found, 1567.]

[25] Concil. Hipp. Abbrev. 38. in eod. p. 434.]

[26] To read, 1567.]

[27] Nothing else may, 1567.]

[28] Not to say, 1567.]

[29] Hereto, 1567.]

[30] Concil. Laod. can. 16. in Concil. Stud. Labb. et Cossart. Lut. Par. 1671-2. Tom. I. col. 1500.]

[31] Ibid. can. 59. col. 1507.]

Chrysost. in Matt. Hom. 38.

To like effect Chrysostom saith: *Ideo* [*Christus*]*... mensas nummulariorum evertit; significans quod in templo Dei non debent esse nummi, nisi spirituales, id est, qui Dei imaginem habent*[1]: "Therefore Christ overthrew the exchangers' banks, meaning thereby, that there may be no coin in the church but only spiritual, that is to say, that beareth the image of God." Again he saith: *Lectorum officium erat, in ecclesia sacra legere ex scriptis vel prophetarum vel apostolorum*[2]: "It was the readers' office to pronounce holy things unto the people, out of either the apostles or prophets."

Chrysost. in Act. Hom. 19.

Erasm. in Hier. de Eccles. Script. Efrem.

Erasmus saith: *Apparet non nisi apostolicas literas olim legi solitas in templis, aut certe virorum apostolicæ auctoritatis*[3]: "It appeareth that in old time nothing was used to be read in the churches but only the apostles' writings, or, at least, the writings of such others as were of apostolic authority." Likewise saith Abbas Ansigisus, reporting the ecclesiastical decrees of the French kings, Lewis and Charles: *In templis tantum canonici libri, id est, sacræ literæ legantur*[4]: "Let there be read in the churches only the canonical books, that is to say, the holy scriptures." Hereby may you see, M. Harding, if there were any want before, thus many ways it may be supplied[5].

Ansig. Lib. i. cap. xix. Imp. Paris. Anno 1550.

"Another lie," ye say, "is this, when they say we read those things in the church which ourselves know to be stark lies and fond fables." For trial hereof we shall not need to travel far. Your own books and legends are proof sufficient.

Erasm. in Annot. in Hieron. de Eccles. Scrip.

Erasmus thereof saith thus: *Hodie quorumlibet somnia, imo mulierculorum deliramenta, leguntur inter divinas scripturas*[6]: "Now-a-days every fool's dreams, yea, very women's doting fancies, are read with the holy scriptures."

Polyd. Virg. in Orat. Dom.

Likewise saith Polydore Vergil: *Multorum divorum vitas recitant tametsi parum ad fidem scriptas*[7]: "They read many saints' lives, although not written according to the truth[8]." Ludovicus Vives, writing of your *Legenda Aurea*, which was the mother of all your devout ecclesiastical stories or fables, saith thus: *Nescio cur aurea dici debeat, cum scripta sit ab homine ferrei oris et plumbei cordis, et plenissima sit impudentissimis mendaciis*[9]: "I see no cause why it should be called the Golden Legend, seeing it was written by a man of an iron face, and a leaden heart, and is freight full of most shameless lies." If ye know[10] not these things, M. Harding, your friends will think ye know nothing. Such truths ye read and publish devoutly and solemnly in your churches. Yet may we neither say nor think ye mock the people.

Leon. Lavat. in Prov. Salom. p. 134.

The Apology, Chap. iv. Division 1.

But if there be any that think these[11] above-rehearsed authorities be but weak and slender, because they were decreed by emperors, and certain petite[12] bishops, and not by so full and perfect[13] councils, taking pleasure rather in the authority and name of the pope; let such a one know, that pope Julius doth evidently forbid that a priest in ministering

[1] Chrysost. Op. Par. 1718-38. Op. Imperf. in Matt. Hom. xxxviii. ex cap. xxi. Tom. VI. p. clx.; where *significans quia in.*]

[2] Μετ' ἐκεῖνον ἄρχεται ὁ ἀναγνώστης τῆς προφητείας Ἡσαΐου· κ.τ.λ.—Id. in Act. Apost. Hom. xix. Tom. IX. p. 160. The assertion of Jewel is rather implied than expressed in this place.]

[3] Hieron. Op. Basil. 1516. In Catalog. Script. Eccles. Erasm. Schol. Tom. I. fol. 141.]

[4] Item in eodem concilio [Calcedonensi], ut canonici libri tantum legantur in ecclesia.—Kar. Magn. et Ludov. Pii Capit. ab Anseg. coll. Par. 1603. Lib. I. cap. xx. fol. 9.]

[5] This sentence is not in 1567.]

[6] Hieron. Op. Basil. 1516. In Catalog. Script. Eccles. Erasm. Schol. Tom. I. fol. 141; where *hodie monachorum somnia.*]

[7] ...multorum divorum vitas tametsi parum interdum ad fidem scriptas recitando &c.—Polyd. Verg. Interp. Dom. Orat. Epist. Dedic. Roffens. Episc. ad calc. De Rer. Invent. Basil. 1532. p. 529.]

[8] To truth, 1567.]

[9] ... Legendam auream...prodigiosis mendaciis refertam, de qua recte Ludo. Vives scribit, Se nescire cur aurea nominetur, cum &c. cordis, et illo libro fœdius nihil dici posse.—Ludov. Lavat. In Libr. Proverb. Tig. 1562. cap. xiv. v. 18. fol. 134. Conf. J. Lod. Viv. Op. Basil. 1555. De Caus. Corrupt. Art. Lib. II. Tom. I. pp. 371, 2.]

[10] Knew, 1567, 1570.]

[11] Think that these, Conf.]

[12] Petie, Conf.]

[13] Perfit, Conf. and Def. 1567, 1570.]

the communion should dip the bread in the cup. These men, contrary to pope Julius' decree, divide the bread and dip it in the wine.

M. HARDING.

Ye may be sure many men think your[14] *homely stuff not only weak and slender, but also corrupt, venomous, and loathsome. But now belike*[15] *ye will amend your fault. But how? Surely by going from very evil to as bad or worse, if ye can do worse than hitherto ye have done. "Julius the pope (say ye) doth evidently forbid that a priest in ministering the communion should dip the bread in the cup." Now verily your former fault of lying is well amended. For where before ye left out, cast in, or changed some of those words which ye pretend to allege, now ye make every whit new of your own. Where hath Julius these words? I speak not of your false alleging of places in your book's margin*[16]. *I forgive you the putting of* cum enim nemo, *instead of* cum omne: *these be small and slipper faults, which, if they were alone, might be winked at in such slipper*[17] *merchants as ye are. But let let us hear what pope Julius saith*[18]:... Alios quoque [audivimus[19]] intinctam eucharistiam populis pro complemento communionis porrigere[20]: "*We have heard also of others who give to the people the eucharist dipped or stiped*[21], *for making up of the communion.*" *It is to be understanded that, whereas Christ gave the blessed sacrament of the altar to his apostles, he gave it under both kinds. And, when the priests in some countries, either for lack of wine at all times ready, either for some private fancy, used to dip or to stipe*[22] *the sacred body of our Lord under form of bread in the consecrated blood, and so to give it to the people; pope Julius findeth fault therewith, for that neither Christ ordained so, nor the apostles left such order to the church. So that Julius meaneth nothing else but to reprove and reform that use of dipping or stiping the one kind in the other in the administration of the communion unto the people. Read the place, who listeth, he shall find the same sense more largely uttered a little after.*

But what sense make these defenders, a God's name? They say, Julius forbiddeth the priests[23], ne dum peragit mysteria panem immergat in calicem: "*that in ministering the communion (so the lady turneth) he should dip the bread in the cup.*" *There is no such word in the whole decree. Julius nameth* eucharistiam: *they call it "bread." Julius hath* *intinctam porrigere populis, "*that no priest* *give the sacrament dipped to the people:" they, leaving out, "giving it to the people," say, he forbad the priest to dip it. They leave out also the chief cause of the whole, which is,* pro complemento communionis, "*for making up of the communion.*" *For he forbiddeth to give unto the people only the consecrated host dipped in the chalice, as though it were the whole communion, no less than if the blood were given apart. "These men (say they), contrary to the decree of pope Julius, divide the bread and dip it in the wine." We in the mass break the host in three parts, not without signification of a mystery: two we receive apart, the third we put into the chalice and receive it together with the blood. What have ye to say against this?...*

* A fond vanity. For, if he forbid the priest to dip the sacrament, and to deliver it, then he forbiddeth the priest to dip the sacrament.

* These mystical significations be mystical follies. Read the answer.

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

Every part hereof is largely answered in my former Reply to M. Harding. True it is, the fault that Julius here findeth in dipping and ministering the sacrament agreeth not fully with the present disorders of the church of Rome. Yet notwithstanding, in condemning the one, he must needs condemn the other. Ye say we leave out these words: *Intinctam porrigunt eucharistiam populis:* "They dip the sacrament, and deliver the same unto the people." And again these words, *Pro complemento communionis:* "For the accomplishment of the communion." The more matter we have left out, the more have we concealed your

[14] Think this your, Conf. and Def. 1567, 1570, 1609.]

[15] By like, Conf. and Def. 1567, 1570, 1609.]

[16] Margent, Conf. and Def. 1567, 1570.]

[17] Flipper, Conf.]

[18] Harding here quotes Julius as avouching sacrifice.]

[19] *Audivimus* is not in Conf.]

[20] Jul. Papa in Corp. Jur. Canon. Lugd. 1624. Decret. Gratian. Decr. Tert. Pars, De Consecr. Dist. ii. can. 7. col. 1914.]

[21] Stiped: steeped.]

[22] Or stipe, Conf. and Def. 1567, 1570, 1609.]

[23] Priest, Conf. and Def. 1567.]

Communion under one Kind.

faults; and so much the more are you beholden to us. For what meant you, M. Harding, to mention any of all these words? Do you deliver the sacraments[1] unto the people? Do you make it a perfect[2] communion[3]? What needed you to burden yourself with more abuses, and so much to bewray your folly?

Julius saith, they dipped the sacrament into the cup, and delivered it unto the people. You dip the sacrament as they did; but unto the people ye give nothing. Julius saith, they meant by dipping to make it a full and perfect[4] communion: contrariwise, you defraud the people of the holy cup, and deliver them only the half communion. And therefore ye are much more blameworthy than ever were they whom Julius reproved: for they offended only of simplicity, and you of wilfulness; they only in one thing, you in three things together in one place[5].

But, touching the matter itself, the fault that we find with you, and the fault that Julius found with others your[6] predecessors, is all one. You dip the bread into the cup; and so did they. They brake Christ's institution; and so do you. And therefore Julius said unto them: *Hoc quam sit apostolicæ et evangelicæ doctrinæ contrarium, et consuetudini ecclesiasticæ adversum, non difficile ab ipso fonte veritatis probatur, a quo ordinata ipsa sacramentorum mysteria processerunt*[7]: "How far contrary this is to the apostolical and evangelical doctrine, and to the custom of the church, it is easy to prove by the Fountain of the truth, by whom the mysteries of the sacraments were ordained, and from whom they first proceeded."

Ye think the matter well discharged, for that ye deliver not the sacrament so dipped unto the people, but minister it only unto yourself. Here, by the way, it were a matter of skill to understand by what authority, either of scripture, or of council, or of doctor, it may appear that it is lawful for the priest so to use and receive the sacrament, and unlawful for the people. If the people may not as safely and as lawfully so receive the sacrament as may the priest, wherefore then are these words written in your mass-books, even in the canon and secrets of your mass? *Hæc sacrosancta commixtio corporis et sanguinis Domini nostri Jesu Christi fiat mihi, et omnibus sumentibus, salus animæ et corporis*[8]: "This holy mingling of the body and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ be unto me and unto all that receive it the health of soul and body." Verily these words, *Omnibus sumentibus* cannot by any shift possibly be expounded of one only priest, but must needs be extended unto the people.

Ye would fain tell us of certain special mysteries that ye have found out in the breaking of the sacrament, if ye wist what they were. But ye are in case as sometime was Nabuchodonozor, ye are not able well to tell us your own dream. Sometime ye say, "The bread is broken:" sometime ye say, "The accidents remain alone by miracle, and they are broken:" sometime ye say, "Christ's immortal and impassible body itself is broken:" sometime ye say, "Our eyes be deceived, and nothing is broken[9]."

Dan. ii.

Sentent. Lib. iv. Dist. 12.

Again, (ye say) "The first piece signifieth the church travailing in the world: the second signifieth the blessed saints in heaven: the third signifieth the souls in purgatory[10]." But pope Sergius, the father of these fantasies, conveyeth his mysteries another way. "For the first portion," saith he, "signifieth Christ's body after his resurrection; the second, Christ's body walking on earth; the third, Christ's body in the grave[11]." These, M. Harding, be your holy significations and special mysteries. With such follies and mystical vanities ye mock the world. In old times, the bread was not broken to busy men's heads with significations,

Durand. Lib. iv. cap. liii.

De Consec. Dist. 2. Triform.

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[1] Sacrament, 1570.]

[2] Perfite, 1570.]

[3] These two sentences are not in 1567.]

[4] And a perfite, 1567, 1570; and a perfect, 1609.]

[5] The last thirteen words are not in 1567.]

[6] Yours, 1611.]

[7] Quod quam sit evangelicæ, et apostolicæ &c. veritatis probabitur, &c.—Jul. Papa in Corp. Jur. Canon. Lugd. 1624. Decret. Gratian. Decr. Tert. Pars, De Consecr. Dist. ii. can. 7. col. 1915.]

[8] Missal. ad Us. ac Consuet. Sar. Par. 1527. fol. 161, 2; where *omnibusque* and *salus mentis*.]

[9] Pet. Lomb. Libr. Sentent. Col. Agrip. 1576. Lib. iv. Dist. xii. fol. 356. See Vol. II. page 584, note 4.]

[10] Durand. Rat. Div. Offic. Venet. 1568. Lib. iv. cap. li. 8, 9, 20. foll. 129. 2, 130. 2. See Vol. II. page 586, note 3.]

[11] Serg. Papa in Corp. Jur. Canon. Decret. Gratian. Decr. Tert. Pars, Dist. ii. can. 22. col. 1921. See Vol. II. page 585, note 13.]

but only to be delivered to the people; as in my former Reply I have declared more at large[12]. St Augustine saith: [*Panis*] *benedicitur et sanctificatur, et ad distribuendum comminuitur*[13]: "The bread is blessed and sanctified, and broken in pieces to the end it may be delivered." Art. xi. Div. 3. August. Epist. 1.

The Apology, Chap. iv. Division 2.

Pope Clement saith, it is not lawful for a bishop to deal with both swords: "For if thou wilt have both," saith he, "thou shalt deceive both thyself[14], and those that obey thee." Now-a-days the pope challengeth to himself both swords, and useth both. Wherefore it ought to seem less marvel if that have followed which Clement saith, that is, that he hath deceived both himself[15] and those which have given ear unto him.

M. HARDING.

If these fellows had not sworn to belie all the world for maintenance of their new gospel, they would, at this time at least, have made a true report of St Clement's words. St Clement speaketh not of two swords. The place truly alleged hath thus: [a]Si...mundialibus curis fueris occupatus, et teipsum decipies, et eos qui te audiunt[16]: *"If thou be occupied in worldly cares, thou shalt both deceive thyself and those that listen to thee." The author of this Apology, having spite at the church, which is Christ's fold, and at the pope, the head shepherd*[17]*, envying at his authority, forgeth a lie upon St Clement, making him to say,* Si utrunque habere vis, *"if thou wilt have both swords, thou shalt both deceive thyself, and those that obey thee:"* [b]*whereas Clement speaketh no word of the two swords, but of worldly cares, wherewith what bishop soever is entangled shall (as he saith) deceive both himself and others that hearken to him. For which cause these defenders being coupled with yoke-fellows in pretensed wedlock, which state wrappeth a man in worldly cares, because such a one* [c]*"careth for the things of the world, how to please his wife, and is divided," as St Paul saith; it must needs follow that, having taken the office of superintendents and charge of souls upon them,* [d]*they have deceived themselves, and daily do deceive so many as hear them, and follow their false doctrine.*

[a] These words are partly Clement's, partly St Bernard's.

[b] Fond and childish. As though a bishop may have the temporal sword, and execute a temporal office, without worldly cares.

1 *Cor. vii.*

[c] What cares have they that keep concubines?

[d] Eleven of the twelve apostles, and many holy fathers and bishops, were married, and yet deceived not the people[18].

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

O what a pleasant grace M. Harding hath to talk of lies! A man would think it were some good part of his study. In this place two sundry authorities, the one of Clemens, the other of St Bernard, I know not by what error, were joined in one, and both alleged and set forth under the name only of Clemens. I grant there was herein an oversight; but lie or falsehood[19] there was none, as it shall appear[20].

The words of Clemens are as you report them. The words of St Bernard written unto pope Eugenius are these: *Planum est, apostolis interdici dominatum. Ergo tu, et tibi usurpare aude, aut dominans apostolatum, aut apostolus dominatum. Plane ab alterutro prohiberis. Si utrunque similiter habere velis, perdes utrunque*[21]: "It is plain that unto the apostles of Christ lordship or temporal princehood is forbidden. Go thou thy way therefore (thus he saith to the pope); and dare thou to usurp, either the apostleship, being a lord, or a lordship,

Bernard. de Consid. Lib. ii.

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[12] See Vol. II. pages 587, &c.]

[13] August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. Ad Paulin. Epist. cxlix. cap. ii. 16. Tom. II. col. 509.]

[14] Theeself, Def. 1567, 1570.]

[15] Both his own self, Conf.]

[16] Clement. ad Jacob. Epist. i. in Crabb. Concil. Col. Agrip. 1551. Tom. I. p. 32.]

[17] Shepherd thereof, Conf.]

[18] Deceived not &c. 1567.]

[19] Falshead, 1567, 1570.]

[20] The last four words are not in 1567.]

[21] Bernard. Op. Par. 1690. De Consid. Lib. II. cap. vi. 10, 11. Vol. I. Tom. II. col. 419; where *interdicitur dominatus, apostolicus dominatum,* and *utrumque simul habere voles perdes utrumque.*]

Both Swords in one hand.

being an apostle? From one of them undoubtedly thou art forbidden. If thou wilt indifferently have both, thou wilt lose both."

Of such St Hierome writeth thus: *Militantes Christo, obligant se negotiis secularibus, et eandem imaginem offerunt Deo et Cæsari*[1]: "Being the soldiers of Christ, they bind themselves to worldly affairs, and offer up one image to God and Cæsar." In the Canons of the Apostles it is written thus: *Non oportet episcopum aut presbyterum se publicis administrationibus immittere; sed vacare et commodum se præbere usibus ecclesiasticis. Nemo enim potest duobus dominis servire*[2]: "A bishop or a priest may not entangle himself with worldly offices, but be at rest and shew himself meet for the use of the church. For no man can serve two masters." Yet the pope this day claimeth the right of both swords, not only of the spiritual, but also of the temporal[3]. And pope Bonifacius VIII. in the great jubilee, and in the open sight of the world, when he had one day shewed himself in his *pontificalibus*, apparelled in procession as a bishop of bishops[4], the next day he put upon him the emperor's robes of majesty, and had the imperial crown upon his head, and the sword naked and glittering borne before him[5].

Hieron. in Soph. cap. i. Can. Apost. Can. 80. Matt. vi.

De Major. et Obed. Unam Sanctam.

Paraleip. Ursperg.

As for pope Clemens, his canon is easily shifted by a pretty proviso. For thus saith your gloss touching the same: *Cessante caussa, cessat effectus: verbi causa, prohibetur ne presbyteri gerant tutelas...hac...causa, ut melius vacent divinis officiis. Hæc causa finalis est. Unde, cessante* [*hac*] *caussa, cessat effectus. Unde, si non vacent divinis officiis, poterunt gerere tutelas*[6]: "The cause ending, the effect endeth too. For example: The law commandeth that a priest shall not be charged with the wardship of a child in his nonage. The cause hereof is this, that he may the better apply his divine service. This is the final cause. This cause removed, the effect giveth place. Therefore, if the priest follow not his divine service, then he may have the wardship of a child." Even so, if the pope do not the office of a bishop, then may he be a temporal prince. But by these means it cometh to pass, even as Clemens saith, he deceiveth both himself, and also them that hear him.

Extr. de Jur. Etsi Christus. In Gloss.

Touching this vain objection of the charge and cares of marriage, it is fully answered before, in a place more convenient[7].

Part v. cap. iii. Div. 7. And Part II. cap. viii. Div. 2.

THE APOLOGY, Chap. iv. Division 3.

Pope Leo saith, upon one day it is lawful to say but one mass in one church[8]. These men say daily in one church commonly ten masses, twenty, thirty, yea, oftentimes more: so that the poor gazer on can scant tell which way he were best to turn himself[9]. Pope Gelasius saith it is a wicked deed and subject to sacrilege in any man to divide the communion, and, when he hath received[10] one kind, to abstain from the other[11]. These men, contrary to God's word, and contrary to pope Gelasius, command that one kind only of the holy communion be given to the people; and by so doing they make their priests guilty of sacrilege.

M. HARDING.

* A solemn fancy. They must needs

[a] *There is no small number of men which are moved to suspect that this Apology*

[1] Hieron. Op. Par. 1693-1706. Comm. in Soph. Proph. cap. i. Tom. III. col. 1647.]

[2] Can. Apost. 80. in Concil. Stud. Labb. et Cossart. Lut. Par. 1671-2. Tom. I. col. 44.]

[3] Bonifac. VIII. in Corp. Jur. Canon. Lugd. 1624. Extrav. Comm. Lib. I. De Major. et Obed. cap. 1. col. 208. See Vol. I. page 14, note 5.]

[4] 1567 has not *of bishops*.]

[5] Rer. Mem. Paraleip. ad calc. Chronic. Abbat. Ursperg. Argent. 1537. pp. 365, 6.]

[6] Corp. Jur. Canon. Decretal. Gregor. IX. Lib. II. Tit. xxiv. Gloss. in cap. 2. col. 824; where *verbi gratia*, and *officiis et sic ista causa*.]

[7] See before, pages 803, 4; Vol. III. pages 413, &c.]

[8] This is not distinctly stated, but implied in Leo's words, which direct that in a particular case, viz. when the attendance is very large, the communion may again be ministered. See below, note 14.]

[9] Him, Conf.]

[10] He received, Conf.]

[11] Divisio unius ejusdemque mysterii sine grandi sacrilegio non potest provenire.—Gelas. in Corp. Jur. Canon. Decret. Gratian. Decr. Tert. Pars, De Consecr. Dist. ii. can. 12. col. 1918.]

was devised by some catholic man intending to mock this new clergy of England, and to put them quite out of estimation and credit. [b]*And to that very end this innumerable company of lies to them seemed*[12] *of purpose to be set out. For no man having his five wits would think good for maintenance of his own*[13] *part to affirm so many things, the contrary whereof, to his great discredit and shame, by search is easily found.* [c]*Leo saith clean contrary to that is here in his name avouched, that whensoever a new multitude filleth the church, so as all cannot be present at the sacrifice at once, that the oblation of the sacrifice be without casting any doubt done again*[14]....

be wise men that so will think.

[b] Here M. Harding confesseth that he and his fellows can set forth lies.

In Epist. ad Diosc. Alex.

[c] Untruth manifest. Read the answer.

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

I beseech thee, gentle reader, for shortness' sake, and for thy better satisfaction herein, to consider my answer made hereunto in my former Reply to M. Harding[15]. Verily Leo speaketh not one word either of private mass, or of sole receiving, or of any other like superstitious and peevish vanity; but only of the general communion of the whole church. His counsel therefore unto Dioscorus is that, if upon occasion of resort the multitude of communicants were so great that they could not have convenient room in the church to receive all together at one communion, then the priest, after he had ministered unto the first company, and had willed them to depart forth, and give place to others, and saw the church replenished again with a new company of after-comers, should, without fear or remorse of conscience, begin the whole communion again, and so minister unto them, as he had done unto the former. More than this out of Leo's words cannot be gathered. Here, M. Harding, have you found a good warrant for the holy communion, and a plain condemnation of your private mass[16].

Art. xiii. Div. 4.

The Apology, Chap. v. Division 1.

But if they will say that all these things are worn now out of ure and nigh dead, and pertain nothing to these present times; yet, to the end all folk may understand what faith is to be given to these men, and upon what hope they call together[17] their general councils, let us see in few words what good heed they take to the self-same thing[18], which they themselves, these very last years (and the remembrance thereof is yet new and fresh), in their own general council, that they had by order called, have[19] decreed and commanded to be devoutly kept. In the last council at Trident, scant fourteen years past, it was ordained by the common consent of all degrees, that one man should not have two benefices at one time[20]. What is become now of that ordinance? Is the same too soon[21] worn out of mind and clean consumed? For these men, ye see, give to one man not two benefices only, but sundry abbeys many times, sometimes[22] also two bishopricks, sometime three, sometime four, and that not only to an unlearned man, but oftentimes also[23] even to a man of war.

In the said council a decree was made that all bishops should preach the gospel[24]. These men neither preach, nor once go up into the pulpit, neither think they it any part of their office. What great pomp and

[12] Seemeth, Conf. and Def. 1567.]
[13] Owe, Def. 1570.]
[14] Leon. Magni Op. Lut. 1623. Ad Diosc. Episc. lxxxi. 2. col. 436. See Vol. II. page 629, note 8.]
[15] See Vol. II. pages 631, &c.]
[16] The last sentence is not in 1567.]
[17] Togethers, Conf.]
[18] Things, Conf. and Def. 1567.]
[19] *Have* is not in Conf.]
[20] Concil. Trident. Sess. xxiv. in Concil. Stud. Labb. et Cossart. Decret. de Reform. cap. xvii. Tom. XIV. col. 890.]
[21] Too so soon, Conf. and Def. 1567, 1570.]
[22] Sometime, Conf. and Def. 1567.]
[23] *Also* is not in Conf.]
[24] Ibid. cap. iv. col. 883.]

crack then is this they make of antiquity? Why brag they so of the names of the ancient fathers, and of the new and old councils? Why will they seem to trust to their authority, whom, when they list, they despise at their pleasure[1]?

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

Hereto M. Harding answereth thus: *With what face find they fault? Ye believe none of the councils; Sir John Hooper*[2]*, a martyr of their own canonization; your lying book; your vile stuff; your new upstart church; your heresies; your incredible lies; your malicious lies; your slanderous lies, &c.*[3] He is very hard-hearted, that will not be moved with so valiant proofs.

THE APOLOGY, Chap. v. Division 2.

But I have a special fancy to commune[4] a word or two rather with the pope's good holiness, and to say these things unto his own face.

M. HARDING.

Modesty and gravity meet for a doctor. Masship.

Here pricketh forth this hasty defender, as pert as a pearmonger, and fain would he talk with the pope himself, forsooth, face to face. But, sir, I pray you, be not too hasty in taking your journey to Rome. Tell us before ye go, may not a meaner man serve instead of the pope for your masship to talk withal? ... This fellow hath a special fancy, and will needs to the pope himself, and talk with him of his high matters presently to his own face. I pray you, sir, may not a poor man hear your tale beforehand? By often telling of it you shall have it in better readiness when you come there ...

THE APOLOGY, Chap. vi. Division 1.

Summus Sacerdos.

Tell us, I pray you, good holy father, seeing ye do crack so much of all antiquity, and boast yourself that all men are bound to you alone, which of all the fathers have[5] at any time called you by the name of the highest prelate, the universal bishop, or the head of the universal church[6]?

M. HARDING.

And there shall ye find nothing.

[b] This name was common to every bishop, and therefore is fondly appropriate to the pope.

[c] And there is nothing.

What the pope himself will say unto you when you come before him, I know not, because you make no haste (I suppose) as yet to go unto his presence[7]*: may it please you in the mean time to be answered by another man, thus now, till then? Touching the most part of your question*[8]*,* [a]*read St Hierome* ad Damasum, *and* adversus Luciferianos, *where he calleth the pope* [b]Summum sacerdotem[9]. *And, if ye require a word of greater sound, read St Augustine, where he saith:* In Romana ecclesia semper viguit apostolicæ cathedræ principatus[10]: *"In the Roman church the princedom of the apostolic chair hath always flourished." For the second part look in the* [c]*council of Chalcedon. For the third, read Victor in his second book,* De Persecutione Vandalorum[11]. *And for a full resolution of this matter*[12]*, read mine answer to M. Jewel's Challenge,*

[a] *Præfatione in Evangelistas.*

Epist. clxii.

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[1] Their own pleasure, Conf. and Def. 1567.]

[2] Hooper held the sees of Gloucester and Worcester.]

[3] These expressions are nearly though not exactly Harding's words.]

[4] Common, Conf. and Def. 1567, 1570.]

[5] Hath, Def. 1567, 1570, 1609.]

[6] Of the church, Conf.]

[7] Person, Conf. and Def. 1567, 1570.]

[8] First part of your first question, Conf. and Def. 1567, 1570, 1609.]

[9] Hieron. Op. Par. 1693-1706. Præfat. in Quat. Evang. ad Damas. Tom. I. cols. 1425, 6. See below, note 16.]

[10] ...Romanæ ecclesiæ, in qua semper apostolicæ cathedræ viguit principatus.—August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. Ad Glor. et cet. Epist. xliii. cap. iii. 7. Tom. II. col. 91.]

[11] ...ecclesia Romana, quæ caput est omnium ecclesiarum.—Vict. Uticens. De Persec. Vandal. in Magn. Biblioth. Vet. Patr. Col. Agrip. 1618-22. Tom. V. Pars III. p. 657.]

[12] This whole matter, Conf. and Def. 1567.]

in the fourth article[13]*: there shall you find your demand fully answered:* beside two and thirty great untruths in the same one article. Summus Sacerdos

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

Here it liketh you, M. Harding, for the time, although unworthy, to supply the pope's person. Howbeit, as doubting, either the sufficiency of your commission, or the discretion of your answer, ye say, "Thus now, till then."

Where we demand of you[14], which of all the ancient fathers and doctors ever called the pope *summum sacerdotem*, "the highest priest," ye answer us, St Hierome so called him in the[15] book *contra Luciferianos:* for his words be plain, *summus sacerdos*, "the highest priest." But what if it be found that these words belong no more to the pope than to any other particular bishop? Will ye then confess, that either ye were far overseen, or else that ye sought undue means, under the name of St Hierome, to mock your reader? You say, St Hierome by these words, *summus sacerdos*, meant only the pope. But M. Harding saith, St Hierome by the same words meant any one bishop, whatsoever he were, and not only the pope. If you be M. Harding, and if these things be true, then are you of late foully fallen out with yourself.

For trial hereof, call to your remembrance, M. Harding, your own words, uttered, not elsewhere, but even in this self-same book. The words of St Hierome be these: "The safety of the church hangeth upon the dignity of the highest priest[16]." Hereupon M. Harding saith: "This peerless authority St Hierome in that place doth attribute to the bishop of every diocese[17]." M. Hard. 204. b. [Conf.] Hieron. contr. Luclf.

And thus, by M. Harding's own[18] exposition, not only the pope, but also the bishop of any other diocese, is called by St Hierome "the highest priest." Thus one M. Harding saith, St Hierome by these words meant only the pope; another M. Harding saith, St Hierome by the same words meant any one bishop, and not only the pope. It were a deed of charity to resolve your reader, whether of these two contrary M. Hardings he may believe. Verily, here ye allege St Hierome for the pope, whereas, by M. Harding's confession, St Hierome spake nothing, no, not one word of the pope. Such is the weight and credit of your authorities. M. Harding directly contrary to himself.

But for thy better satisfaction, good christian reader, it is well known to any mean student in divinity, that not only the bishop of Rome, but also every other bishop within his own diocese was commonly called "the highest priest," for that within his own diocese of all other priests he was the highest[19]. Tertullian saith: *Dandi [baptismum]...jus habet summus sacerdos, qui est episcopus*[20]*:* "The highest priest, that is, the bishop, hath authority to minister baptism." St Augustine saith: *Quid est ..., episcopus, nisi primus presbyter, hoc est, summus sacerdos*[21]*?* "What is a bishop but the first priest, that is to say, the highest priest?" Tertul. de Baptism. August. in Quæst. ex Utroq. Test. Quæst. 101.

St Ambrose, writing not unto the pope, but unto Fœlix the bishop of Comum in France, says thus: *Suscepisti gubernacula summi sacerdotii*[22]*:* "Thou hast taken the government of the highest priesthood." Again he saith, speaking likewise of any one bishop: *Vidisti....summum sacerdotem interrogantem et consecrantem*[23]*:* "Thou sawest the highest priest examining the people that was to be baptized, and consecrating the water." Ambros. Lib i. Epist. 5. Ambros. de iis qui Init. cap. iii.

I leave out sundry other like authorities of Origen, of Lactantius, of Athanasius, of Leo, of Victor, of Meltiades, and of others. Evagrius calleth Euphemius, and Gregorius the bishop[24] of Antioch, *summos sacerdotes*[25], "the highest priests." Ruffinus calleth Athanasius the bishop of Alexandria, *Pontificem maxi-* Evagr. Lib. iii. cap. xxxii. Ruffin. Lib. ii. cap. xxviii.

[13] See Vol. I. pages 338, &c.]
[14] Demand you, 1567.]
[15] His, 1567.]
[16] Hieron. Op. Adv. Lucifer. Tom. IV. Pars II. col. 295.]
[17] See before, pages 731, 2.]
[18] Owe, 1570.]
[19] The clause from *highest priest* is not in 1567.]
[20] Tertull. Op. Lut. 1641. De Baptism. 17. p. 263; where *habet jus.*]
[21] August. Op. Quæst. ex Utroq. Mixt. Quæst. ci. Tom. III. Append. col. 93.]
[22] Ambros. Op. Par. 1686-90. Epist. Class. I. Ad Fel. Epist. iv. 1. Tom. II. col. 763.]
[23] Id. Lib. de Myst. cap. iii. 8. Tom. II. col. 327.]
[24] Bishops, 1611.]
[25] Evag. in Hist. Eccles. Script. Amst. 1695-1700. Libb. III. cap. xxxii.; v. cap. xxi. pp. 361, 440. Conf. Evag. Muscul. Interp. in Eccles. Hist. Aut. Basil. 1549. pp. 766, 96.]

mum[1], "The greatest or highest bishop." By these I trust it may appear that the title or dignity of the highest priesthood was general and common to all bishops, and not only closed up and mortised only in the pope.

August. Epist. 162. Besides all this, ye bring us a word, ye say, of greater sound: *In Romana ecclesia semper viguit apostolicæ cathedræ principatus*[2]: "In the Roman church the princehood of the apostolic chair hath always flourished." Indeed, "princehood"[3] and "apostolic" be jolly large words, and carry great sound, almost as great as the bell of Frideswise, unto the sound of which bell ye wished once in your sermon in Oxford that your voice had been comparable, that you might, as you said then, "ring out in the dull ears of these papists." These were your words: ye may not forget them[3].

But fain[4] would ye have the bishop of Rome should be a prince to make up the sound[5]. Notwithstanding, in the council of Africa it was decreed thus:

Dist. 99. Primæ sedis. *Primæ sedis episcopus non appelletur princeps sacerdotum*[6]: "Let not the bishop of the first see be called the prince of priests."

But what if the sound of these words weigh no heavier than the former? Or what if this word "princehood" be no more peculiar to the pope than is the other of highest priesthood? Paulinus, writing unto Alypius, not the great bishop of

Inter Epist. August. Epist. 35. Rome, but the poor bishop, as I remember, of Tagasta, saith thus: *Deus in civibus civitatis suæ principalem te cum principibus populi sui sede apostolica.... collocavit*[7]: "God hath placed thee amongst the citizens of his city in the apostolic see, being a principal or a chief with (other bishops, that is to say, with) the princes of his people." Here have you found the princehood of the see apostolic, not only in Rome, but also in the poor city of Tagasta. Likewise

Chrysost. de Orand. Deum Lib. i. St Chrysostom saith: *Ad orandum nos assidue provocat* (*Paulus*) *apostolorum princeps*[8]: "Paul the prince of the apostles calleth upon us to be always praying."

Gregor. in 1 Reg. cap. x. Lib. iv. cap. iv. So saith St Gregory: [*Paulus*] *obtinuit totius ecclesiæ principatum*[9]: "Paul obtained the princehood of the whole church."

Leon. Epist. 62. So saith Leo: *Juvenalis episcopus ad obtinendum Palestinæ provinciæ principatum, &c.*[10] "Bishop Juvenal, that he might obtain the princehood of the province of Palestine, &c."

Briefly, your own singular doctor, Amphilochius, writeth thus not of the pope,

Amphiloch. but of St Basil, the bishop of Cæsarea: *Additus est principibus sacerdotum magnus ipse princeps sacerdotum*[11]: "Basil being dead was laid with other bishops, the princes of priests, being himself the great prince of priests." It was great folly therefore, M. Harding, these titles thus lying in common, to encroach the same only to the pope. Notwithstanding ye say, "thus now, till then." Verily, when the pope himself shall begin to consider and to weigh your pleading, then will he say he had a very unskilful proctor.

Art. IV. Div. 30. & 32. For answer to the rest, I remit you to my first Reply[12].

THE APOLOGY, Chap. vi. Division 2.

Which of the ancient fathers or doctors ever[13] said that both the swords are committed unto[14] you?

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[1] Hist. Eccles. Par. Lib. XI. cap. xxviii. fol. 129. 2.]

[2] August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. Ad Glor. et cet. Epist. xliii. cap. iii. 7. Tom. II. col. 91. See before, page 822, note 10.]

[3] The sentences from *great sound* are not in 1567.]

[4] And fain, 1567.]

[5] These five words are not in 1567.]

[6] Ex Concil. Afric. c. 6. in Corp. Jur. Canon. Lugd. 1624. Decret. Gratian. Decr. Prim. Pars, Dist. xcix. can. 3. col. 479.]

[7] In cujus te civibus principalem cum principibus &c.—August. Op. Ad Alyp. Paulin. Epist. xxiv. Tom. II. col. 34.]

[8] Chrysost. Op. Par. 1718-38. De Precat. Orat. i. Tom. II. p. 782. Conf. Op. Lat. Basil. 1547. De Orand. Deum, Lib. I. Tom. V. col. 696.]

[9] Gregor. Magni Papæ I. Op. Par. 1705. In prim. Reg. Lib. IV. cap. v. 28. Tom. III. Pars II. col. 250.]

[10] Leon. Magni Op. Lut. 1623. Ad Max. Antioch. Episc. Epist. lxii. 4. col. 398.]

[11] Amphiloch. Op. Par. 1644. In Vit. S. Basil. cap. xvii. p. 224.]

[12] See Vol. I. pages 423, &c. 439.]

[13] Which of them ever, Conf.]

[14] Were committed to, Conf.]

M. HARDING.

Both Swords[15].

Let St Bernard, writing to a pope, answer for the pope. [a]*He is a sufficient witness. Where yourself do allege him much against the pope, you cannot by the law justly refuse him speaking for the pope. The spiritual sword you deny not, I trow. Of the temporal sword, belonging also to the pope, thus saith St Bernard to Eugenius: "He that denieth this sword to be thine, seemeth to me not to consider sufficiently the word of the*[16] *Lord, saying thus (to Peter thy predecessor),* [b]*'Put up thy sword into thy*[17] *scabbard.' The very same then also is*[18] *thine, to be drawn forth perhaps at thy beck, though not with thy hand. Else, if the same belonged in no wise unto thee, whereas the apostle*[19] *said, 'Behold, there be two swords here,' our Lord would not have answered, 'It is enough,' but, It is too much. So both be the church's, the spiritual sword and the material. But this is to be exercised for the church, and that of the church; that by the hand of the priest, this of the soldier, but verily at the beck of the priest, and commandment of the emperor*[20]*." Thus touching the pope's both swords you are fully answered by St Bernard....*

Bern. de Considera. Lib. iv.

[a] Untruth. For his authority is not sufficient, as it shall appear.

[b] Put up thy sword: *ergo*, the pope hath both swords. A simple argument.

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

The pope hath power to claim authority without shame. Amongst others his unadvised and vain words, thus he saith: *Christus beato Petro, vitæ æternæ clavigero, terreni simul et cœlestis imperii jura commisit*[21]: "Christ hath committed unto Peter, the key-bearer of everlasting life, the right both of the worldly and also of the heavenly empire:" that is to say, the pope is emperor both of heaven and of earth. And therefore pope Boniface VIII., as it is said before, in the sight of the world ware the crown imperial on his head, and commanded the naked sword to be borne before him, and proclamation to be made, *Ecce, duo gladii hic;* "Behold, here are the two swords[22]." I mean the same pope Bonifacius of whom it is written, "He entered as a fox, he reigned as a wolf, he died as a dog[23]." Hereof it is written in *Concilio Vangionum: Utrunque, et imperium et pontificatum, sicuti Decius*[24] *et falsorum deorum cultores factitare consueverunt, usurpat*[25]: "The pope wrongfully usurpeth both together, as well the worldly empire as the bishoprick, as Decius and the worshippers of false gods were wont to do."

Dist. 22. Omnes.

Paralip. Ursperg.

Carion.

Aventinus.

Yet St Bernard saith, the pope hath both swords. But St Bernard's authority in this case is but simple. He lived eleven hundred years after Christ's ascension, in the time of king Henry the first, the king of England, in the midst of the pope's rout and tyranny. Howbeit, touching his judgment and credit herein, let us rather hear one of your own doctors. Hervæus therefore saith thus: *Bernardus ponit, quod papa habet gladium materialem in nutu. Sed istud, cum hoc quod non est magnæ auctoritatis, magis est contra eos, quam pro eis*[26]: "Bernard saith that the pope hath the material or temporal sword at his commandment. But this saying of Bernard's, besides that it is of small force, maketh also more against them, than with them." Again he saith: *Unum istorum gladiorum Petrus non tetigit,*

Johan. de Paris. de Potest. Reg. cap. xi.[27]

Johan. de Paris. cap. xix.[27]

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[15] Swerde, 1570.]

[16] Our, Conf. and Def. 1567, 1570, 1609.]

[17] In the, Conf.; into the, Def. 1567, 1570, 1609.]

[18] Is also, Conf. and Def. 1567, 1570, 1609.]

[19] Apostles, Conf. and Def. 1567, 1570.]

[20] Quem [gladium] tamen qui tuum negat, non satis mihi videtur attendere verbum Domini dicentis sic: Converte gladium tuum in vaginam. Tuus ergo et ipse, tuo forsitan nutu, etsi non tua manu evaginandus. Alioquin si nullo modo ad te pertineret et is, dicentibus apostolis, Ecce gladii duo hic; non respondisset Dominus, Satis est; sed, Nimis est. Uterque ergo ecclesiæ, et spiritalis scilicet gladius, et materialis; sed is quidem pro ecclesia, ille vero et ab ecclesia exserendus; ille sacerdotis, is militis manu, sed sane ad nutum sacerdotis, et jussum imperatoris.—Bernard. Op. Par. 1690. De Consid. Lib. iv. cap. iii. 7. Vol. I. Tom. ii. col. 438.]

[21] ... qui beato æternæ vitæ clavigero &c.—Nicol. Papa II. in Corp. Jur. Canon. Decret. Gratian. Decr. Prim. Pars, Dist. xxii. can. 1. col. 99.]

[22] Rer. Mem. Paraleip. ad calc. Chronic. Abbat. Ursperg. Argent. 1537. pp. 365, 6.]

[23] J. Carion. Chronic. Libell. Par. 1543. Lib. iii. fol. 116; Anselm. Ryd Catalog. Annor. Bern. 1540. fol. 52. 2.]

[24] Decii, 1567, 1570.]

[25] Avent. Hist. Boior. Ingoldst. 1554. Lib. v. p. 570; where *Decii.*]

[26] ... nisi forte velint accipere dictum Bernardi, ponentis quod &c. Sed dictum hoc, quod &c. pro ipsis.—Johan. de Parrhis. de Potest. Reg. et Papal. cap. xi. in Goldast. Mon. Rom. Imp. Hanov. et Franc. 1612-14. Tom. II. p. 121.]

[27] 1567 has *Hervæus de Potestate Papæ cap. xviii.* for each of these references.]

To call Councils.

scilicet secularem, qui suus non erat[1]: "The one of these two swords Peter never touched, I mean the worldly or temporal sword: for that sword was none of his."

Dist. 10. Quoniam idem.

Likewise ye may find it written in your own decrees, under the name of St Cyprian: *Christus,... actibus propriis et dignitatibus distinctis, officia potestatis utriusque discrevit*[2]: "Christ (hath not committed both these swords to one man's hand, but) by several duties, and sundry dignities, hath severed the offices of either power." Whereupon your own gloss saith thus: [*Ergo*] *est... argumentum,... quod papa non habet utrunque gladium*[3]: "This therefore is a proof that the pope hath not both the swords."

The Apology, Chap. vi. Division 3.

Which of the ancient fathers ever[4] said that you have authority and right[5] to call councils?

M. HARDING.

[a] Untruth, great and manifest. For this was never yet proved.
[b] Untruth. For Socrates saith not so.

Who hath authority to command the parts of the[6] *body but the head?* [a]*And that the pope is head, where it is amply declared, ye heard even now. Where you ask, "Which ever said that the pope hath authority to call councils?" if you know not so much,* [b]*we tell you that Socrates, the writer of the ecclesiastical history, saith so, not speaking in his own person, but reporting an old rule of the church in these words:* Sed neque Julius interfuit, maximæ Romæ præsul, neque in locum suum aliquem destinavit, cum utique regula ecclesiastica jubeat, non oportere præter sententiam Romani pontificis [c]concilia celebrari[7]: *"But neither Julius the bishop of great Rome was present (at the council of Antiochia), neither sent he any man in his place, whereas the ecclesiastical rule commandeth that without the advice and will of the pope of Rome no councils be kept." And, as Socrates witnesseth of the calling of councils, so doth Sozomenus witness of the things done in them:* Cum sacerdotali lege constitutum sit pro irritis haberi debere, quæ præter sententiam episcopi Romani geruntur[8]: "*Whereas (saith he) it hath been ordained by a law of bishops, that what things be done (in any council) besides the advice and will of the bishop of Rome, they ought to be taken for none and void." If you will see more for this authority of calling councils, read* Rescriptum Julii Papæ contra Orientales; Epist. Athanasii et Ægyptiorum Pontificum ad Fœlicem Papam[9]. *This matter is also fully answered.*

Histor. Tripar. Lib. iv. cap. 9.

Lib. iii. cap. 10.

[c] Untruth, standing in false translation. Read the answer.

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

Here hath M. Harding brought in a shew of great authorities without sense: for answer whereof it may please thee, gentle reader, to consider the fourth article of my former Reply[10]. Notwithstanding, amongst all these words of pope Julius, Socrates, Cassiodorus, and forged Athanasius, there is not one word of power and authority to call councils. Only thus much they say: "No decree may pass in council without the agreement and consent of the bishop of Rome[11];" for that he was one of the four principal patriarchs, and ought to have his voice there as well as others. It is a principle ruled in law: *Quod omnes tangit ab omnibus debet approbari*[12]: "That toucheth all must be allowed by all."

Art. iv. Div. 26.

Μὴ δεῖν... κανονίζειν τὰς ἐκκλησίας.

Regula Juris.

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[1] ...unùm eorum non tetigit Petrus, sc. &c.—Id. ibid. cap. xix. p. 135.]

[2] Nicol. Papa I. in Epist. 7. ad Mich. Imp. in Corp. Jur. Canon. Decret. Lugd. 1624. Gratian. Decr. Prim. Pars, Dist. x. can. 8. col. 33. This canon in the earlier printed editions was headed: Cyprianus Juliano imperatori.]

[3] Gloss. ibid. cols. 33, 4.]

[4] Which of them ever, Conf.]

[5] And a right, Conf.]

[6] *The* is repeated, Def. 1570.]

[7] Hist. Trip. Par. Lib. iv. cap. ix. fol. F 8. 2; where *concilium*. Conf. Socr. in Hist. Eccles. Script. Amst. 1695-1700. Lib. ii. cap. viii. p. 70.]

[8] Soz. in Hist. Eccles. Script. Lib. iii. cap. x. p. 415.]

[9] Rescript. Jul. Papæ I. contr. Orient. in Crabb. Concil. Col. Agrip. 1551. Tom. I. pp. 309, &c.; Epist. Ægypt. ad Felic. ibid. pp. 355, &c. See Vol. I. pages 352, 3.]

[10] See Vol. I. pages 410, &c.]

[11] Socr. in Hist. Eccles. Script. Lib. ii. cap. viii. p. 70; where τὰς ἐκκλησίας κανονίζειν.]

[12] De Regul. Jur. ad calc. Sext. Decretal. in Corp. Jur. Canon. Reg. xxix. col. 812; where *debet ab omnibus*.]

To call Councils.

But, lest you should think this was the pope's only prerogative, and belonged to none other besides him, the same Socrates writeth the very like words as well of the bishop of Constantinople as of the pope. Thus he saith: *Et hoc fecerunt contemnentes legem qua cavetur, ne quis eligatur præter sententiam episcopi Constantinopolitani*[13]: "Thus did they, not regarding the decree whereby order was taken that no bishop should be chosen without the consent of the bishop of Constantinople." Yet may not M. Harding conclude hereof, that therefore the bishop of Constantinople had authority to call councils.

Soc. Lib. vii. cap. xxviii. Ἀμελήσαντες τοῦ νόμου... κελεύοντος παρὰ γνώμην τοῦ ἐπισκόπου Κωνσταντινουπόλεως χειροτονίαν...μὴ γίνεσθαι. Æneas Sylv. De Concil. Basil. Lib. i.[15]

Æneas Sylvius, that afterward himself was pope, named Pius the second, writeth thus: *His auctoritatibus mirum in modum putant se armatos, qui negant concilia fieri posse sine consensu papæ. Quorum sententia, si, ut ipsi volunt, inviolata persistat, ruinam secum ecclesiæ trahit*[14]: "They that say no council may be kept without the consent of the pope, think themselves marvellously fenced by these authorities. But, if their saying hold, and take place as they would have it, it will draw with it the decay and ruin of the church."

The four first great councils, of Nice, of Ephesus, of Chalcedon, of Constantinople, and the rest, as it shall afterward more largely appear, were always called by the emperors, and not by the pope. As for the pope, he had not yet the whole world at his commandment, nor any such universal authority to call councils, but rather was commanded himself, as other bishops were, by the emperor's authority, to come to councils, as it shall appear[16].

Therefore, where you would conclude thus, The pope was head of the church; *ergo*, he had authority to call councils; we may rather, and much better, turn your tale backward, and say thus, The pope had no authority to call councils; *ergo*, he was not head of the church.

The Apology, Chap. vi. Division 4.

The whole World is the Pope's diocese.

Which of the ancient fathers or doctors ever said the[17] whole world is but your diocese?

M. HARDING.

John xxi. *He that said to Peter, "Feed my lambs," and "feed my sheep;" *which lambs and sheep all christian men be through the world.*

* God knoweth here is a sheepish reason.

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

The canonists, that is to say, the pope's pages of honour, have not doubted to infeoff their master with the possession of all the world. One saith thus: *Dominus papa est... ordinarius omnium hominum*[18]: "Our lord the pope is the ordinary or bishop of all men." Another saith: *Papa totius mundi obtinet principatum*[19]: "The pope hath the princehood of all the world." Another saith: *Papa est episcopus totius orbis*[20]: "The pope is the bishop of the whole world." Another saith: *Papa, etiam cessante negligentia prælatorum, potest conferre beneficia totius orbis; .... quia ipse est ordinarius totius mundi*[21]: "Though there be no default or negligence in any bishop, yet may the pope bestow the benefices of all the world; for that he is the bishop of all the world." Therefore, when the chief deacon investeth or enrobeth the pope at his consecration, he saith unto him,

Extr. de Appellat. Ut Debit. in Gloss. Extr. de Stat. Regul. Peric. in Gloss. Extr. de Pœn. Fœl. in Gloss. Extr. de Conces. Præb. et Eccles. non Vacantis. Quia diversitatem. Abb.

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[13] Socr. ubi supr. Lib. vii. cap. xxviii. p. 301.]

[14] Ex quibus auctoritatibus mirum in modum se putant armatos, qui fieri sine consensu papæ concilia negant. Quorum &c.—Æn. Sylv. Op. Basil. 1551. De Gest. Basil. Concil. Lib. i. p. 19.]

[15] This reference is inserted from 1567, 1570.]

[16] The last four words are not in 1567.]

[17] Which of them ever said that the, Conf.]

[18] Corp. Jur. Canon. Decretal. Gregor. IX. Lib. ii. Tit. xxviii. Gloss. in cap. 59. col. 962; where *papa sit judex ordinarius.*]

[19] ... totius enim orbis papa tenet principatum. —Sext. Decretal. in eod. Lib. iii. Tit. xvi. Gloss. in cap. unic. col. 556.]

[20] ... cum totius orbis episcopus sit Romanus pontifex.—Ibid. Lib. v. Tit. ix. Gloss. in cap. 5. col. 699.]

[21] Pan. sup. Tert. Decretal. Lugd. 1534. Tit. viii. De Concess. Præb. cap. 5. fol. 57. 2; where *totius orbis.*]

Cerem. Lib. i. *Ego investio te de papatu, ut præsis urbi et orbi*[1]: "I do invest thee with the popedom, that thou mayest rule both the city and the world."

Of this infinite ambition and inordinate tyranny many good men have often complained. Franciscus Zabarella[2], being himself a cardinal of Rome, saith thus: *Ex hoc infiniti sequuti sunt errores; quia papa occupavit omnia jura inferiorum ecclesiarum:... et, nisi Deus succurrat statui ecclesiarum, universa ecclesia periclitatur*[3]: "Hereof have ensued infinite errors; for that the pope hath invaded the right of all inferior churches. And, unless God help the state of the churches, the universal church is in jeopardy."

Franc. Zabarel.[2]

The learned lady Anna, daughter unto the emperor Alexius and Irene, in her story that she wrote in Greek, among many other things to like purpose, writeth thus: *Papa est dominus totius mundi, quemadmodum Latini quidem putant et prædicant; est enim etiam hæc pars quædam illorum insolentiæ*[4]: "The pope is the lord of all the world, as the Latins think and speak of him: for this is one[5] piece of their ambition."

Ann. in Hist. Græca: Ἐστὶ γὰρ καὶ τοῦτο τῆς ἀλαζονείας αὐτῶν.

This hath been the late wanton claim of the pope's canonists. Otherwise the ancient learned fathers have evermore bounded and limited the pope within his own particular jurisdiction. Ruffinus saith: "The fathers in the council of Nice appointed the pope to oversee the churches of his own suburbs:" *Ut Romanus episcopus suburbicarum ecclesiarum sollicitudinem gerat*[6]. Athanasius saith: *Roma est metropolis Romanæ ditionis*[7]: "Rome is the mother church (not of all the universal world, but) of the Roman (particular) jurisdiction." The bishops in the council of Rome write thus to the bishops of Illyricum: *Par est, omnes qui sunt in orbe Romano magistros*[8] *convenire*[9]: "It is convenient that all the bishops that be within the jurisdiction of Rome should accord together." Flavianus, the archbishop of Constantinople, writeth thus to Leo the bishop of Rome: *Dignetur sanctitas vestra indicare impietatem Eutychetis omnibus episcopis sub beatitudine vestra degentibus*[10]: "Let your holiness vouchsafe to make known the wickedness of Eutyches to all the bishops that live under you." To all the bishops, he saith, "that live under you:" not unto all bishops through the world[11]. St Hierome, speaking of the usage and order of the church of Rome, saith thus: *Quid mihi profers unius urbis consuetudinem*[12]? "What allegest thou me the custom of one city?" So much he abridgeth the pope's jurisdiction, that he extendeth it, not unto the lists and ends of all the world, but restraineth it only to the limits of one city. Likewise again, speaking of the bishop of Rome, he saith thus: *Non solum unius urbis, sed* [*etiam*] *totius orbis errant*[13] *episcopi*[14]: "Then not only the bishop of one town (which was the bishop of Rome), but also the bishops of all the world, are deceived."

Hist. Eccles. Lib. i. cap. vi.

Athanas. ad Solit. Vit. Agent.

Soz. Lib. vi. cap. xxiii. Πάντας τοὺς ἐν... Ῥωμαίων κόσμῳ διδασκάλους ὁμοφρονεῖν.

Inter Epist. Leon. Epist. 9.

Hieron. ad Evag.

Hieron. adv. Vigil.

Thus therefore writeth Gennadius, together with the council of Constantinople, unto the bishop of Rome: *Curet sanctitas tua universas tuas custodias... tibique subjectos episcopos*[15]: "Let your holiness see unto (not all the whole world, but) all your own charge, and such bishops as be subject unto you."

Gennad. ad Omnes Metropol. et ad Pap. Rom.

By these few we see the bishop of Rome's power was not universal, or infinite, over all the churches and kingdoms of the world, but certain, and limited within his own particular jurisdiction.

[1 Rit. Eccles. sive Sacr. Cer. Rom. Eccles. Libr. Col. Agrip. 1557. Lib. i. Sect. i. cap. iv. fol. 15. See Vol. III. page 319, note 18.]

[2 Zarabella, 1567.]

[3 Francis. de Zabarell. De Schism. Pont. in Auth. Var. de Jurisd. Autor. et Præem. Imper. a Schard. Basil. 1566. pp. 703, 4. See Vol. II. page 992, note 3.]

[4 Ann. Comn. Alex. August. Vind. 1610. Lib. i. pp. 30, 1.]

[5 A, 1567.]

[6 ... hic suburbigarum &c.—Hist. Eccles. Par. Lib. x. cap. vi. fol. 107, 2.]

[7 Athanas. Op. Par. 1698. Hist. Arian. ad Monach. 35. Tom. I. Pars i. p. 364.]

[8 Episcopos, 1567.]

[9 Soz. in Hist. Eccles. Script. Amst. 1695-1700. Lib. vi. cap. xxiii. p. 542.]

[10 ... ut sanctitas vestra hoc cognoscens...omnibus &c. degentibus, manifestare dignetur illius impietatem.—Flav. Episc. Const. ad Leon. Epist. 4. in Leon. Magni Op. Lut. 1623. col. 300.]

[11 The sentences from *together* are not in 1567.]

[12 Hieron., Op. Par. 1693-1706. Ad Evang. Epist. ci. Tom. IV. Pars ii. col. 803.]

[13 Erant, 1570.]

[14 Id. adv. Vigilant. Tom. IV. Pars ii. col. 284.]

[15 Φροντισάτω δὲ καὶ ἡ σὴ ὁσιότης διὰ πάσης περιφυλακῆς ποιουμένη, δῆλα καταστῆσαι διὰ ἀντιγράφων καὶ τοῖς ὑπὸ σε θεοφιλεστάτοις ἐπισκόποις.—Gennad. Epist. Synod. in Concil. Stud. Labb. et Cossart. Lut. Par. 1671-2. Tom. IV. col. 1030. See Vol. I. page 403, note 20.]

As for the reasons ye use for proof hereof, I marvel ye would ever trouble the world with so childish follies. Christ said unto Peter, "Feed my sheep:" *Ergo*, say you, "the whole world is the pope's diocese." A good sheep would have made a better argument.

The Apology, Chap. vi. Division 5.

Which of the holy ancient fathers ever said that[16] all bishops have received of your fulness? — All receive of the Pope's fulness.

M. HARDING.

*Besides others, so hath *St Bernard said in his book,* De consideratione ad Eugenium; *where he saith that he is called* in plenitudinem potestatis[17], *"into the fulness of power."*

* A simple authority.

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

There is no folly so vain but by some shift may be maintained. In your gloss, M. Harding, it is written thus: *Omnes... subjecti sunt motioni papæ, et sunt in illo, quasi membra de membro*[18]: "All men are subject unto the pope's will, and are in him as members of a member." Another saith: *Ecclesia non habet potestatem aliquam jurisdictionis, nisi a Petro*[19]: "The church hath no power of jurisdiction but only from Peter." And again: *A...Petro post Christum spiritualis gratia et potestas derivatur*[20]: "Next after Christ, spiritual grace and power is derived from Peter." And therefore another of your doctors saith: *Omnes episcopi descendunt a papa, quasi membra a capite, et de ejus plenitudine omnes accipiunt*[22]: "All bishops are derived from the pope, as members from the head, and all they receive of his fulness;" that is to say, power of his power, and grace of his grace. All these vanities M. Harding thinketh may be well borne out by two bare words of St Bernard.

Clement. Lib. v. de Hær. Ad Vest. in Gloss. Petr. de Palud. de Pot. Pap.

Petr. de Palud. de Potest.[21] Collat. Apost.

Durand. Lib. ii. de Minist. et Ord.

But St Augustine, many hundred years before Bernard was born, wrote thus: *Nos quidem accipere possumus hoc donum pro modulo nostro: fundere autem illud super alios non...possumus. Sed ut hoc fiat, Deum super eos, a quo hoc efficitur, invocamus*[23]: "Indeed we may receive the gift of God according to our portion; but to pour the same upon others we are not able. Notwithstanding, in their behalf we call upon God that is the worker hereof, that he will do it."

August. de Trin. Lib. xv. cap. xxvi.

The Apology, Chap. vi. Division 6.

Which of all the ancient doctors ever said that[16] all power is given to you as well in heaven as in earth? — All power given to the Pope.

M. HARDING.

**All they which speak of the ministerial power, whereby, under Christ, the militant church by him is governed. But if you mean absolutely, as your words seem to sound, so no discreet catholic man ever said or thought.*

* Untruth, undiscreet and vain[24]. For no ancient doctor or father ever uttered so fond words.

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[16] Which of them that, Conf.]

[17] Bernard. Op. Par. 1690. De Consid. Lib. II. cap. viii. 16. Vol. I. Tom. II. col. 422.]

[18] Corp. Jur. Canon. Lugd. 1624. Clement. Lib. v. Tit. iii. Gloss. in cap. 3. col. 274; where *sunt subjecti motioni illius.*]

[19] ...nec habet ecclesia aliquam potestatem jurisdictionis &c.—Petr. de Palud. De Caus. Immed. Eccles. Potest. Par. 1506. De Potest. Pap. Art. Quart. Tert. Concl. fol. d. vi.]

[20] ... a &c. Christum potestas et prelatio derivatur.—Id. ibid. De Potest. Collat. Apost. Art. Sec. Oct. Concl. fol. b. vii. 2.]

[21] These two words are inserted from 1567, 1570.]

[22] ... pontifex...a quo illi tanquam a capite membra descendunt, et de cujus plenitudine &c.—Durand. Rat. Div. Offic. Venet. 1568. Lib. II. cap. i. 17. fol. 31.]

[23] Nos autem accipere quidem hoc donum possumus pro modulo nostro, effundere autem super &c.—August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. De Trin. Lib. xv. 46. Tom. VIII. col. 999.]

[24] Impudent, 1567.]

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

All Power given to the Pope.

Here by a pretty distinction of power absolute, and power not absolute, Christ and his vicar are set together to part tenures. Howbeit, what manner of power it is that the pope claimeth, his own proctors and counsellors can tell us best. Cardinal Hostiensis saith: *Excepto peccato, papa potest quicquid Deus ipse potest:* "Sin only excepted, the pope hath power to do whatsoever God himself can do."

Extr. de Transl. Episc. Quant. Host.

Addition. ☞ M. Hard. fol. 67. a. [Detect.] Fol. 67. b. [Detect.]

Addition. ☞ M. Harding. "This is false and slanderous. This is a most manifest and, out of all question, foul corruption. Certainly Hostiensis saith not so. But, having reckoned certain things wherein the pope hath authority under God, as Christ's high officer, he concludeth with these words: *Breviter, excepto peccato, quasi omnia de jure potest, ut Deus*[1]: 'Briefly, excepted sin, he hath power, as a man would say, in all things of right, as God.' Thus saith Hostiensis, and not as M. Jewel believeth him, &c. It is said by the learned canonists, that the consistory of God, and of the pope, is one consistory; as a bishop's and his chancellor's consistory is one and the same consistory. Now let us consider the impudency of this false minister. First, he avoucheth his shameless lie boldly, as though, where truth faileth, for shew of truth the matter might be stouted out. The words, saith he, be most manifest, and out of all question: *Excepto peccato, papa potest quicquid Deus ipse potest:* that is to say, 'the pope can do as much as God himself can do, sin excepted.' But what if these words be not most manifest? Is it not then a most manifest impudency so to affirm of them? Is not this minister a minister of lies, &c.? First, he hath nipped away this word, *breviter;* then this word, *quasi,* which mitigateth and qualifieth the saying; then again those other words of necessary importance, *omnia, de jure,* and *ut.* Next he corrupted the sentence by putting to these words of his own, *quicquid,* and *ipse,* &c. Who ever saw one little poor sentence so nipped, so hacked, so hewed and mangled, so turned, and cast in a new mould?" *The answer.* It fareth with you, M. Harding, as it did sometime with a good honest plain man, that told his friend upon a reckoning that he would not be answered with five pounds, but would have fifteen good nobles, every penny; and that he would not be so mocked. For, although there be some alteration in these words, yet in sense and meaning there is as great odds as is between fifteen nobles and five pound. You say I have nipped, and hacked, and hewn these words, and have left out this word, *breviter.* Now verily, M. Harding, any wise man may think this is a very simple quarrel for a man of your learning: for if I had nipped off this word, *breviter,* as indeed I have not, yet what would that make to the hacking and hewing of the sense? But you say I have left out other words besides, as *omnia, de jure,* and *ut,* words, as you tell us, of necessary importance. I beseech you, M. Harding, if you have any such fancy to these words, put them all in again, and much good may they do you. So shall your sentence be this: *Papa potest omnia de jure, ut Deus potest:* "The pope may do all things of right, as being God; or, as God can do." Methinketh hereby the matter is but coursely mended: it seemeth worse than it was before. For thus must[2] you say: "The pope of right may do all things, as God may do." So much have you gained by adding of these necessary and special words, *de jure,* and *ut.* Notwithstanding, in Abbas Panormitanus, out of whom I alleged these words of Hostiensis, ye shall find neither *breviter,* nor *de,* nor *jure,* nor *ut* neither. So necessary is their importance. Thus have you three of your greatest canons easily discharged with little ado; unless you will likewise say that Abbas Panormitanus is also a false minister, and impudently believeth Hostiensis. Wherein certainly, M. Harding, you have a special grace to speak at pleasure.

Of the other side you say I have added vehement words of mine own, to enforce the matter. For, whereas Hostiensis saith only, *Deus,* "God;" I have imagined him to say, *Deus ipse,* "God himself". And I pray you, M. Harding, what difference find you between God, and God himself? Is God himself one, and God another? I thank God, I know none other God but God himself. This

[1 Hostiens. Op. Par. 1512. Sup. Prim. Decretal. Tit. vii. De Transl. Episc. cap. 3. fol. 75. 2.]

[2 Much, 1611.]

then, I trow, must be your meaning: the pope can do all things (not that God himself can do, for that you say were blasphemy, but) that God can do. All Power given to the Pope.

Again (you say), I have left out this word, *omnia*. But you might easily have seen that instead thereof I placed *quicquid*. And I would think that *quicquid* were as much as *omnia quæ;* unless you can shew us some pretty new Lovanian grammar to the contrary.

Once again you say I have left out this word, *quasi*, which word (you say) "mitigateth and qualifieth the saying." Then I trow, this saying is such as hath need of some mitigation. Howbeit indeed this is but a *quasi* quarrel, M. Harding. If your pope may not be God himself, yet at the least[3] ye would have him to be a *quasi* God. It shameth me thus to encumber the world with such vanities. But your importunity, M. Harding, enforceth me further than I would.

The very words in Abbas Panormitanus, reported out of Hostiensis, are these: *Papa et Christus faciunt unum consistorium; ita quod, excepto peccato, potest papa quasi omnia facere quæ potest Deus*[4]; "The pope and Christ make one consistory, or one judgment-seat; so that, sin excepted, the pope in a manner may do all things that God may do." These be the words, M. Harding. Let some lawyer turn your books: you shall find them so. And here once again I tell you, you have neither *breviter*, nor *de*, nor *jure*, nor *ut*, nor any other just cause why ye should fare so terribly with poor ministers. Extr. de Trans. Præl. C. Quant. Abb.

Whereas Hostiensis saith, "The pope and Christ make one consistory;" this (you say) "is well said by the learned canonists; as a bishop[5] and his chancellor's consistory is one and the same consistory." Your meaning herein, I trow, is this; that God is the bishop, and the pope his chancellor; and, as there lieth no appeal from the chancellor to the bishop, so there lieth no appeal from the pope to God; for that the pope and God have one only consistory; and the law saith: *Ab uno ad seipsum non est appellatio*[6]. M. Hard. 67. b. [Detect.] Extr. in Sext. Lib. i. de Consuetudine. Non putamus.

But why shew you yourself so squeamish and so dangerous in these words, "The pope may do whatsoever God may do?" You may remember that your canonists have moved questions whether the pope be God or no. You may remember that the pope hath suffered himself to be called God. For thus one said unto him presently before his face in the council of Laterane without rebuke, *Tu es alter Deus in terris*[7]: "Thou art another God in the earth." You may remember that the pope suffereth his canonists thus to publish and to blaze his godhead to the world in printed books: *Dominus Deus noster papa*[8]: "Our Lord God the pope." Thus, and even with these self-same express words, hath it been printed often, and in sundry places. Yet have I not heard of any pope that ever found fault with the printing. You may remember that, whereas St Augustine saith, *Quis... audeat dicere Deo?* "Who dareth to say thus to God?" your canonists have made up and bettered the matter in this sort: *Quis audeat dicere Deo, vel papæ*[9]*?* "Who dareth to say thus to God or to the pope?" Thus they say, as if there were some equality between the pope and God. You may remember it is written in the ceremoniary of the church of Rome: *Moderatio imperii Romani pertinet ad papam, Dei vices gerentem in terris, tanquam ad eum, per quem reges regnant*[10]: "The government of the Roman Extr. Johan. XXII. Cum inter. Printed at Paris anno 1513, and at Lyons anno 1555. De Pœn. Dist. 3. Quamvis. Cerem. Lib. i. cap. ii.

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[3] At least, 1570.]

[4] The following are the words in the place cited in the margin: Quinto not. factum a papa ut a vicario Jesu Christi attribuitur factum a Deo cujus locum papa tenet in terris.—Panorm. sup. Sec. Prim. Decretal. Lugd. 1534. Tit. vii. De Transl. Prælat. cap. 3. fol. 19. 2. Conf. ibid. fol. 6. But the expressions of the text may be found in eod. sup. Prim. Prim. Tit. vi. De Elect. cap. 6. fol. 123. 2. Conf. ibid. cap. 34. fol. 156.]

[5] Bishop's, 1570, 1609.]

[6] ...ne ab eodem ad seipsum...appellatio interposita videatur.—Corp. Jur. Canon. Lugd. 1624. Sext. Decretal. Lib. i. Tit. iv. cap. 2. col. 61.]

[7] Christoph. Marcell. Orat. in Concil. Later. Sess. iv. in Concil. Stud. Labb. et Cossart. Lut. Par. 1671-2. Tom. XIV. col. 109. See Vol. II. page 906, note 7.]

[8] Extrav. Joan. XXII. ad calc. Sext. Decretal. Par. 1585. Tit. xiv. Gloss. in cap. 4. col. 153. See Vol. I. page 96, note 4.]

[9] August. in Corp. Jur. Canon. Decret. Gratian. Decr. Sec. Pars. De Pœn. Dist. iii. can. 22. col. 1760. and Gloss. ibid. Conf. August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. Ad Maced. Epist. cliii. cap. iii. 7. Tom. II. col. 526.]

[10]...et sic ad summum pontificem Dei vices gerentem in terris, &c. regnant, supremum christianæ monarchiæ principem Romani imperii moderationem pertinere significaverit.—Rit. Eccles. sive Sacr. Cer. Rom. Eccles. Libr. Col. Agrip. 1557. Lib. i. Sect. i. cap. ii. fol. 5. 2.]

All Power given to the Pope.

empire belongeth to the pope, being God's vicar in earth, as unto him by whom kings rule, and wear their crowns." And what is he, M. Harding, by whom kings be kings, and have their authority, but only God? You may remember these words were spoken in a council holden in Rome, in the pope's own palace of Laterane, even in the presence and hearing of the pope: *In papa est omnis potestas supra omnes potestates, tam cœli quam terræ*[1]: "In the pope is all manner of power above all powers, as well of heaven as of earth." I beseech you, good M. Harding, what power may this be, but only the power of God himself?

Concil. Later. sub Leo. x. in Orat. Steph. Patrac.

Franc. Zabarel.

You may remember Franciscus Zabarella saith: *Papa facit quicquid libet, etiam illicita, et est plus quam Deus*[2]: "The pope doth whatsoever he listeth, yea, although it be unlawful, and is more than God." Thus you see, M. Harding, your pope is a god of the earth: your pope is Lord and God: your pope is he by whom kings are kings: your pope hath power above all powers, either in heaven or in earth: your pope is more than God. Give these words what sense or incense may like you best: embalm them with your most favourable and sweetest constructions; ye shall never be able to make them savoury: when all your doctrine is sifted, the bottom thereof is this: "sin only excepted, the pope in a manner may do all things that God may do." Therefore, M. Harding, call not the ministers of God's truth the "ministers of lies." He hath of long time ministered lies unto the world, that, being a wretched sinful man, hath stalled himself in the place of God; and you, forcing all your wits and learning to uphold and sooth him in his blasphemy, must needs be a minister of open lies.

In Concil. Later. sub Leo. x. Sess. 10.

Stephanus, the bishop of Patraca, in your late council at Laterane in Rome, saith thus: *In papa est omnis potestas supra omnes potestates, tam cœli quam terræ*[3]: "All power is in the pope above all the powers, as well of heaven as of earth."

Citat. in eod. Concil. Later.

And, to make the matter plain, your own Bernard himself saith: *Tibi data est omnis potestas; in qua qui totum dicit nihil excludit*[3]: "All manner of power is given to thee: he that saith 'all' excepteth nothing."

Extr. de Const. cap. 1.

And abbat Panormitane saith: *Plenitudo potestatis superat omnem legem positivam; et sufficit quod in papa sit pro ratione voluntas*[4]: "The fulness of power passeth all positive law; and it is sufficient in the pope, that will stand instead of reason."

This is that power that M. Harding here hath so closely conveyed in under the cloud of his distinction.

Baldus.

But Baldus, that by experience saw the practice hereof, saith thus: *Hæc plenitudo potestatis est plenitudo tempestatis*[5]: "This fulness of power is a fulness of tempest."

Johan. de Paris.[7] cap. xviii.

Another of your doctors saith: *Bernardus... nullam potestatem ponit in papa, quam non ponit in prælatis inferioribus; licet in papa ponat summam*[6]: "Bernard alloweth no power unto the pope but he alloweth the same to other inferior bishops. Notwithstanding, he alloweth the greatest power unto the pope."

Bernard. de Consid. Lib. iii.

St Bernard himself saith to like purpose, *Sic factitando, probatis vos habere plenitudinem potestatis; sed justitiæ forte non ita*[8]: "Thus doing and dealing, ye shew yourself to have the fulness of power; but perhaps not likewise the fulness of justice."

[1 Orat. Steph. Arch. Patrac. in Concil. Later. Sess. x. in Concil. Stud. Labb. et Cossart. Lut. Par. 1671-2. Tom. XIV. col. 269. See Vol. I. pages 93, 4, note 2.]

[2 Francis. de Zabarell. De Schism. Pont. in Auth. Var. de Jurisd. Autor. et Præem. Imper. a Schard. Basil. 1566. p. 703. See Vol. II. page 992, note 3.]

[3 See above, note 1.]

[4 These words are not found in the place cited; but perhaps Jewel meant to compress the sense of what is there stated into his own words. Panormitan says:...papa qui condidit constitutiones et successores non ligantur: &c.—Panorm. sup. Prim. Prim. Decretal. Lugd. 1534. Tit. ii. cap. i. fol. 15. 2.]

[5 As no reference is given to the place of Baldus, it is not easy to verify the quotation. Jewel may have had the following passage in his mind: Papa...debet esse vir apostolicæ sanctitatis...alias... malus rex tyrannus fit de plenitudine potestatis.—Bald. sup. Decretal. Lugd. 1551. Procem. 3. fol. 3.]

[6 Johan. de Parrhis. de Potest. Reg. et Papal. cap. xix. in Goldast. Mon. Rom. Imp. Hanov. et Franc. 1612-14. Tom. II. p. 134; where *non poterat in.*]

[7 Hervæus de Potestate Papæ, 1567.]

[8 Bernard. Op. Par. 1690. De Consid. Lib. III. cap. iv. 14. Vol. I. Tom. II. col. 432.]

THE APOLOGY, Chap. vi. Division 7.

The Pope without check.

Which of the ancient fathers ever said that neither king, nor prince, nor the whole clergy, nor all the people[9] together, are able to be judges over you?

M. HARDING.

[a] *What sheep shall be judges over their shepherd? For, as the fathers of the most ancient council of Sinuessa*[10] *said in the cause of* [b] *Marcellinus the pope,* Nemo... unquam judicavit pontificem: "*No man ever judged the pope, nor any prelate his high priest;*" quoniam prima sedes non judicabitur a quoquam[11]: "*Because the first see shall not be judged of any body.*"

[a] Worthy reasons. [b] This Marcellinus being pope had committed open idolatry in making sacrifice unto devils.

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

In these two points standeth the pope's card of trust, and the keep and castle of all his power. First, the church of Rome, whatsoever way she take, can never err: next, the pope, whatsoever he do, may never be called to any reckoning. These two points being granted, the rest is sure[12]. One of your doctors saith thus: *Omne factum sanctissimi patris interpretari debemus in bonum. Et si quidem fuerit furtum, vel aliud ex se malum, interpretari debemus quod divino instinctu fiat*[13]: "We must expound every act of the holy father for the best. And, if it be theft, or any other thing that of itself is evil (as advoutry, or fornication), we must think it is done by the secret inspiration of God." Another saith: *Si papa... innumerabiles populos catervatim secum ducat... mancipio gehennæ, cum ipso plagis multis in æternum vapulaturos, hujus culpas... arguere præsumat mortalium nullus*[14]: "If the pope draw infinite companies of people by heaps together with himself into hell, to be punished with him with many stripes for ever, yet let no mortal man presume to reprove his faults."

Johan. de Paris. de Pot. Reg. et Pap.

Dist. xl. Si Papa.

Another saith: *Papa solutus est omni lege humana*[15]: "The pope is exempted from all law of man." Another saith: *Sacrilegii instar esset disputare de facto papæ.... Facta papæ excusantur, ut homicidia Samsonis, ut furta Hebræorum, ut adulterium Jacob*[16]: "It is a sin as great as sacrilege, or church-robbing, to reason of any the[17] pope's doings. For his acts are excused, as Samson's murders, as the Jews' robberies, and as the advouteries of Jacob." Another saith: *Nec totus clerus,... nec totus mundus potest papam judicare aut deponere*[18]: "Neither all the clergy, nor all the whole world, may either judge or depose the pope." And again: *Papa in nullo casu, quamdiu est papa, propter quodcunque crimen potest deponi, nec a concilio, nec a tota ecclesia, nec a toto mundo*[19]: "The pope, while he is pope, cannot in any case, for any offence by him committed, be deposed, neither by the general council, nor by all the church, nor by the whole world."

ix. Quæst. 3. Cuncta. Dist. 40. Non nos, in Gloss.

Petr. de Palud. de Potest. Pap. Art. 4. Idem, eod. loc.

And all this they are well able to prove by good substantial authority of the scriptures. For thus they reason: "The scholar is not above his master: the

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[9] Which of them that neither kings nor the whole clergy nor yet all people, Conf.]

[10] Sinnessa, Def. 1570, 1609, 1611.]

[11] Marcellin. Papæ Condemn. in Crabb. Concil. Col. Agrip. 1551. Tom. I. p. 196.]

[12] This sentence is not in 1567.]

[13] Johan. de Parrhis. ubi supr. cap. xxiii. p. 142.]

[14] Ex Dict. Bonifac. Mart. in Corp. Jur. Canon. Lugd. 1624. Decret. Gratian. Decr. Prim. Pars, Dist. xl. can. 6. cols. 194, 5; where *vapulaturus* in the text, and *redarguere præsumit*.]

[15] Cuncta per mundum novit ecclesia, quod sacrosancta Romana ecclesia fas de omnibus habeat judicandi: neque cuiquam de ejus liceat judicare judicio... apostolica sedes sine ulla synodo præcedente, et solvendi, quos synodus inique damnaverat, et damnandi, nulla existente synodo quos oportuit, habuit facultatem: &c.—Gelas. Papa in eod. ibid. Decr. Sec. Pars, Caus. ix. Quæst. iii. can. 17. col. 878. Jewel appears to have intended to give the substance of this canon in his own words.]

[16] Ibid. Dist. xl. Gloss. in can. 1. col. 194. See before, page 702, note 10.]

[17] Any of the, 1567.]

[18] Petr. de Palud. De Caus. Immed. Eccles. Potest. Par. 1506. De Potest. Pap. Art. Quart. Prim. Concl. fol. c. vi.; where *nec deponere*.]

[19] Id. ibid. foll. c. vi. 2, c. vii.; where *potest nec a consilio &c. mundo deponi*.]

servant is not above his lord." And again: "The axe boasteth not itself against the carpenter that heweth with it;" *ergo*, No man may accuse the pope[1].

In Epist. Nicol. Papæ. Inter Decret. Adrian. Papæ. Dist. 21. Inferior.

Therefore another of your doctors saith: *Judicare de factis papæ, hoc aliqui dicunt esse tangere montem, et ponere os in cœlum*[2]: "To judge of the pope's deeds, this some men say is to touch the holy mount (wherein God gave the law, and shewed himself to Moses), and to set the face against the heavens." And the pope himself saith: "The accusing of him is the sin[4] against the Holy Ghost, which shall never be forgiven, neither in this world, nor in the world to come[5]."

Johan. de Paris.[3] cap. xx.

Concil. Tom. I. in Purg. Sixt.

Thus may the pope depose kings and princes, and trouble the whole state of the world, and do what he list, without controlment. Yet may no man dare say unto him, Sir, why do ye so? Therefore the accusers of pope Symmachus said, in the presence of king Theodoricus: *Successores Petri una cum sedis privilegiis peccandi quoque licentiam* [6]*accepisse*[7]: "The pope maketh his boast, that, together with the power of teaching, he hath received free liberty to do ill."

Ennodius.

Concil. Tom. I. In. Marcel.

Pope Marcellinus, whose name ye have alleged out of the council of Sinuessa[8] for defence hereof, was an apostata, and had forsaken Christ, and, being pope in Rome, had made sacrifice unto devils[9]. All this notwithstanding, ye say, "No mortal man might accuse him." Thus hath the pope a special prerogative and præmunire to forsake Christ, and to commit open idolatry, and to give honour and sacrifice unto devils, without controlment.

Gal. ii.

Yet St Paul accused St Peter even unto his face in the presence of many. And St Cyprian saith: *Petrus se non vindicavit, seu aliquid insolenter assumpsit, ut diceret se primatum tenere, et obtemperari sibi a novellis et posteris oportere*[10]: "Peter (being thus checked openly by St Paul) neither revenged himself, nor took any thing proudly upon him, as to say that he had the primacy, or that others, that were but novices and after-comers (as Paul was), ought to be[12] obedient unto him." Mena, the bishop of Constantinople, judged and excommunicated pope Vigilius[13]. The bishops of the east church judged and excommunicated and deposed pope Julius[14]. One of your doctors saith: *Si papa committat crimen depositione dignum, . . . debet puniri, ac si esset unus rusticus*[15]. "If the pope commit an offence wherefore he should justly be deposed, he ought to be punished as if he were a clown of the country." Your neighbours of Leodium, in their epistle against pope Paschalis, write thus: *Remoto Romanæ ambitionis typho, cur de gravibus et manifestis non reprehendantur et corrigantur Romani episcopi? Qui reprehendi et corrigi non vult, pseudo est, sive episcopus, sive clericus*[16]: "Setting apart the pride of Romish ambition, the crimes being great and manifest, why may not the bishops of Rome both be reproved and also corrected? He that flieth[17] rebuke and correction is a false man, whether he be priest or bishop."

Cypr. ad Quirinum[11].

Niceph. Lib. xvii. cap. xxvi. Sozom. Lib. iii. cap. x.

Felin. in Repert. Dignit. Concil. Tom. II. Epist. Leod. contr. Pasch. Pap. ψευδής.

[1 Nicol. Papæ I. Ad Michael. Imp. Epist. in Crabb. Concil. Col. Agrip. 1551. Tom. II. p. 753; Cap. per Adrian. Papam ex Synod. coll. ibid. p. 613. See Corp. Jur. Canon. Lugd. 1624. Decret. Gratian. Decr. Prim. Pars. Dist. xxi. can. 4. col. 96. Conf. Vol. I. page 68, note 7.]

[2 ...judicare de factis papæ: et quod aliqui dicunt, quod hoc est tangere, &c.—Johan. de Parrhis. de Potest. Reg. et Papal. cap. xxiii. in Goldast. Mon. Rom. Imp. Hanov. et Franc. 1612-14. Tom. II. pp. 141, 2.]

[3 Hervæus de Potestate Papæ, 1567.]

[4 Saith, It is the sin, 1567.]

[5 De Expurg. Sixt. Papæ III. cap. vi. in Crabb. Concil. Tom. I. pp. 607, 8.]

[6 In 1567 this quotation is given: Papa jactat se una cum docendi potestate accepisse licentiam peccandi.]

[7 Non nos B. Petrum, sicut dicitis, a Domino cum sedis privilegiis, vel successores ejus, peccandi judicamus licentiam suscepisse.—Ennod. Op. Par. 1611. Lib. Apolog. pro Synod. p. 324. Conf. in Crabb. Concil. Tom. I. p. 1011.]

[8 Sinnessa, 1609, 1611.]

[9 Marcellin. Decret. in Crabb. Concil. Tom. I. pp. 184, 7 &c.]

[10 Nam nec Petrus...vindicavit sibi aliquid insolenter, aut arroganter assumsit; ut &c. obtemperari, a novellis et posteris, sibi potius oportere.—Cypr. Op. Oxon. 1682. Ad Quint. Epist. lxxi. pp. 194, 5.]

[11 These two words are added from 1567, 1570.]

[12 Ought be, 1567.]

[13 Niceph. Call. Eccles. Hist. Lut. Par. 1630. Lib. xvii. cap. xxvi. Tom. II. p. 774.]

[14 Soz. in Hist. Eccles. Script. Amst. 1695-1700. Lib. iii. cap. xi. p. 417.]

[15 ... fallit in papa, qui si committit &c.—Repert. in Felin. Sand. Comm. ad Quinque Libr. Decretal. Lugd. 1587. fol. 32. Conf. Sup. Decretal. Lib. i. Tit. xxix. cap. 28. fol. 209.]

[16 Epist. Leod. Cler. adv. Paschal. II. in Crabb. Concil. Tom. II. p. 814; where *ambitionis typo*.]

[17 Fleeth, 1567, 1570.]

THE APOLOGY, Chap. vi. Division 8.

The Emperor receiveth his power of the Pope.

Which of the ancient fathers ever said that[18] kings and emperors by Christ's will and commandment receive their authority at your hands[19]?

M. HARDING.

What is to be answered hereto, you may gather of that is alleged before out of St Bernard, speaking of both swords.*

* There may you find nothing to prove nothing.

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

It is evident, by the record and general consent of all ancient writers, that the pope hath neither possession, nor foot of lands, nor house to dwell in, nor the name of universal bishop, nor charter, nor liberty, nor jurisdiction, but that he hath received either of the French kings or of the emperors[20]. Yet would he now bear the world in hand, that the emperor hath nothing, neither lands, nor honour, nor power, nor right, nor sword, nor jurisdiction, but only from him. If any man doubt hereof, besides other testimonies of antiquity, let him read that most vain and childish donation, that the pope himself hath forged, under the name of the emperor Constantine. St Ambrose saith: *Si non vis esse obnoxius Cæsari, noli habere quæ sunt mundi.... Si habes divitias, obnoxius es Cæsari*[21]: "If thou wilt not be subject to the prince, then possess not the things that be of the world. If thou have worldly riches, then art thou subject unto the prince." Likewise St Augustine: *Dices, quid mihi et regi? Quid tibi ergo et possessioni? Per jura regum possessiones possidentur*[22]: "Thou wilt say (as the pope saith)[23], what have I to do with the prince? What then hast thou to do with lands? For possessions are holden (not by the pope's right, but) by the right of kings and princes."

Niceph. Lib. vii. cap. xlvi. Carion. in Bonif. III. Sabel. in Phoc.

Ambros. in Luc. Lib. ix. cap. xx.

August. in Johan. Citatur in Epist. Leod. contr. Pasch. Conc. Tom. II.

Charles the French king, nephew to Charles the great, wrote thus unto pope Adrian: *Imperatores.... jus distinguendornm negotiorum episcopis sanctis juxta divalia constituta permiserunt; non autem episcoporum villici extiterunt*[24]: "Emperors, by their commissions under their great seals, have granted unto bishops authority to hear causes; but they themselves were never stewards or bailiffs unto bishops." One of your own late doctors saith: *Papa habet gladium (civilem) ex commissione et permissione principis*[25]: "The pope hath the temporal sword, or civil jurisdiction, by the commission and sufferance of the prince." Therefore it seemeth great folly to say the prince hath his sword or jurisdiction only by the commission of the pope.

Citatur ab Illyr. inter Test. Verit. p. 102.

Johan. de Paris. de Potest. Reg. cap. xix.[26]

Your own barbarous gloss saith: *Imperator in temporalibus habet potestatem a solo Deo. Et imperium fuit antequam apostolatus esset*[27]: "The emperor in temporal things hath his authority (not from the pope, but) from God only. And the empire was before the apostles were." Again: *Imperator non habet gladium a*

Extr. de Major. et Obed. Unam Sanct. in Gloss.

Dist. 96. Cum ad Ver. in Gloss. xxiii. Quæst. 4. Quæsitum.

[18] Which of them that, Conf.]

[19] Christ's commandment and will do receive authority at your hand, Conf.]

[20] Niceph. Call. Eccles. Hist. Lib. VII. cap. xlvi. Tom. I. pp. 513, &c.; J. Carion. Chronic. Libell. Par. 1543. Lib. III. fol. 82. 2; Sabell. Rapsod. Hist. Par. 1509. Ennead. VIII. Lib. VI. Pars III. fol. 37. 2.]

[21] Ambros. Op. Par. 1686-90. Expos. Evang. sec. Luc. Lib. ix. 35. Tom. I. col. 1502; where *si vis non*, and *mundi sunt*.]

[22] August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. In Johan. Evang. cap. i. Tractat. vi. 26. Tom. III. Pars II. col. 341; where *noli dicere quid*, and *possidentur possessiones*. Conf. Epist. Leod. Cler. adv. Paschal. II. in Crabb. Concil. Tom. II. p. 814.]

[23] The four words within the parenthesis are not in 1567.]

[24] Rex Carol. ad Hadr. Epist. in Catalog. Test. Genev. 1608. col. 948.]

[25] ... alius vero suus est aptitudine, ... et ex commissione et permissione principum suus erat futurus.—Johan. de Parrhis. de Potest. Reg. et Papal. cap. xix. in Goldast. Mon. Rom. Imp. Tom. II. p. 135.]

[26] Herveus De Potestate Papæ, ca. 18., 1567.]

[27] Imperator a solo Deo habet potestatem in temporalibus ... et etiam ante fuit imperium quam apostolatus.—Corp. Jur. Canon. Extrav. Comm. Lib. I. De Major. et Obed. Gloss. in cap. 1. Addit. col. 212.]

The Emperor receiveth his power of the Pope.

papa, ... sed imperium est a solo Deo[1]: "The emperor hath not his sword of the pope; but the emperor[2] is only from God." Again: *Ex sola ... electione principum dico ... verum [esse] imperatorem, antequam confirmetur a papa*[3]: "I say that the emperor is a very right and perfect[4] emperor by the only election of the princes, yea, before he be confirmed by the pope."

What shall we need more witnesses? Your very ceremoniary of Rome saith thus: *Hoc ... affirmamus, ante Carolum magnum .... neminem imperii Romani coronam ex manu Romani pontificis Romæ suscepisse*[5]: "Thus we say that before the emperor Charles the great (that is, for the space of eight hundred years after Christ) no man ever received the crown of the Roman empire at Rome by the hands of the bishop of Rome." St Bernard hereof thus writeth unto the pope: *Esto, ut alia quacunque ratione hoc tibi vendices; non tamen apostolico jure: nec illud tibi ... dare, quod non habuit, [Petrus] potuit*[6]: "Be it that ye claim this right by some other means; yet by the apostles' right ye cannot claim it; neither could Peter give you that right that he himself never had."

Dist. 96. Cum ad Ver. in Gloss. Cerem. Lib. i. Sect. 5. cap. vii.

Bernard. de Consid. Lib. ii.

The emperor Ludovicus the fourth saith thus: *Mea potestas non pendet a papa, sed a Deo immediate. Et vanum est, quod dici solet, papam non habere superiorem*[7]: "My power hangeth not of the pope, but immediately of God alone. And it is but a peevish vain tale that they say, the pope hath no superior."

Paralip. Ursperg. in Ludov. IV.

Johan. Major. iv. Sent. Dist. 20. Quæst. 2.

Johannes Major saith: *Bonifacius octavus ... multum apparenter definivit, quod Romanus pontifex est supra reges in temporalibus; quod tamen oculatissimi theologi dicunt esse falsum*[8]: "Pope Bonifacius the eighth hath concluded, with great shew of reason, that even in temporal causes the pope is above kings. But I may tell you, the wisest divines say it is but a false tale." Johannes de Parisiis saith: *In temporalibus potestas secularis major est potestate spirituali, nec, quoad ista, est ei subjecta in aliquo*[9]: "In temporal causes the temporal power is greater than the spiritual power, and touching the same is not subject to it in any point."

Johan. de Paris. de Potest. Reg. et Pap. cap. v.

Johan. Paris. cap. xi.[12]

Again he saith[10]: *Si imperator habet potestatem suam immediate a papa, ergo imperator est minister papæ*[11]: "If the emperor receive his power immediately from the pope, then is the emperor the pope's servant."

All these authorities notwithstanding, the pope himself saith of himself[13], "The emperor hath no right nor authority but only of me[14]." And touching the last objection of Parisiensis[15], that the emperor should be the pope's servant, he thinketh it may be well admitted without any great inconvenience. For thus saith one of his privy council: *Iste*[16] *Romanus imperator est procurator et defensor Romanæ ecclesiæ*[17]: "This Roman emperor is (nothing else, but) the proctor and steward of the church of Rome." Cardinal Hostiensis saith: *Imperator est feudatarius Romanæ ecclesiæ*[18]: "The emperor is a vassal or a feedman of the church of Rome." And pope Innocentius saith: *Imperator tenet imperium a papa.*

Dist. 98. Si Imp. in Gloss.

Lupold. de Jur. Reg. et Imp. in Procem. Extr. de For. Comp. c. Licet.

[1 Ibid. Decret. Gratian. Decr. Prim. Pars, Dist. xcvi. Gloss. in can. 6. col. 466; where *quia imperium a solo Deo est.* Conf. Decr. Sec. Pars, Caus. xxiii. Quæst. iv. can. 45. col. 1329.]

[2 Empire, 1567, 1570.]

[3 Ibid. Decr. Prim. Pars, Dist. xciii. Gloss. in can. 24. col. 450; where *a papa confirmetur.*]

[4 Perfite, 1567, 1570.]

[5 Rit. Eccles. sive Sacr. Cerim. Rom. Eccles. Libr. Col. Agrip. 1557. Lib. i. Sec. v. cap. vii. fol. 63.]

[6 Bernard. Op. Par. 1690. De Consid. Lib. ii. cap. v. 10. Vol. I. Tom. ii. col. 419; where *hæc tibi vindices sed non apostolico*, and *nec enim tibi.*]

[7 ... Imperator non habet imperium a papa, sed a Deo...Vanumque esse, quod &c.—Rer. Memor. Paraleip. ad calc. Chronic. Abbat. Ursperg. Argent. 1537. p. 377.]

[8 Bonifacius &c. apparenter multum definit quod &c. tamen perspicacissimi theologi &c.—J. Major in Quart. Sentent. Quæst. 1519. Dist. xx. Quæst. ii. foll. 197, 8.]

[9 ... in aliquibus potestas &c. spirituali, scilicet in temporalibus: nec &c.—Johan. de Parrhis. de Potest. Reg. et Papal. cap. v. in Goldast. Mon. Rom. Imp. Hanov. et Franc. 1612-14. Tom. II. p. 113.]

[10 Herveus saith, 1567.]

[11 ... si ... princeps habet executionem a papa immediate: ergo princeps est &c.—Id. ibid. cap. xi. p. 120.]

[12 Herveus de Potestate Papæ, ca. 19., 1567.]

[13 The last two words are not in 1567.]

[14 Him, 1567.]

[15 Herveus, 1567.]

[16 Istæ, 1570.]

[17 Sed quis est verus imperator? Dicunt quidam, quod Constantinopolitanus: sed iste alius procurator est sive defensor Romanæ ecclesiæ...et ita iste Romanus est verus imperator.—Corp. Jur. Canon. Lugd. 1624. Decret. Gratian. Decr. Prim. Pars, Dist. xcvi. Gloss. in can. 11. col. 469.]

[18 Ubi notat [Hostiensis] quod imperator est feudatarius ecclesiæ Romanæ.—Lupold. De Jur. et Transl. Imp. Argent. 1508. cap. xiii. fol. K iii. 2.

...papa ipsum [imperatorem] examinat et approbat et inungit: et imperator ei jurat tanquam domino, et ab eo tenet imperium: et ejus est advocatus.—Host. sup. Decretal. Par. 1512. Lib. ii. Tit. ii. cap. 10. fol. 11.]

... *Unde tenetur præstare [papæ] juramentum homagii, scilicet, quod vasallus præstare solet domino suo*[19]: "The emperor holdeth his empire of the pope. And therefore he is bound to swear homage and fealty to the pope, as the vassal is bound to his lord." I think the pope will desire to have no more. The emperor is brought to be his man[20].

Likewise saith Johannes de Parisiis: *Dicunt, quod solus papa est verus dominus temporalium; ita ut possit auferre ab alio, quod alias suum est, et tenet factum ejus, licet peccet. Sed prælati ceteri et principes non sunt domini, sed tutores, procuratores, et dispensatores*[21]: "They say that only the pope is the right lord of temporal possessions; so that he may put any man from his own; and, although he offend in so doing, yet his doing taketh place. But for other bishops and princes, they be[22] not lords, but overseers, bailiffs, and stewards." Johan. de Paris. de Potest. Reg. et Pap. cap. v.

Therefore pope Adrian namely thus advanced[23] himself above the emperor Fredericus I: *Imperator per nos imperat: Unde ... habet imperium, nisi a nobis? ... Ecce in potestate nostra est, ut demus illud cui volumus: propterea constituti [sumus] a Deo super gentes et regna; ut destruamus, et evellamus, et ædificemus, et plantemus*[25]: "By mean of us the emperor is emperor; for whence hath he his empire but of us? Behold, it is in our hand to bestow the empire upon whom we list. And to that end are we placed by God over nations and kingdoms, that we should destroy, and pluck up, and build, and plant." Such proud vaunts the pope maketh of himself, without either shame of the world or fear of God. Avent. Lib. vi. p. 636.[24]

The Apology, Chap. vi. Division 9.

Which of the ancient learned fathers, with[26] so precise and mathematical limitation, ever[27] surveyed, and determined you to be seventy and seven times greater than the mightiest kings?

M. HARDING.

Some merry fellow or other, which thought he might be bold to speak mathematically, so he kept himself within compass, and without just reprehension. For, whereas the spiritual power so far passeth the temporal, as the soul doth excel the body, and the heavens surmount the earth, as St Clement[28] *saith, and Gregory Nazianzene*[29]; **you should not so greatly be offended with the seventy and seven times greater dignity, and we need not condemn him as an heretic which would be pleasant in his allegorism*[30]; *especially Johannes Andreæ in the same place referring the matter to the astronomers*[31]. A pleasant mathematical divinity. *Clemens, Const. Apostol. Lib. 2. cap. 34. Nazianzen. Ad Pop. Nazianzen. De Major. et Obed. Solitæ.* * By this reason every simple poor parish-priest is seventy and seven times greater than the emperor.

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

Some merry fellow, I warrant you, ye say. And thus, now in mirth, now in sadness, ye have of long time mocked the world, and forced kings and emperors

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[19] Ubi notant [Innoc. et Host.] quod imperator &c....videtur: quod...teneatur sibi præstare &c. vasallus domino suo præstare solet.—Lupold. ubi supr. fol. K ii. 2.]

[20] The sentences from *steward of the church of Rome* are not in 1567.]

[21] Ex his patet, quod male dicunt, qui dicunt, quod...solus papa...non solum est administrator... sed verus dominus et proprietarius bonorum ecclesiæ: et de eis ordinare et ea distrahere potest, prout vult, et tenet factum suum (licet peccet, nisi faciat ex causa rationabili). Et ceteri prælati, vel etiam principes...non habent dominium; sed solum sunt talium bonorum procuratores, tutores et dispensatores.—Johan. de Parrhis. ubi supr. cap. vi. p. 114.]

[22] But other bishops and princes be, 1567; at for other bishops and princes they be, 1611.]

[23] Avanced, 1567, 1570.]

[24] The latter part of this reference is not in 1567.]

[25] Avent. Annal. Boior. Ingolst. 1554. Lib. vi. p. 636.]

[26] Which of them with, Conf.]

[27] Hath, Conf.]

[28] ...ὅσῳ τοίνυν ψυχὴ σώματος κρείττων, τοσούτῳ ἱερωσύνη βασιλείας.—Const. Apost. Lib. ii. cap. xxxiv. in Concil. Stud. Labb. et Cossart. Lut. Par. 1671-2. Tom. I. col. 272.]

[29] Ἄρχομεν γὰρ καὶ αὐτοί· προσθήσω δὲ ὅτι καὶ τὴν μείζονα καὶ τελεωτέραν ἀρχήν· ἡ δεῖ τὸ Πνεῦμα ὑποχωρῆσαι τῇ σαρκὶ, καὶ τοῖς γηΐνοις τὰ ἐπουράνια.—Gregor. Naz. Op. Par. 1778-1840. Ad Civ. Naz. Orat. xvii. 8. Tom. I. p. 323.]

[30] Algorisme, Conf. and Def. 1567, 1570.]

[31] Joannes Andreas dicit: quod ratione non capio, astrologis relinquo.—Corp. Jur. Canon. Decretal. Gregor. IX. Lib. ii. Tit. xxxiii. Gloss. in cap. 6. col. 426.]

The Pope above the Emperor.

to be your slaves. As for your new doctors, Jack of Andrew, and sir Clement, as you evermore call him, "the apostles' fellow," we weigh them none otherwise than they be worthy. But, touching Gregory Nazianzene, it is true that he saith: "The truth and might of God's word infinitely passeth all worldly power." But what maketh all this for the pope, that walloweth only in his temporalities and worldly cares, and as well in preaching God's word and ministering the sacraments, as also in other spiritual exercises, is as far inferior to any mean priest, as the earth is inferior to the heavens?

Johan. Andr. Clemens.

Howbeit, that it may appear what pretty mirth ye have made therewith[1], one of your own fellows saith thus: [*Ecclesiastici*] *debent judicare per contemptibiles... id est,* [*per*] *laicos, secundum tenorem... et debitum terreni juris*[3]: "The ecclesiastical officers or bishops ought to judge by them that be vile and contemptible, that is to say, by the lay magistrates, according to the tenor and order of the temporal law." Here in your mirth and pleasance, in comparison of yourselves, ye call princes and temporal magistrates "vile and contemptible," and so would ye have them regarded among the people[4].

Johan. de Paris. cap. xi.[2]

Johan. de Paris. cap. xi.[5]

Again, ye say: *Patet regnum sive regimen regale non esse acceptum a Deo; sed ipsum solum permisit indignatus. Et magis esset acceptum Deo, quod per solum papam mundus in omnibus regeretur*[6]: "It is plain that the state of kingdom or kingly government came not from God; for God only suffered it in his anger. And it were more acceptable unto God that the whole world were in all things governed by the pope alone." It were good ye should tell us whether ye speak this only in mirth and game, or else in earnest and good sadness.

Verily, when ye so proudly compare the pope to the sun, and the emperor to the moon, your meaning is that, as the moon hath no light but only from the sun, so the emperor hath no authority but only that he receiveth from the pope. Notwithstanding, in this comparison, Isidorus, your own doctor, saith ye are foully overseen. For thus he writeth: *Per solem intelligitur regnum, et per lunam intelligitur sacerdotium*[7]: "By the sun is meant kingly dignity; and by the moon is meant priesthood." Now therefore Jack Andrew, your merry man, by this reckoning may cast your accounts[9] backward, and say, "the emperor is seventy and seven times greater than the pope."

Isidor. in Gloss. in Gen. Johan. de Paris. cap. lv.[8]

The Apology, Chap. vi. Division 10.

Which of the ancient fathers ever said that[10] more ample authority is given to you than to the residue of the patriarchs?

M. HARDING.

* A whole heap of untruths and forgeries huddled together.

**The fathers of the Nicene council, by witness of Julius the first, who then lived, and those of the council of Sardica,* **Athanasius, and the bishops of Ægypt, Thebaida, and Lybia, and the fathers of certain other councils.*

[a] Untruths, without any word or shew of truth.

Above all other most specially the first christian emperor [a]*Constantine the Great; who, being fully instructed of the most godly and learned bishops of his time,* [a]*what authority the successor of Peter had by* [a]*commission of our Saviour Christ, thought good by his* [a]*imperial commandment and decree to confirm, ratify, and for his own person to yield unto* [b]*blessed Sylvester then pope, and to his successors bishops of Rome, the same authority and superiority, not only over bishops and patriarchs, but also power and honour higher and greater than that of kings and*[12] *emperors. The words of* [c]*his solemn decree in that behalf made are these, which, as they are*

[b] Untruth. For Sylvester was dead [11] long before these matters are imagined to be done.

[c] This solemn decree is nothing else but a solemn folly.

[1] Herewith, 1567, 1570.]

[2] Herveus De Potestate Papæ, ca. 11., 1567.]

[3] Johan. de Parrhis. de Potest. Reg. et Papal. cap. xi. in Goldast. Mon. Rom. Imp. Hanov. et Franc. 1612-14. Tom. II. p. 121.]

[4] The last ten words are not in 1567.]

[5] Herveus De Potestate Papæ, cap. 12., 1567.]

[6] Id. ibid. cap. xii. p. 123; where *esset Deo acceptum*, and *per solum pontificem mundus.*]

[7] Id. ibid. cap. xv. p. 128. See before, page 677, note 3.]

[8] Herveus De Potestate Papæ, ca. 13., 1567.]

[9] Coumptes, 1567.]

[10] Which of them that, Conf.]

[11] This is a mistake.]

[12] Or, Conf.]

found in sundry other Greek writers, so most plainly in [d] *Matthæus Hieromonachus:* Θεσπίζομεν σύμπασι τοῖς σατράπαις καὶ τῇ συγκλήτῳ τῆς ἡμῶν βασιλείας τὸν Ῥώμης ἐπίσκοπον, καὶ διάδοχον τοῦ κορυφαίου τῶν ἀποστόλων καὶ κυρίου μου Πέτρου, πλείονα τῆς βασιλείας ἔχειν ἐξουσίαν κατὰ πᾶσαν τὴν οἰκουμένην, καὶ παρὰ πάντων πολλῷ πλέον ἢ τὸν βασιλέα τιμᾶσθαι καὶ σέβεσθαι, κεφαλήν τε εἶναι τῶν τεσσάρων πατριαρχικῶν θρόνων, κρίνεσθαί τε παρ' αὐτοῦ καὶ ψηφίζεσθαι τὰ τῇ ὀρθοδόξῳ συμβαίνοντα πίστει[13]. *Which in our mother-tongue*[14] *is this much to say:* "*We give in decree and commandment to all lords, and to the senate of our empire, that the bishop of Rome, and the successor of St Peter chief of the apostles, have authority and power in all the world more than that of the empire is, and that he be honoured and worshipped more than the emperor, and that he be head of the four patriarchal seats, and that things appertaining to the right faith be of him judged and determined.*" *Justinian the emperor likewise made an express decree, that* "*the most holy pope of the elder Rome* (*for*[15] *these be his very words*) *be taken, according to the determination*[16] *of the holy councils, to be the* [e] *first and principal of all bishops*[17]." *It were not hard to allege much more for proof hereof, of good and sufficient authority; but in a matter not doubtful this may suffice.*

Constantine's Donation.

[d] For shame: hath the pope none other record to prove his charter by but only one poor, hungry, forged Grecian, that never saw Rome?

[e] First and principal in councils, we confess; but lord and master of all other patriarchs, that would be proved.

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

This is a folly of all follies. Yet is there no folly so great, but by words and countenance it may be maintained. It shameth me to bestow words herein; and so much the more, for that you say the case is so clear and out of doubt. I assure you, M. Harding, of all other your innumerable Lovanian vanities, concerning the practice of the church, and story of time, this one vanity is the vainest.

But, lest any man by simplicity or ignorance should be deceived, not understanding the mysteries of this donation or charter, by the judgment of your own doctors, the meaning thereof is this: *Volunt aliqui quod, ratione hujus doni, papa est imperator et dominus mundi; et quod potest reges instituere et destituere, sicut imperator*[18]: "Some think that by force and virtue of this donation the pope is the emperor and the lord of the world; and that hereby he hath power both to set up and also to put down kings as an emperor." Therefore I cannot blame you, M. Harding, for that you stand so stiffly to this donation. For, if ye lose this, ye lose the empire of the world[20].

Johan. de Paris. de Potest. Reg. cap. xxii.[19]

The fable hereof is so peevish, that the wisest and best-learned of your very friends, Platina, cardinal Cusanus, Marsilius Patavinus, Laurentius Valla, Antoninus Florentinus, Otho Frisingensis, Hieronymus Paulus Catalanus, Volaterranus, Nauclerus, Capnion[21], Molinæus, and others, have openly reproved it unto the world, and have written against it, and are much ashamed of your follies[22].

And, to allege one instead of many, cardinal Cusanus hereof hath written thus: *Donationem Constantini diligenter expendens, reperi ex ipsamet scriptura manifesta argumenta confictionis et falsitatis*[23]: "Advisedly weighing this donation, or grant of Constantine (whereby the pope claimeth all his temporal power), even in the penning thereof I find manifest tokens of falsehood[24] and forgery."

Nic. Cusan. de Concord. Cath. Lib. iii. cap. ii.

Again he saith: *Sunt, meo judicio, illa de Constantino apocrypha; sicut etiam fortassis quædam alia longa et magna scripta sanctis Clementi et Anacleto papæ ascripta.... Ipsæ enim epistolæ, applicatæ ad tempus illorum sanctorum, seipsas produnt*[25]: "By my judgment these charters of Constantine are forged; as perhaps are also other long and great letters, that bear the name of St Clement and pope

Nic. Cusan. eod. loc.

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[13] Constant. Donat. ex Matt. Blastar. Synops. Jur. Canon. 1610. pp. 25, 6; where πρὸς αὐτοῦ.]

[14] Our tongue, Conf. and Def. 1567, 1570.]

[15] Or, 1611.]

[16] Determinations, Conf. and Def. 1567.]

[17] Καὶ διὰ τοῦτο θεσπίζομεν, κατὰ τοὺς αὐτῶν ὅρους τὸν ἁγιώτατον τῆς πρεσβυτέρας Ῥώμης πάππαν πρῶτον εἶναι πάντων τῶν ἱερέων.—Corp. Jur. Civil. Amst. 1663. Auth. Coll. ix. Tit. xiv. Novel. cxxxi. cap. 2. Tom. II. p. 184.]

[18] Johan. de Parrhis. de Potest. Reg. et Papal. cap. xxii. in Goldast. Mon. Rom. Imp. Tom. II. p. 140. See before, page 678, note 1.]

[19] Herveus De Potestate Papæ, cap. 19., 1567.]

[20] These two sentences are not in 1567.]

[21] These two names are not in 1567.]

[22] See before, p. 678, note 4.]

[23] Nic. de Cusa Op. Basil. 1565. De Concord. Cathol. Lib. iii. cap. ii. Tom. II. p. 781. See Vol. I. page 359, note 10, and before, page 679, note 9.]

[24] Falsehead, 1567, 1570.]

[25] Id. ibid. p. 782; where *fortassis etiam, papæ attributa,* and *etiam ipsæ epistolæ applicatæ qd tempus eorum sanctorum.*]

Anacletus. For the letters themselves, applied unto the time of these holy fathers, betray themselves."

Constantine's Donation.

Again, the same grant of Constantine, even in Gratian the pope's own register, is found only in the *Palea*, and not in the original allowed text[1]. And in many old books that have no gloss it is not found. And in the gloss upon the same it is noted thus: *Palea ista non legitur in scholis; in qua continetur privilegium, quod Constantinus concessit Romanæ ecclesiæ; scilicet, ut primatum inter omnes ecclesias obtineret*[2]: "This patch is not read in the schools; wherein is contained the privilege, that Constantinus the emperor granted to the church of Rome, that is to say, that the said church should have the sovereignty over all churches."

Dist. 96. Constant. Gloss. cod. loc.

And, to put the matter out of doubt, even pope Pius himself thereof saith thus: *Dicta palea Constantinus falsa est*[3]: "The said patch, that so beginneth, Constantinus, is stark false." Here, M. Harding, the pope himself telleth you, that your donation, whereby the pope holdeth his kingdom and triple crown, is nothing else but a false forgery, craftily clouted up by some of your parasites for the purpose[4]. Whereunto Felinus your canonist addeth these words: *Et invehit contra miseros legistas, qui laborant in disputando an valuerit id quod nunquam fuit*[5]: "And the same pope Pius rageth earnestly against the poor lawyers, for that they take such pains to reason whether that thing may be good and available in law, that never was made."

Pius II. in Dial.

Felin. de Major. et Obed. Solit. col. 3.

And again, the same doctors, that would seem most friendly and favourably to speak of this donation, by their own judgment do quite condemn it. For thus they say: *In donatione illa audita est vox angelorum in aëre*[6] *dicentium, Hodie venenum effusum est in ecclesiam*[7]: "At the time of the confirming and passing of this donation there was a voice of angels heard in the air, saying, This day poison is poured into the church." Thus you see, notwithstanding your donation were good and true, yet, by the testimony of the angels of heaven, it were nothing else but the poison and destruction of the church of God[4].

In Vit. Sylv. Johan. de Paris. cap. xxii.[8]

Briefly to touch some part of the contents and substance of the same, the foolish body that forged it was so simple and void of wit, that[9] he knew not whether Constantinople stood in the east from Rome, or in the north; whether Byzance were a city or a country; whether the imperial diadem were made of silk or of gold. He telleth a tale of the patriarch of Constantinople, that he should be boner and buxum[10] to the bishop of Rome; and yet at that time when, as he imagineth, the[11] grant was made, the city of Constantinople was not builded, nor any such name as yet known in the world. Now consider also what a special grace this clerk hath in the Latin tongue. These be his flowers: *Signa et banna: decernere disponenda: concedere permanenda: licentiam dare: equos equitare, &c.* And *clericare*, in his language, is good Latin to make priests[12]. This is such Latin as, I will not say, Constantine himself, but Constantine's cook, would never have spoken[13].

Concil. Tom. I. p. 227. Phrygium.

And yet is the marginal gloss hereupon as good and as substantial as the text. For whereas the text saith, *Contradimus... [beato Sylvestro] phrygium [nostrum] id est, mitram*; "We deliver unto blessed Sylvester our *phrygium*," that is to say, "our mitre," there shall you find this pretty note in the margin: *Nota [quod] phrygium factum [est] ex pennis pavonum*[14]: "Mark well, that this

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[1] Corp. Jur. Canon. Lugd. 1624. Decret. Gratian. Decr. Prim. Pars, Dist. xcvi. can. 14. col. 470.]

[2] Gloss. ibid. cols. 470, 1.]

[3] See before, p. 678, note 3.]

[4] This sentence is not in 1567.]

[5] Felin. Sand. Comm. sup. Decretal. Lugd. 1587. Lib. I. Tit. xxxiii. cap. 6. fol. 234. 2.]

[6] Aera, 1570.]

[7] Johan. de Parrhis, de Potest. Reg. et Papal. cap. xxii. in Goldast. Mon. Rom. Imp. Hanov. et Franc. 1612-14. p. 140; where *dicentium in aere Hodie in ecclesia venenum.*]

[8] Herveus De Potestate Papæ, ca. 19., 1567.]

[9] Simple that, 1567.]

[10] to be bonere and buxum in bedde and at te borde, &c.—Manual. ad Us. Eccles. Sarisb. Rothom. 1555. De Sponsal. fol. 48.]

[11] This, 1567.]

[12] ...signa, atque banda...decernimus...candidissimo colore decorari equos, et ita equitare...licentiam tribuimus...ut quem, placatus proprio consilio, clericali [*marg.* clericare] voluerit, et in numero religiosorum clericorum connumerare...decernimus disponendum, atque juri sanctæ Romanæ ecclesiæ concedimus permansurum.—Edict. Constant. in Crabb. Concil. Col. Agrip. 1551. Tom. I. pp. 227, 8.]

[13] The sentences from *the world* are not in 1567.]

[14] Ibid. p. 227.]

phrygium or mitre was made of a peacock's tail." No doubt, a worthy gift for an emperor, and a meet mitre for a pope. All these things, M. Harding, you know to be true, and yet have you a pen and a mouth to defend them[15]. But, as I said before, it shameth me in so childish a fable to stand so long. Constantine's Donation.

As for your Greek doctor Hieromonachus, he shall be stalled together with your Clemens, Leontius, Amphilochius, and other-like your worthy and weighty doctors. For shame, what should ye bring us this one seely poor Greek witness, whose name ye never heard before, to testify of grants and conveyances made in Rome? Can your pope find out neither council, nor doctor, nor father, nor any other writer of likely record, to help him in so great a case, but only one poor rascal Grecian, that knew no more of the matter than you yourselves? It bewrayeth the neediness of your cause. He that durst so lewdly to falsify such a grant, thereby to intrude himself into the possession of the empire, would not blush to falsify some beggarly witness, to avouch the same.

Now, where ye would seem to say the other four patriarchs stood evermore at the commandment of the bishop of Rome; not only the said three patriarchs, which never neither yielded, nor knew any such obedience, but also the general practice of the world, will soon reprove you.

Nilus, a Greek writer, saith: *Ut liquidius appareat papam non imperare aliis omnibus episcopis, legatur sextus canon synodi Nicenæ, quo diserte præcipitur, ut aliis ecclesiis Alexandrinus, aliis Romanus, aliis Antiochenus præsit; ut non liceat alteri alterius provinciam invadere*[16]: "That it may well and plainly appear that the pope hath no power or government over all other bishops, read the sixth canon of the Nicene council. There it is expressly commanded that the bishop of Alexandria shall have the rule over certain churches, and the bishop of Rome over certain, and the bishop of Antioch likewise over certain; and that it shall not be lawful for any one of them to invade the jurisdiction of another." Nil. de Primat. Rom. Pont. καὶ ὡς οὐκ ἔξεστιν ἑτέρῳ τῆς ἀλλοτρίας ἐπιδεῖν.

The emperor Justinian saith: *Ecclesia urbis Constantinopolitanæ ... Romæ veteris prærogativa lætatur*[17]: "The church of the city of Constantinople enjoyeth now the prerogative of Rome the elder." Nicephorus saith: *Romano et Constantinopolitano episcopo ex æquo paria sunt et dignitatis præmia et honorum jura*[18]: "The title of dignity and right of honour given to the bishop of Rome, and the bishop of Constantinople, are one and equal." So likewise it was determined by decree in the council of Constantinople: *Definimus sedi Constantinopolitanæ paria jura et privilegia cum sede veteris Romæ*[19]: "We decree that the see of Constantinople shall have rights and privileges equal with the see of old Rome." Now consider well this matter, M. Harding. If the patriarch of Constantinople were the pope's equal, how was he his subject? If he were his subject, how was he his equal? Ye shall hardly force these things to frame together[20]. Therefore, as it is said before, Gennadius, together with the council of Constantinople, wrote thus unto the bishop of Rome: *Curet sanctitas tua universas tuas custodias, tibique subjectos episcopos*[21]: "Let your holiness see unto all your own cures, and to the bishops that be subject unto you." Cod. de Sacr. Eccles. Omn. Innovat. Nicephi. Lib. xii. cap. xiii. Conc. Const. II. cap. 36. τῶν ἴσων ἀπολαβεῖν πρεσβείων. Gennad. ad Omn. Metrop. et ad Pap. Rom.

St Cyprian[22], Cyrillus[23], Athanasius[24], and others, writing either of or unto the bishop of Rome, call him, not their lord and master, unto whom of duty they ought obedience, but their brother and their fellow-servant. Yea, the pope himself in some cases hath rather offered his obedience unto other bishops. For thus writeth pope Liberius unto Athanasius the bishop of Alexandria: *Quæso ut huic confessioni subscribas, ut ego securior efficiar, et tua mandata inhæsitanter* Cypr. ad Cornel. Athanas. ad Episc. Aphr. Epist. Liber. ad Athanas.

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[15] This sentence is not in 1567.]

[16] Nil. Thessal. Lib. de Primat. Rom. Pont. Franc. 1555. fol. B. 7. 2.]

[17] Honor. et Theod. in Corp. Jur. Civil. Amst. 1663. Cod. Lib. I. Tit. ii. 6. Tom. II. p. 6; where *ecclesiæ*.]

[18] Niceph. Call. Hist. Eccles. Lut. Par. 1630. Lib. XII. cap. xiii. Tom. II. p. 244.]

[19] Concil. Quinisext. can. 36. in Concil. Stud. Labb. et Cossart. Lut. Par. 1671-2. Tom. VI. col. 1159. See Vol. III. page 300, note 12.]

[20] The sentences from *old Rome* are not in 1567.]

[21] Gennad. Epist. Synod. in eod. Tom. IV. col. 1030. See before, page 828, note 15.]

[22] Cypr. Op. Oxon. 1682. Ad Cornel. Epistt. xliv. xlvii. xlviii. &c. pp. 85, 90, &c.]

[23] Cyril. Alex. Op. Lut. 1638. Ad Cœlest. Epist. Tom. V. Pars II. p. 36. See Vol. I. page 403, note 17.]

[24] Athanas. Op. Par. 1698. Ad Afr. Episc. Epist. 1. Tom. I. Pars II. p. 891.]

The Pope is God.

obeam[1]: "I beseech thee to subscribe to this confession, that I may be out of doubt, and may do your commandments without grudging." Yet now the bishop of Rome, to maintain his title by a writ of right, forasmuch as the four principal patriarchs of the world have forsaken him, appointeth out four of his ordinary chaplains, and giveth them the names of four patriarchs; the first for Constantinople, the second for Alexandria, the third for Antioch, the fourth for Hierusalem: and thus, having these four at commandment, in his pleasant fancy he ruleth and governeth the whole world. In such a solemn bravery the great cham of Tartary at this day, after he hath dined himself, soundeth out a trumpet, and giveth all the kings and emperors of the world leave to go to dinner; and in this imagination and jollity he continueth his claim to the possession of all the world, even by as good right and title as doth the pope. And, whensoever the pope himself, in his own person, openly and solemnly saith his mass, he commandeth the gospel and epistle to be read in Greek. Whereupon his own master of ceremonies saith thus: *Hanc... consuetudinem... hinc ortam puto, ut appareat Romanam ecclesiam in se continere utramque gentem*[2]: "Hereof, I think, this custom first proceeded, that hereby it may appear that the church of Rome containeth in it both nations, as well Greeks as Latins[3]."

Cerem. Lib. iii. cap. vii.

Anton. in Summ. Part. III. Tit. xxii. cap. vi.

All this notwithstanding, Antoninus saith, *Hoc Græci non credunt*[4]: "For all this, the Greeks believe it not."

Art. iv. Div. 8. Art. iv. Div. 7.

The objections of Justinian, and of the council of Sardica, are answered in my former reply to M. Harding[5].

THE APOLOGY, Chap. vi. Division 11.

Which of the ancient holy fathers ever called you Lord and God[6]?

M. HARDING.

* A vain forgery.

* These words are spoken of princes and magistrates.

None that wise is so speaketh absolutely: nevertheless, in some certain sense St Clement calleth every bishop,* Terrenum quendam Deum[7]," "*a certain earthly God,*" *as it is written,* *"*I have said, ye are gods, &c.*"

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

So that ye make not the pope an absolute God, ye think ye may otherwise call him God safely and without prejudice. A proper shift to maintain a vain man in the possession of his godhead. In such a pleasant imagination Antiochus, sometime the king of Syria, entitled himself by the name of God[8]. So the emperor Domitian used to assign his proclamations, *Dominus Deus vester Domitianus*[9]: "Your Lord God Domitian." So the emperor Caligula called himself *Deum optimum maximum, et Jovem Latialem*[10]: "The best and most mighty God, and the great God Jupiter of Italy:" so Sapores, the great king of Persia, called himself *Fratrem solis et lunæ*[11]; "The brother of the sun and the moon:" so the peevish physician Menecrates called himself Jupiter[12]: so Nicostratus called himself Hercules[13]: so Nicagoras made himself a pair of wings, and would needs be called the God Mercurius[14]: so Manichæus the heretic called

Hieron. in Dan. cap. iii. Ἀντίοχος ὁ θεός. Suet. in Domit.

Suet.

Pomp. Læt.

Athen. Lib. vii.

Chrysost. de Spir. Sanct. August. contr. Faust. Lib. xiii. cap. xvii.

[1] Liber. Epist. ad Athanas. in eod. Tom. II. p. 664. This is spurious.]

[2] Rit. Eccles. sive Sacr. Cerim. Rom. Eccles. Libr. Col. Agrip. 1557. Lib. III. Sect. v. cap. vii. fol. 305.]

[3] These five words are not in 1567.]

[4] Antonin. Summ. Basil. 1511. Pars III. Tit. xxii. cap. 6. fol. II. There are various expressions occurring in the chapter cited, implying that the Greeks, as stated, were incredulous on this point.]

[5] See Vol. I. pages 361, &c.]

[6] Which of them that you are the Lord God, Conf.]

[7] Const. Apost. Lib. II. capp. xxix. xxx. xxxi. in Concil. Stud. Labb. et Cossart. Lut. Par. 1671-2. Tom. I. col. 268.]

[8] ...Antiochus, qui vocabatur Θεὸς, id est, Deus. —Hieron. Op. Par. 1693-1706. Comm. in Daniel. Proph. cap. xi. Tom. III. col. 1123.]

[9] C. Sueton. Tranquill. Domit. 13; Pomp. Læt. Rom. Hist. Comp. Par. 1544. p. 243.]

[10] C. Sueton. Tranquill. Calig. 22.]

[11] Pomp. Læt. Rom. Hist. Comp. p. 212.]

[12] Athen. Deipnos. Libr. Lugd. 1657. Lib. VII. p. 289.]

[13] Diodor. Sic. Biblioth. Hist. Hanov. 1604. Lib. XVI. p. 442.]

[14] Clement. Alex. Op. Oxon. 1715. Cohort. ad Gent. Tom. I. p. 48.]

himself the Holy Ghost[15]: so the Romans in old times erected up an image in the honour of Simon Magus the sorcerer, with this inscription or posy, *Simoni sancto Deo*[16]: "In the honour of Simon the holy God." By this your so handsome distinction, M. Harding, of God absolute, and God not absolute, I see not but every of these might well and safely have maintained his title without blame. Euseb. Lib. ii. cap. xiii.

Certainly in this arrogant vanity scarcely any of all these was ever comparable to the pope. Pope Nicolas saith: *Constat summum pontificem a pio principe Constantino... Deum appellatum*[17]: "It is well known that the pope of the godly prince Constantine was called God." Likewise the pope was well content to suffer one of his parasites to say unto him in the late council of Laterane: *Tu es alter Deus in terris*[18]: "Thou art another God in earth." Likewise Cardillus the Spaniard, in defence of the pope's late chapter at Trident, oftentimes calleth[19] the pope, *Terrenum Deum*[20], "An earthly God;" by the same style and right whereby Holofernes sometime said: *Nabuchodonosor est Deus terræ*: "Nabuchodonosor is the God of the earth." Dist. 96. Satis evidenter. Chris. Marcel. in Conc. Lat. Sess. 4. Cardill. pro Conc. Trid. Judith vi.

Upon the pope's own Clementines, ye shall find the matter thus taken up and qualified with great indifferency and modesty, and thus specially noted in the margin*: *Papa nec Deus est, nec homo*[21]. And, to leave other his like blasphemous and fond styles, in another like gloss ye shall find it written thus: *Credere Dominum Deum nostrum papam non potuisse statuere, prout statuit, hæreticum censeretur*[22]: "To believe that our Lord God the pope might not decree as he decreed, it were a matter of heresy." Here have we found by express and plain words, even in the pope's own authentical and allowed book, "Our Lord God the pope." * The pope is neither God nor man. Our Lord God the Pope. Extr. Johan. xxii. Cum inter, in Gloss. Imp. Lugd. An. 1555. Paris. An. 1513.

These things might seem uncredible, had not St Paul foretold us, that the man of sin should sit in the temple of God, and shew himself as if he were God. St Gregory, writing of antichrist, saith thus: *Cum sit damnatus homo, et nequaquam spiritus, Deum se esse mentitur*[23]: "Whereas he is a damned man and not a spirit, by lying he feigneth himself to be God." Anselmus saith: *Simulabit se religiosum, ut sub specie decipiat pietatis: imo, se Deum esse dicet, et se adorari faciet, atque regna cœlorum promittet*[24]: "Antichrist shall feign himself to be holy, that he may deceive men under the colour of holiness; yea, and he shall call himself God, and shall cause himself to be worshipped, and shall promise the kingdom of heaven." Now tell us, M. Harding, who ever did, or attempted to do these things, but only the pope[25]? 2 Thess. ii. Gregor. in Job. cap. xxxiv. Lib. xxv. cap. xx. Anselm. in 2 Thess. i.

Eusebius saith: *Hoc est argumentum eos odisse Deum, quod velint seipsos appellari Deos*[26]: "This is a token that they hate God, for that they will[27] have themselves called by the name of God." Euseb. de præp. Lib. vii. Δεῖγμα... τούτων τῆς θεοεχθρίας, τὸ θέλειν σφᾶς αὐτοὺς Θεοὺς ἀναγορεύεσθαι.

Likewise saith the ancient father Irenæus: [*Antichristus*], *existens apostata et latro, quasi Deus vult adorari; et, cum sit servus, regem se vult præconiari*[28]: "Antichrist, being a renegate and a thief, yet will be worshipped as a God; and, being but a slave, yet he will be proclaimed and published as a king."

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[15] Ἦλθε Μάνης,...καὶ λέγει· ἐγώ εἰμι ὁ Παράκλητος.—Chrysost. Op. Par. 1718-38. De Spir. Sanct. Hom. Tom. III. p. 808. This is spurious.

... hunc Paracletum dicentes esse Manichæum.—August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. Contr. Faust. Lib. xiii. cap. xvii. Tom. VIII. col. 262.]

[16] Euseb. in Hist. Eccles. Script. Amst. 1695-1700. Lib. ii. cap. xiii. p. 40. Conf. Vales. not. in loc.]

[17] ...pontificem, quem constat a pio &c.—Nicol. Papa in Corp. Jur. Canon. Lugd. 1624. Decret. Gratian. Decr. Prim. Pars, Dist. xcvi. can. 7. col. 467.]

[18] Christoph. Marcell. Orat. in Quart. Later. Concil. Sess. in Concil. Stud. Labb. et Cossart. Tom. XIV. col. 109. See Vol. II. page 906, note 7.]

[19] The eight preceding words appear twice in 1567.]

[20] ...in pontificem maximum evomunt, aut potius in terrestrem atque mortalem Deum.—Disp. adv. Protest. Trig. quat. Hæret. August. Confess. hab. a Gasp. Cardill. Villalp. Venet. 1564. Ad Carol. Borrom. Card. Epist. Ded. fol. a 3.]

[21] Corp. Jur. Canon. Clement. Lib. i. Gloss. in Procem. col. 4. See below, page 844.]

[22] Extrav. Joan. XXII. ad calc. Sext. Decretal. Par. 1585. Tit. xiv. Gloss. in cap. 4. col. 153. See Vol. I. page 96, note 4.]

[23] Gregor. Magni Papæ I. Op. Par. 1705. Moral. Lib. xxv. in cap. xxxiv. B. Job, cap. xvi. 34. Tom. I. col. 807; where *nequam spiritus*. See Vol. II. page 907, note 18.]

[24] Anselm. Op. Col. Agrip. 1612. In Epist. ii. ad Thessal. cap. ii. Tom. II. p. 342.]

[25] This sentence is not in 1567.]

[26] Euseb. Præp. Evang. Par. 1628. Lib. vii. cap. xvi. p. 329.]

[27] They will that, 1611.]

[28] Iren. Op. Par. 1710. Contr. Hær. Lib. v. cap. xxv. p. 322.]

Therefore although the pope be not, as you say, an absolute God, or an absolute Christ, yet without any great inconvenience, I trow, he may well be an absolute antichrist.

THE APOLOGY, Chap. vi. Division 12.

Which of the ancient holy fathers ever said that[1] you are not a mere natural man, but a certain substance made and grown together of God and man?

M. HARDING.

A faint excuse.

*Can you bring him before his face that shall say so unto him? I warrant you, master Defender, he shall either be reproved for his flattering, or proved to understand no more by it than a *certain divine power above the natural state of men, *or warned that he be more circumspect in his glossing, when heretics are ready to slander the whole church because of one man's private affection.*

* A certain divine power in the pope.
* A sore punishment for open blasphemy.

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

He that may call himself Lord and God may easily claim himself to be more than a man. In the pope's own decretals it is noted thus in the margin: *Papa non est homo*[2]: "The pope is not a man." Your gloss upon the pope's own Clementines allegeth these words out of one of your allowed poets: *Papa stupor mundi*[3]: "The pope is the wonder of the world." And again: *Nec Deus es, nec homo: quasi neuter es inter utrunque*[3]: "Thou art neither God, nor man: in a manner thou art neither of both, but rather a mean between both."

In Sext. de Elect. et Elect. Fund. In Gloss. Clement. in Proœm. in Gloss.

By the authority of this doctor it appeareth that the pope is neither God nor man. Angel, I trow, he is not. What other creature ye may make of him, I leave to you further to consider. But bring him forth (ye say) that thus hath spoken: bring him before the pope's face, that he may be punished. For he shall be warned, as he is, to be more circumspect in his glossing. So cruelly, M. Harding, ye punish, and torment, and crucify them that enfeoff a poor miserable sinful creature with the glorious name of God immortal[4]!

THE APOLOGY, Chap. vi. Division 13.

Which of the ancient fathers ever said that[5] you are the only headspring of all laws[6]?

M. HARDING.

Whosoever saith it speaketh not without evident reason, considering that of the principal of every government all laws belonging to the same be deducted and derived.

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

Here have you[7] brought us a full simple reason, as God knoweth. But to have brought us some authority of doctor, or council, it had been better. We have no doubt of your pretty reasons. We demanded only, which of the ancient fathers ever said so[8]?

THE APOLOGY, Chap. vi. Division 14.

Which of the ancient fathers ever said that[5] you have power over purgatory[9]?

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[1] Or that, Conf.]
[2] Corp. Jur. Canon. Lugd. 1624. Sext. Decretal. Lib. I. Tit. vi. Gloss. in cap. 17. col. 132.]
[3] Ibid. Clement. Lib. I. Gloss. in Proœm. col. 4.]
[4] The sentences after *consider* are not in 1567.]
[5] Which of them that, Conf.]
[6] Law, Conf.]
[7] Ye, 1567, 1570, 1609.]
[8] The last two sentences are not in 1567.]
[9] Purgatories, Conf.]

M. HARDING.

**O that ye would first believe a purgatory, and then should ye understand what dispensation of loosing and binding is committed to the vicar of Christ. For, as Esay saith, "Except ye believe, ye shall not understand;" and the consequent doctrine must needs be obscure, as long as the principal ground thereof is wickedly denied.*

* No doubt it were a worthy matter.

Wisely.

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

Of your purgatory fantasies we have sufficiently said before. Where ye wish we would believe there is a purgatory, verily we believe constantly whatsoever God hath willed us to believe. St Paul saith: "Faith cometh by hearing: hearing cometh by the word of God;" and thereby only is faith directed. As for your follies and mockeries, they are subject to fancy, and not to faith. St Augustine saith: *Nemo de Christo credat, nisi quod de se credi voluit Christus*[10]: "Let no man believe of Christ but that that Christ hath commanded him to believe of Christ." Again he saith: *Constat fidem stultam non... prodesse, sed potius obesse*[11]: "It is certain that foolish faith doth no good, but rather hurteth." Notwithstanding, though all your lists and gainful territories of purgatory were fully granted, yet should it be very hard for you to prove, either by scripture, or by doctor, that the pope beareth any greater authority or sway there, to command in or out at his pleasure, than any other simple priest. Albeit one of your allowed doctors saith: *Purgatorium est peculium papæ*[12]: "Purgatory is the peculiar possession of the pope." I trow, as being a college only of his own foundation[13].

Rom. x.

August. de Temp. Serm. 145. Fer. 3. Pasch.

August. in Quæst. Vet. Test. Quæst. 43.

Angel. Paris.

THE APOLOGY, Chap. vi. Division 15.

Which of the ancient fathers ever said that[14] you are able to command the angels of God as ye[15] list yourself?

The Pope's power over the angels of God.

M. HARDING.

*Nor old father, *nor*[16] *new doctor. And whatsoever he be that shall so tell you, believe him not. He speaketh not catholicly; and you must make no scruple in such matters.*

* Untruth manifest, as shall appear.

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

Here at last, M. Harding, for shame ye are fain to yield. No doctor (ye say) ever thus said, neither old, nor new. Howbeit, hereto ye have laid a very good[17] exception, with a special saving[18]: "If any man have so said (say ye), whatsoever he were, he spake not catholicly." And yet again ye tell us further, howsoever it be, we should never be scrupulous in such matters.

But what if the pope himself, the father of all fathers, and doctor of all doctors, both new and old, have not blushed to say the same? May we say as you say, The pope himself was not catholic? Or, if we so say, will you believe it?

Indeed king Xerxes, the great king of Persia, when he had brought over his huge army into Græcia, sent out his letters of defiance unto the great Mount Athos, that is in Macedonia, and commanded him to stand still, and not to stir a foot, nor to work any displeasure, either to himself or to his army, upon pain of his high [19]indignation[20]. Even by like authority, and with

Herodotus.

[10] Nemo credat de Christo, nisi &c.—August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. Serm. cxxxvii. 4. In Dieb. Paschal. viii. Tom. V. col. 995.]

[11] Id. Quæst. ex Vet. Test. Quæst. xliii. Tom. III. Append. col. 56; where *constet*.]

[12] See Vol. III. page 560, note 3.]

[13] This sentence is not in 1567.]

[14] Which of them that, Conf.]

[15] You, Conf.]

[16] Now, Conf.]

[17] Special, 1567.]

[18] These four words are not in 1567.]

[19] The six words after *army* are not in 1567.]

[20] Herod. Lib. VII. cap. xxi—xxiv.]

The Pope's power over the angels of God.

as good discretion, the pope hath used to send out his precepts and princely summons[1], and to command angels, archangels, and all the powers of heaven, to come, to go, to fetch, to carry, and to be ready to do his will. Therefore is he the better content to hear his friends tell him thus: *Tibi data est omnis potestas super*[2] *omnes potestates, tam cœli quam terræ: qui totum dicit nihil excludit*[3]: "To thee is given all manner of power above all powers, as well of heaven as of earth. He that saith 'all' excepteth nothing."

In Conc. Lat. sub Leon. x. Sess. 10. Extr. de Const. Stat. Can. Felin.

Felinus, your doctor, saith thus: *Nedum circa cœlestia, terrestria, et infernalia papa gerit vicariatum Christi, sed etiam super angelos bonos et malos*[4]: "The pope hath Christ's lieutenantship, not only over things in heaven, over things in earth, and over things in hell, but also over the angels, both good and bad."

Felin. eod. loc.

Innocentius the pope himself saith: *Vicario Creatoris omnis creatura subjecta est*[5]: "Unto the Creator's lieutenant every creature is subject."

Anton. in Sum. Part. III. Tit. 22. cap. 5. ante §.

Your own doctor, Antoninus, the archbishop of Florence, saith: *Potestas papæ major est omni alia* [*potestate*] *creata,... aliquo modo extendens se ad cœlestia, terrestria, et infernalia; ut de ea verificari possit quod dictum est, Omnia subjecisti sub pedibus ejus*[6]: "The pope's power is greater than any other power that God ever made; and after a sort stretcheth itself unto things in heaven, things in earth, and things in hell; so that of that power the words may be verified that are written by the prophet David, Thou hast made all things subject to his feet."

Agrip. de Vanit. Scient.

Camotensis saith: *Papa angelis præcipit, et potestatem habet in mortuos*[7]: "The pope commandeth the angels (of God), and hath power over the dead."

Gregor. Haimb. in Appel. Sigis. Duc. Aust. Vesel. Agrip. de Vanit. Scient.

Gregorius Haimburgensis saith: *Ut terminis utar suorum adulatorum,... papa angelis habet imperare*[8]: "To use the words of his flatterers, the pope hath power to command the angels." Therefore, if any man happen to die upon the way as he passeth in pilgrimage towards[9] Rome, pope Clement VI. commandeth the angels of God to be at hand, and to carry his soul immediately into heaven[10]."

Hereto, and to all other the like, M. Harding saith, These popes, these doctors, these fathers, these pages, these parasites, in these points were[11] not catholic.

Notwithstanding he saith further, If the pope for his fancy take somewhat upon him, and sometimes be a little over bold with God's angels, to command them and countermand them at his pleasure, in such cases we ought not to be over scrupulous.

THE APOLOGY, Chap. vi. Division 16.

Which of the ancient fathers ever[12] said that you are the Lord of lords, and King[13] of kings?

M. HARDING.

In a right good sense.

He useth the clean contrary title, calling himself servum servorum Dei, "*the*

[1] Letters, 1567.]

[2] Supra, 1567, 1570, 1609.]

[3] Orat. Steph. Arch. Patrac. in Concil. Later. Sess. x. in Concil. Stud. Labb. et Cossart. Lut. Par. 1671-2. Tom. XIV. col. 269. See Vol. I. pages 93, 4, note 2.]

[4] ...nedum circa terrestria, cœlestia et infernalia gerit papa vicariatum &c.—Felin. Sand. Comm. Lugd. 1587. Sup. Decretal. Lib. I. Tit. ii. cap. 1. fol. 9.]

[5] Id. ibid.]

[6] Antonin. Summ. Basil. 1511. Pars III. Tit. xxii. cap. 5. fol. H. H. 4.]

[7] ...quorum eo usque excrevit arrogantia, ut angelis cœlorum præciperent,...et in mortuorum manes manum mitterent.—H. C. Agrip. De Incert. et Vanit. Scient. Col. 1584. cap. xcii. fol. Z 3. 2.]

[8] Gregor. Heymb. Conf. Primat. Pap. Pars I. in Fasc. Rer. Expet. et Fug. Lond. 1690. Tom. II. p. 117; where *habeat*.]

[9] To, 1567.]

[10] Nonne Clemens papa in bulla, quæ hodie adhuc Viennæ, Limonis, Pictavii in privilegiorum scriniis plumbata servatur, præcipit angelis de cœlo, quod animam peregrinantis Romam pro indulgentiis et decedentis a purgatorio absolutam ad gaudia perpetua introducant?—H. C. Agrip. De Incert. et Vanit. Scient. cap. xcii. fol. Z 3. 2. Conf. Wessel. Farrag. Rer. Theolog. Basil. 1522. De Sacram. Pœnit. fol. 45.]

[11] Parasites herein were, 1567.]

[12] Which of them that ever, Conf.]

[13] And the king, Conf.]

servant of the servants of God." Yet if he, for the largeness of his jurisdiction, have a number of lords and kings within his fold, although he himself doth not boast of it, yet in a right good sense that title may be given to him.

The Pope king of kings.

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

Notwithstanding the pope call himself the king of kings, and the lord of lords; notwithstanding he say, the emperor is so far inferior unto him as the moon is inferior unto the sun[14]; notwithstanding he say, the emperor is but his bailiff, his steward, and his man[15]; notwithstanding he say, he hath power to set up and to put down kings and emperors at his pleasure[16]; yet saith M. Harding, "All this may be spoken in right good sense; for the pope useth a clean contrary title, and calleth himself *servum servorum Dei*, 'the servant of God's servants'." Thus he thinketh it sufficient to weigh matters only by title, and not by truth.

Extr. de Major. et Obed. Solit. Dist. 98. Si Imp. in Gloss. Avent. in Adrian.

Howbeit, all this is but playing under a vizard. The devil seldom sheweth his horns, but rather changeth himself into "an angel of light." Touching this title, as the pope calleth himself a servant, even so doth the emperor likewise abase himself to the name of a servant. If ye doubt hereof, read your own gloss upon your decretals. The words there be these: *Etiam imperator seipsum appellat servum*[17]. Likewise again the same gloss saith: *Papa... se servum appellat, et imperator vocat se servum ultimum ecclesiæ*[18]: "The pope calleth himself a servant; and the emperor calleth himself the vilest servant of the church."

2 Cor. xi.

In Decret. Gregor. in Procem. in Gloss. Extr. de Præb. et Dig. Johan. XXII. Execr. in Gloss.

All this is nothing else but a politic kind of dissimulation and hypocrisy. For, if these be servants indeed[19], I pray you then who be the lords[20]?

Hervæus, one of your own doctors, hereof saith thus: *Dicere,... quod talia dicunt summi pontifices ex humilitate, est omnino perniciosum. Et hoc est ponere os in cœlum... Philosophus dicit hoc esse peccatum ironiæ, quod opponitur virtuti. Et addit, tales humiles non esse virtuosos, sed timidos et blanditores. Et Augustinus... ait, Cum humilitatis causa mentiris, si non eras peccator antequam mentireris, mentiendo peccator efficeris*[22]: "To say that the pope spake[23] these words of humility, it were very hurtful. And this is to set the face against the heavens. Aristotle saith, This is the sin of dissimulation, or hypocrisy, which is contrary unto virtue; and saith further, that such humble men are not virtuous, but fearful and flattering. And St Augustine saith, Whensoever thou speakest untruth under the colour of humility, if thou were not a sinner before, yet by telling untruth thou art made a sinner."

Johan. de Paris. cap. xiii.[21]

August. de Verb. Apost.

Good reader, pull off this painted vizard, and under this vain title of "servant of servants" thou shalt find a lord of lords; and such a lord, so lordlike, and so princely, as seldom thou shalt find among the heathens[24]. For proof hereof thus the pope himself saith: "Neither emperor nor king may judge the pope." And his reason is this: *Non est servus supra dominum*[25]: "For the (emperor being a) servant is not above (the pope, that is) his lord."

Epist. Nicol. Pap. Inter Decret. Adrian. Pap. Concil. Tom. I. In Purg. Sixt.

Thus ye see, he that so humbly calleth himself the "servant of servants,"

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[14] Innoc. III. in Corp. Jur. Canon. Lugd. 1624. Decretal. Gregor. IX. Lib. I. Tit. xxxiii. cap. 6. col. 426.]

[15] Ibid. Decret. Gratian. Decr. Prim. Pars, Dist. xcvi. Gloss. in can. 11. col. 469. See before, page 836, note 17.]

[16] Aventin. Annal. Boior. Libr. Ingolst. 1554. Lib. VI. p. 636.]

[17] Corp. Jur. Canon. Decretal. Gregor. IX. Gloss. in Procem. col. 1.]

[18] Ibid. Extrav. Joan. XXII. Tit. iii. Gloss. in cap. unic. col. 33; where *servum ultimum ecclesiæ se vocat.*]

[19] *Indeed* is not in 1567.]

[20] Be lords, 1567.]

[21] Herveus De Potest. Papæ. ca. 12., 1567.]

[22] Johan. de Parrhis. de Potest. Reg. et Papal. cap. xiv. in Goldast. Mon. Rom. Imp. Tom. II. p. 126; where *philosophus hoc attribuit in quarto Ethicorum peccato ironiæ quæ opponitur virtuti. Dicit enim tales, dicit sic cum, mentieris,* and *efficieris.* Conf. August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. Serm. clxxxi. 5. Tom. V. col. 868; where the words slightly differ.]

[23] Popes speak, 1567, 1570.]

[24] The part of the sentence from *lords* is not in 1567.]

[25] Nicol. Papæ I. ad Michael. Imp. Epist. in Crabb. Concil. Col. Agrip. 1551. Tom. II. p. 753; Cap. per Adrian. Pap. coll. in eod. ibid. p. 613; De Expurg. Sixt. Papæ III. in eod. Tom. I. p. 908.]

The Pope's pardons.

if ye touch him, or anger him, will suddenly change himself into the king of kings and lord of lords. For in these words he plainly and expressly calleth the emperor the servant, and himself the lord. And, whatsoever be said to the contrary, verily the pope's exposition must needs be more authentical than M. Harding's.

He maketh the emperor to hold his stirrup; he maketh the emperor to lead his bridle; he maketh the emperor to kiss his foot; he maketh the emperor to lie down grovelling, and setteth his foot on his neck; and yet still calleth himself "the servant of servants." Few good servants will be so homely with their masters. Doctor Bonner saith thus: "Notwithstanding the pope be a very ravening wolf, dressed in sheep's clothing, yet he calleth himself the servant of servants[1]."

Doct. Bonn. in Præf. in Libel. Steph. Gard. De Ver. Obed.

THE APOLOGY, Chap. vii. Division 1.

We can also go further with you in like sort. What one amongst the whole number of the old bishops and fathers ever taught you either to say private mass, whiles the people stared on, or to lift up the sacrament over your head; in which points[2] consisteth now all your religion? or else to mangle Christ's sacraments, and to bereave the people of the one part thereof[3], contrary to Christ's institution and plain express[4] words? But, that we may once come to an end, what one is there of all the fathers which hath taught you to distribute Christ's blood, and the holy martyrs' merits, and to sell openly your pardons, and all the rooms and lodgings of purgatory, as a gainful kind of merchandise[5]?

M. HARDING.

Your objections of private mass, of lifting up the blessed sacrament, of ministering the communion under one kind, be as common with you as lice be with beggars, and lies with heretics. For indeed your questions be but beggarly and heretical. Touching the same, I have said [a]*so much in my answer to M. Jewel, your nearest friend, his Challenge, as here to rehearse it again it is needless: you may seek it there*[6]*. The doctrine of pardons I judge verily you understand not. Here is no opportunity to discuss it. The full treatise of the same, requiring a long process, may well to another time be deferred. Of purgatory I have said some deal here before*[7]*. These be the matters wherein you and your ignorant fellow-ministers gladly shew your vile railing and scoffing eloquence. Yet, concerning the doctrine of pardons,* [b]*lest I seem to say nothing, thus*[8] *much I have thought good to say here.*

In the sacrament, as well of baptism as of penance, all the bands of sin are loosed, and the whole everlasting pain due to sin is forgiven. At baptism no temporal pain is enjoined to us, because Christ most freely bestoweth the benefit of his death upon us at our[9] *first entry into the church.* [c]*But, if afterward we abuse his mercy, returning again to filthy sin, Christ would our second, third, and all other reconciliations from thenceforth to be with due satisfaction, not of his dreadful anger (which only his blood, and the sacrament of penance, by due contrition and confession, in deed or in vow received, is able to remove), but with satisfaction of such temporal pain as his merciful justice required both of all others from the beginning, and* [d]*namely of king David; to whom confessing*

[a] Note that M. Harding in his said three articles of answer to M. Jewel hath published threescore and nine great untruths.

Artt. i. vii. ii.

Fol. 117. [Conf.]

[b] And all the same is less than nothing.

[c] A doctrine full of sundry blasphemies.

[d] King David alleged for proof of pardons.

[1 ...interim etiam dum lupus rapax ovis vestimento palliatus servorum servum se appellabat.—Edm. Boner. Præf. in Steph. Winton. Episc. De Ver. Obed. Orat. Hamb. 1536. fol. iii.]

[2 Point, Conf.]

[3 *Thereof* is not in Conf. or Def. 1567.]

[4 Expressed, Conf.]

[5 Openly as merchandises your pardons and all the rooms and lodgings of purgatory, Conf.]

[6 See Vol. I. pages 104, &c., 204, &c., 507, &c.]

[7 See Vol. III. pages 559, &c.]

[8 This, Conf. and Def. 1567, 1570.]

[9 At that our, Conf. and Def. 1567.]

his fault Nathan said, "Our Lord hath put away thy sin; thou shalt
2 Sam. xii. *not die." Behold the forgiveness of the mortal sin, and of the everlasting pain due to the same: but yet so is it forgiven, that withal it is transferred into a temporal satisfaction. What was that? It followeth in the story that, because David through his advoutry and murder had caused the enemies of God to blaspheme his holy name, the child born of the wife of Urias should surely die. And so it came to pass. If the death of a son be so grievous a punishment to a good father, that king David was content to pray, to fast, to lie on the ground, afflicting himself seven days, only to try whether he might, as it were by exchange, buy out this[10] death of his son, and yet so could not obtain his desire; we may be most certain that the very best friends of God, sinning after baptism (or circumcision, which in the old law[11] stood in place thereof) must by[12] ordinary course satisfy with some temporal affliction that just judgment of our merciful Maker and Redeemer, if farther grace be not found by some other way. This satisfaction hath been therefore justly called the third and last part of penance: which if it be not fulfilled in this life, undoubtedly it shall be straitly exacted in the world to come in the fire of purgatory. For that sins may be in another world forgiven to those who die not in the deadly bonds of them, [e]our*
• Untruth avouched upon Christ. See the answer.
Saviour hath given us to understand, saying, that "the sin against the
Matt. xii. *Holy Ghost shall not be forgiven, neither in this world, nor in the world to come:" whereof it appeareth that some other sins may be forgiven in the world to come.*

Well, this satisfaction may notwithstanding be fulfilled more than one way. For a man being once by the sacrament of penance justly reconciled to the mystical body
Psal. cxix. *of Christ, which is his church, wherein (as the prophet saith) "a faithful man is made partaker of all that fear God and keep his commandments," we have in that band of peace such an unity of spirit communicated to us all, that the defect of one may be in spiritual causes [f]supplied out of the plenty*
[f] A folly passing all other follies.
Gal. vi. *of all others his fellow-members, according as the apostle saith, [g]"Bear ye one another's burdens." And because the head (which is Christ) is*
[g] A text full wisely applied to pardons.
the chief member of all, and far more than all the rest, such influence is from him derived throughout his mystical body, that even his death may as well inwardly by charity, as outwardly by another way, also be applied to us for the pardoning of that temporal satisfaction, which after the sacrament of penance is left unforgiven:
Matt. xvi. *and that is by such authority as Christ gave to Peter, saying, "To thee I will give the keys of the kingdom of heaven; and whatsoever thou bindest in earth it shall be bound also in heaven, and what[13] soever thou [h]loosest in earth it shall be loosed in[14] heaven." Lo, whatsoever Peter looseth in earth, it shall be loosed in the sight of God. If therefore the pope, who succeedeth Peter, do by just cause loose, not only the mortal sin by the sacrament of penance, but also the band of temporal pain, which remaineth yet due to[15] the sin, it is undoubted that such pain is loosed in the sight of God. The cause of loosing must be not only the will of the pope (who is put in authority to build, and not to destroy, to dispense, and not to lavish), but a reasonable change of[16] recompence substituted in that behalf, such as appertaineth to the honour of God or to the profit of souls; as maintaining war, and fighting against infidels for the defence of Christendom, recovery of the sepulchre of Christ, succouring widows, orphans, and[16] other poor persons, the building or maintaining of holy places, the visiting of prisons and martyrs' tombs, or any like devout and charitable deeds; which whiles the faithful Christian doth obediently perform (although otherwise the thing enjoined be not great), he may obtain remission also of that temporal satisfaction which was left in penance unremitted. This kind of pardon St Paul gave to that notorious sinner, who at Corinth had his father's*
[h] O fond man! Christ saith, Whatsoever thou loosest in earth, and not in purgatory.
1 Cor. v. *wife, and was for that fault separated from the church of God, to be afflicted temporally in his flesh: but when the Corinthians had informed*

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[10] The, Conf. and Def. 1567; ths, Def. 1570.]
[11] Lowe, Conf.]
[12] Be, Def. 1570.]
[13] *What* is not in 1611.]
[14] Loosed also in, Conf. and Def. 1567, 1570, 1609.]
[15] *To* is repeated, Def. 1567.]
[16] Or, Conf. and Def. 1567, 1570.]

St Paul of his earnest and true repentance, and had shewed their own favour and good wills toward him, the apostle answereth, "Whom ye forgive ought, 2 Cor. ii. *I also (forgive). For I also in that I have forgiven, if I have forgiven ought for your sakes in the person of Christ I have forgiven it." Well, we are assured the apostle speaketh of forgiving such afflictions as the party was in, by reason he was delivered out of the defence of holy church to that state, where the devil, as St Chrysostom upon that place noteth,* pro solutione peccatorum[1] *"for payment of his sins," might vex him, and whereon such persons, being put to their penance, used to remain for a certain space of months, or years, until their penance were done and expired. Now the reconciling of the man, not yet having done due satisfaction, before his ordinary time, is a pardon; which the apostle saith he doth give in the person of Christ, as having authority of him to do it, and for the Corinthians' sakes, as who were able by their holy prayers and common sorrow (whereof the apostle speaketh) to make recompence for that which lacked on the behalf of his own satisfaction. If this much do not satisfy any man desiring to be fully resolved herein, let him resort to the Latin works of that holy and learned bishop of Rochester....*

In 1 Cor. v. Hom. 15.

And thus M. Harding awaked out of his dream.

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

These objections, ye say in your pleasant homely comparison, are as common with us "as lice with beggars." And yet, to my remembrance, neither your private mass, nor your half communion, was ever touched in this whole Apology more than once before this place, the lifting up or shewing of the sacrament not once at all. Ye should have weighed your advantages better, M. Harding, before ye thus bestowed your loathsome quarrels.

But thought you indeed, M. Harding, (I will not say as you say, that with so lousy and beggarly, but) that with so poor and simple stuff ye should be able to mock the[2] world[3]? Many fond tales both you and your fellows have sent us over; but a fonder tale than this tale is, of your pardons and purgatories, ye have sent us none. I must say to you, as St Augustine sometime said to Julianus the Pelagian heretic: *Necessitate compellitur talibus pannis indui tam magna etiam vestra superbia*[4]: "Your pride, be it never so great, even for very poor need and beggary, is fain to cover itself with such sorry clouts."

August. contr. Julian. Lib. v. cap. i.

I beseech you, consider how advisedly and reverently ye use God's holy word. Thus you say: "Nathan said unto David, Our Lord hath put away thy sin; thou shalt not die:" Christ saith, "The sin against the Holy Ghost shall not be forgiven, neither in this world, nor in the world to come;" or, as St Mark saith, "He that sinneth against the Holy Ghost hath no remission[5] for ever, but shall be guilty of everlasting sin:" St Paul saith, "Bear ye one another's burden:" Christ saith to Peter, "To thee will I give the keys of the kingdom of heaven, &c." St Paul said of him that had lived in shameful incest with his father's wife, "Let such a one be given over to Satan." These be your scriptures, M. Harding, full properly applied, and to good purpose[6]: hereof ye full discreetly and learnedly conclude thus; *ergo*, The pope hath a warrant sufficient to grant his pardons, and that as well to the dead as to the quick.

2 Sam. xii. Matt. xii. Mark iii. Gal. vi. Matt. xvi. 1 Cor. v.

O M. Harding, God is not to be mocked: fear his judgments: abuse not his name or word in vain. Full well you know that neither David, nor Nathan, nor Christ, nor Paul, were pardon-mongers. What should I further say to him, that with so great a countenance and so much ado can say nothing? Let St Augustine briefly answer all these vanities. Thus he saith: *Hoc quid est aliud, nisi diligenter pro humana suspicione contendere, et scripturas sanctas*

August. de Civ. Lib. xiii. cap. xxiv.

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[1] Chrysost. Op. Par. 1718-38. In Epist. i. ad Cor. Hom. xv. Tom. X. p. 127.]

[2] To, 1570.]

[3] Worde, 1567.]

[4] August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. Contr. Julian. Pelag. Lib. v. cap. i. 1. Tom. X. col. 627.]

[5] Mark saith: *Non habet remissionem in æternum sed reus erit æterni delicti*: He hath not remission, 1567.]

[6] These nine words are not in 1567.]

negligenter attendere[7]? "What thing else is this but stoutly to strive for man's fancy, and negligently to consider God's holy word?" The Pope's pardons.

The prophet David, upon whom ye would seem to ground these follies, answereth you thus: *Narraverunt mihi iniqui fabulationes; sed non ut lex tua, Domine:* "The wicked have told me many foolish tales; but, O Lord, their tales are[8] nothing to[9] thy law." Psal. cxix. St Augustine, if he were now alive, would[10] say of you as he said of other your predecessors: *O vanitas, vendens vanitatem vanitatem audituris, vanis et crediturus*[11]: "O vanity, selling vanity to them that will hear vanity; and vain are they that will believe it." August. in Lib. 1. Hom. xxxvi.

Leo saith: *In hanc insipientiam cadunt, qui, cum ad cognoscendam veritatem aliquo impediuntur obscuro, non ad propheticas voces, non ad apostolicas literas, nec ad evangelicas auctoritates, sed ad semetipsos recurrunt*[12]: "Into this folly they fall, that, when they be hindered by some darkness from the knowledge of the truth, go not to the voices of the prophets, nor to the writings of the apostles, nor to the authorities of the gospels; but only have recourse unto themselves." Leo. ad Flav. Epist. 10.

Now somewhat to say particularly of the matter, touching your pardons, your own Doctor Sylvester Prierias, master of the pope's palace, writeth thus: *Indulgentiæ auctoritate scripturæ non innotuere nobis; sed auctoritate ecclesiæ Romanæ, Romanorumque pontificum, quæ major est*[13]: "Pardons are not known unto us by the authority of the scriptures; but by the authority of the church of Rome, and of the popes, which is greater than the authority of the scriptures." Sylvest. Prier. contr. Luth.

Therefore, M. Harding, by this doctor's judgment, it was great folly to allege so many scriptures for proof of your pardons: for here ye are taught in good sadness, that your pardons can never be proved by any scriptures. It had been much better for you to have alleged only the pope's authority: for that, as your Sylvester teacheth you, far passeth all the authority of the scriptures.

Roffensis saith: *Ego respondeo, non [satis] certo constare, a quo primum [indulgentiæ] tradi cœperint.... Apud priscos... [vel] nulla vel [certe] quam rarissima fiebat mentio [de purgatorio]... Quamdiu [autem] nulla esset cura de purgatorio, nemo quæsivit indulgentias: nam ex illo pendet omnis indulgentiarum æstimatio. Si tollas purgatorium, quorsum indulgentiis opus erit?... Cœperunt... indulgentiæ, postquam ad purgatorii cruciatus aliquandiu trepidatum est*[14]: "Thus I answer: It cannot well appear from whom pardons first began. Among the old doctors and fathers of the church there was either no talk at all, or very little talk, of purgatory. But, as long as purgatory was not cared for, there was no man that sought for pardons: for the whole price of pardons hangeth of purgatory. Take away purgatory, and what shall we need of pardons? Pardons began when folk were a little frayed with the pains of purgatory." Roffens. contr. Luth. Polyd. de Invent. Lib. viii. cap. i.

Johannes Major saith: *De indulgentiis pauca dici possunt per certitudinem, quia scriptura de illis expresse non loquitur. Nam quod dicitur Petro, Tibi dabo claves, &c. certum est, quod oportet intelligere illam auctoritatem cum sale... Fatuæ [ergo] et superstitiosæ sunt quædam indulgentiæ viginti millium annorum*[15]: "Of pardons little may be said of certainty; for the scripture expressly saith nothing of them. Touching that Christ saith unto Peter, 'Unto thee will I give the keys, &c.,' we must understand this authority with a corn of salt (otherwise it may be[16] Joh. Major. in iv. Sent. Dist. 20. Quæst. 2.

[7] Id. de Civ. Dei, Lib. XIII. cap. xxiv. 4. Tom. VII. col. 347.]

[8] These three words are not in 1567.]

[9] As, 1567.]

[10] Alive he would, 1567.]

[11] Id. de Verb. Esai. Hom. xliv. 7. Tom. V. col. 217; where *vanitati! Audituri sunt vani et crediturus.* But vid. not. in loc., where the reading is given as Jewel quotes it.]

[12] Leon. Magni Op. Lut. 1623. Ad Flav. Constant. Episc. Epist. x. 1. col. 304.]

[13] Sylvest. Prier. In Luth. Concl. Dial. in Luth. Op. Witeb. 1552-80. Tom. I. fol. 166. See Vol. I. page 76, note 3.]

[14] Joh. Roffens. Episc. Op. Wirceb. 1597. Assert. Luth. Conf. Art. xviii. cols. 496, 7; where *cœperunt, nulla fuerat de purgatorio cura, indulgentiarum existimatio*, and *trepidatum erat.* Conf. Polyd. Verg. De Invent. Rer. Amst. 1671. Lib. VIII. cap. i. p. 476. See Vol. III. page 568.]

[15] J. Major. in Quart. Sentent. Quæst. Par. 1516. Dist. xx. Quæst. Secund. foll. 145, 6; where *illud enim Matthei xvi. Petro dictum. Tibi*, and *quædam inscriptiones viginti.*]

[16] Be may, 1611.]

unsavoury). Therefore certain of the pope's pardons that promise twenty thousand years are foolish and superstitious."

Veselus. Your school-doctors themselves are[1] wont sometime to say, *Inventio indulgentiarum est pia fraus et dolus non malus, quo populus officioso errore trahatur ad pietatem*[2]: "The devising of pardons is a godly guile, and a hurtless deceit; to the intent that by a devout kind of error the people may be drawn to godliness."

Here, M. Harding, you see the antiquity, authority, and best countenance of your pardons; that they flowed first out of the sinks of your purgatory, as one vanity floweth out of another: you see that your pardons sometimes may be superstitious, and full of folly: you see that the sale of your pardons is a godly guile, and a devout kind of error, to lead the people. This is the fairest colour ye can devise to lay upon it. But miserable is that people that thus must be led by guile and error[3].

Alphons. de Castr. Lib. viii. Indulgentiæ. Alphonsus de Castro saith: *Nulla res est quam minus aperte sacræ literæ prodiderint, et de qua minus vetusti scriptores dixerint... Non est mentio ulla de indulgentiis*[4]: "There is nothing that the scriptures have less opened, or whereof the old learned fathers have less written, than of[5] pardons. Of pardons (in the scriptures and doctors) there is no mention."

Of the shameless merchandise and sales hereof, many godly men have complained ye have turned godliness into gain; and, as St Peter saith, "Through covetousness, by feigned speech, ye have made marts and markets of the people."

1 Tim. vi. 2 Pet. ii.

Opus. Tripart. conj. cum Concil. Lat. Lib. iii. cap. viii. One of your own friends saith thus: *In multis brevibus continentur tot indulgentiæ, ut boni viri mirentur, unquam de conscientia papæ vel... alicujus boni viri potuisse illa procedere*[6]: "In many of their books there are contained so many days and years of pardon, that good men marvel that they could ever come out by the consent, either of the pope, or of any other good[7] man."

August. in Epist. Johan. Tract. 1. To conclude, we will say with St Augustine: *Fratres, Jesum Christum justum... habemus advocatum apud Patrem. Ipse est propitiatio pro peccatis nostris. Hoc qui tenuit hæresim non fecit: hoc qui tenuit schisma non fecit. Unde enim facta sunt schismata? Cum dicunt homines, Nos justi sumus: nos sanctificamus immundos: nos justificamus impios: nos petimus: nos impetramus*[8]: "My brethren, we have Jesus Christ the righteous our advocate with the Father. He is the propitiation or pardon for our sins. He that held this never made heresy: he that held this never made schism. For whereof do schisms come? Hereof they come, when men say (as now the pope saith), We are righteous: we do make holy the unholy: we do justify the wicked: we do pray: we do obtain pardon for others by our prayer[9]."

THE APOLOGY, Chap. viii. Division 1.

These men are wont to speak much of a certain secret doctrine of theirs, and of their manifold[10] and sundry readings. Let them therefore bring[11] forth somewhat now, if they can, that it may appear they have at least read or do know somewhat. They have often stoutly noised in all corners where they went, that[12] all the parts of their religion be very old, and have been approved, not only of[13] the multitude, but also by the

[1 Were, 1567, 1570, 1609.]

[2 Num...tibi leves...causæ videntur, quibus ab hac nova indulgentiarum assertione patres ante Albertum ac Thomam...discesserunt, asserentes nihil esse nisi piam fraudem ac dolum non malum, quo plebs officioso, &c.—Wessel. Farrag. Rer. Theolog. Basil. 1522. Epist. contr. Jac. Hoeck de Indulg. cap. i. fol. 106.]

[3 This paragraph is not in 1567.]

[4 ...inter omnes res...nulla est quam &c. Quid ergo mirum,...ut apud priscos nulla sit de eis mentio?—Alfons. de Castro adv. Hær. Col. 1539. Lib. VIII. Indulg. fol. 142. 2.]

[5 *Of* is not in 1567.]

[6 Opusc. Tripart. Lib. III. cap. viii. in Crabb. Concil. Col. Agrip. 1551. Tom. II. p. 1002; where *in quibus continentur, quod mirantur boni viri si unquam*, and *potuerunt*.]

[7 God, 1567.]

[8 August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. In Epist. Johan. cap. ii. Tractat. i. 8. Tom. III. Pars II. col. 831; where *ad Patrem: ipse propitiatio est peccatorum nostrorum*.]

[9 The last six words are not in 1567.]

[10 And manifold, Conf.]

[11 Then let them bring, Conf.]

[12 How, Conf.]

[13 By, Conf.]

consent and continual observation of all nations and times. Let them therefore once in their life shew this their antiquity: let them make appear to the eye[14], that the things whereof they make such ado have taken so long and large increase: let them declare that all christian nations have agreed by consent to this their religion.

Nay, nay, they turn their backs, as we have said already, and flee from their own decrees, and have cut off and abolished again within a short space the same things which, but a few years before, themselves had established for evermore, forsooth, to continue. How should one then trust them in the fathers, in the old councils, and in the words spoken by God? They have not, good Lord, they have not (I say) those things which they boast they have: they have not that[15] antiquity, they have not that universality, they have not that consent neither[16] of all places nor of all times. And, though they have a desire rather to dissemble, yet they themselves are not ignorant hereof; yea, and sometime also they let not to confess it openly. And for this cause they say that the ordinances of the old councils and fathers be such as may now and then be altered, and that sundry and divers decrees serve for sundry and divers times of the church. Thus lurk they under the name of the church, and beguile silly creatures with their vain glozing. It is to be marvelled that either men be so blind that[17] they cannot see this, or, if they see it, that they can be so patient so lightly and so quietly to bear[18] it.

M. HARDING.

Here is much ado, and, as some say, great boast and small roast; many words, little matter. The sense of these words (if I be not deceived) resembleth M. Jewel's challenging spirit, as like as an ewe resembleth a sheep. What we can bring forth we say not. Neither think we it necessary at your request to shew what we have read and what we know. Boasting and bragging shews we leave to you: that you require hath been sufficiently declared otherwheres. All things are not to be said at all times.... Yet two of your loud lies, beside[19] other that you make here, I will be so bold as to discover. The decrees of the late Tridentine council (for that is it that you[20] mean), although they be not yet in all places most exactly observed, yet be they not repealed, "cut off, and abolished again," as you say....*

* It is good policy for him that hath nothing to shew, to hold his peace.

**And what a foul lie is that other, where you say that ourselves acknowledge and "confess openly," that the faith and doctrine which we hold is not ancient and universal, for times, places, and consent of all! What else mean we when we challenge unto us and claim the catholic faith? But this is your accustomed slender rhetoric, when proofs and arguments of truth fail you, to use the figure of impudent lying, and say that we ourselves confess it to be true, which you impute unto us. Whatsoever you say in this place, we may of right return it ever to you. So we do, and so take you it, &c.... And, for ought that I can see yet, as your[21] synagogue had of late the beginning, so it is like shortly to make[22] an ending....*

* For trial hereof, consider only the words of Roffensis, Major, and Alphonsus, alleged in the former division.

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

Of all these words, and others more, so vain as many, there is not one word worth the answering. What affiance M. Harding and his friends have in their antiquity, it may appear by the last division[23].

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[14] Appear at eye, Conf.]
[15] The, Conf.]
[16] *Neither* is not in Conf.]
[17] As, Conf.]
[18] It to be so patient as they can so lightly and quietly bear, Conf.]
[19] Besides, Conf. and Def. 1567, 1570.]
[20] It you, Conf.]
[21] Our, Def. 1570.]
[22] Have, Conf. and Def. 1567.]
[23] See above, pages 851, 2.]

THE APOLOGY, Chap. ix. Division 1.

Christ's government no better than the Pope's.

But, whereas they have commanded that those decrees should be void, as things now waxen too old, and that have lost their grace, perhaps they have provided in their stead certain other better things, and more profitable for the people. For it is a common saying with them, that, "if Christ himself or the apostles were alive again, they could neither better nor more godly[1] govern God's church than it is at this present governed by them." They have put somewhat in[2] their stead indeed; but it is "chaff instead of wheat," as Hieremy saith, and such things as, according to Esay the prophet's words[3], "God never required at their hands." "They have stopped up," saith he, "all the veins of the clear[4] springing water, and have digged up for the people deceivable and puddle-like pits, full of mire and filth, which neither have nor are able to hold pure water." They have plucked away from the people the holy communion, the word of God, from whence all comfort should be taken, the true worshipping of God also, and the right use of sacraments and prayer; and have given us of their own, to play withal in the meanwhile, salt, water, oil-boxes[5], spittle, palms, bulls, jubilees, pardons, crosses, censings, and an endless rabble of ceremonies, and (as a man might term them[6] with Plautus) pretty games to make sport withal[7].

Jer. xxiii. Isai. i.

Ludos ludificabiles[8].

M. HARDING.

... *Rail and revel whiles ye will, the church is governed by* [a]*word, and by* [a]*discipline. If Christ himself or his apostles were alive again, the word, that is to say,* [b]*the doctrine of our belief, now preached and received in the catholic church,* [b]*neither should be altered,* [b]*nor could be bettered:* [b]*for it is the same he taught himself. And that we doubt not of it, according to his promise, he hath sent the Holy Ghost to inform the church of all truth. Remember you not who said, "I am God,* [c]*and am not changed?" Again, that "the word of God remaineth for ever?"* ... *Mal. iii. Psal. cxix.*

This being true, it is evident that we have the sound and weighty wheat, which no persecution of tyrants, no blasts of heretics, no contagion of evil manners, for these fifteen hundred years could either blow from the floor of our Lord's barn, the church, or corrupt. We have, according to the apostles' counsel, kept "that hath been committed" unto us. We have enjoyed the fountain of the water of life..... *Depositum. 1 Tim. vi.*

Ye charge us sore, that we "have plucked away from the people the holy communion, the word of God, the true worshipping of God, the right use of the sacraments[9]*, and prayer." Whosoever taketh these five away, wherein chiefly standeth our salvation, the same* [d]*is antichrist. Were not that ye have already done so much for us, as the world may take you for impudent liars, we would not quietly bear so grievous a matter. But now that ye have tried yourselves so false of your word, we little esteem it: your railing is no slander. ... Lastly, concerning prayer, what hath been ordained by our holy forefathers* [e]*of all ages, directed with the Spirit of*[11] *God, for the maintenance and increase of it to God's honour, all that in few years, by the instinct of Satan, to promote his kingdom, ye have utterly abolished, and by wicked violence brought the people from* [f]*devotion to a careless idleness, from speaking to God with hearts and lips to a* [f]*spiritual dumbness, from prayers* [f]*to chapters, from holy thinking to* [f]*unprofitable hearkening.*

Ye cannot abide salt, water, oil, palm, the cross, incense, &c. No marvel. No more

[a] But the pope useth neither of them both.
[b] Untruths, without either measure or regard of shame.
[c] O folly! The change is in you, and not in God.
[d] The gospel in your mouth. For all these five things the pope hath quite taken away[10].
[e] Untruth. For your barbarous unknown prayers in the time of the ancient learned fathers were never known.
[f] Untruths, joined with open blasphemy.

[1] Could not better nor godlier, Conf.]
[2] Put in, Conf.]
[3] To Esay's words, Conf. and Def. 1567.]
[4] Of clear, Conf.]
[5] So Conf. All the editions have *oil, boxes.*]
[6] *Them* is not in Conf.]
[7] These words are not in Def. 1567.]
[8] Plaut. Casin. IV. i. 3; where *ludi.*]
[9] Of sacraments, Conf. and Def. 1567.]
[10] The last sentence of this marginal note is not in 1567.]
[11] *Of* is repeated, Conf.]

cannot the devil who possesseth you, and rideth you, and after his own will driveth you from truth, from christian religion, and from all godliness. Were it so that your spirit could away with those things, then were it not agreeing with his spirit. Until ye give place to the Spirit of God, who may drive out of you the spirit of Satan, we look to hear no better tidings of you[12]....

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

Ye were somewhat angry, M. Harding, when ye thus bestirred yourself. It pitieth me in your behalf. "Christ and his apostles (ye say) never ruled the church in better order than it is now ruled by the pope and his cardinals." Even so might they have said that had turned "the house of God into a cave of thieves." Matt. xxi. One of your friends saith: *Apostolorum temporibus rudis adhuc erat ecclesia:* "In the time of the apostles the church as yet was rude, and barbarous, and out of order." Latom. de Utraq. Spec And, being afterward reproved for his blasphemous speech, he answered lewdly in his pleasance:

Rudis indigestaque moles[13].

Others of you say: *Christus in cœlo præsidet; papa in terris residet*[14]: "Christ ruleth in heaven; the pope in earth." Another saith: *Omnes sanctiones sedis apostolicæ sic accipiendæ sunt, tanquam ipsius divina voce Petri firmatæ*[15]: "All the laws of the apostolic see of Rome must so be taken as if they were confirmed by the divine voice of Peter himself." Another saith: *Sicut... ostium regitur cardine, ita ... ecclesia Romana regitur consilio cardinalium*[16]: "As the door is ruled by the hook, so is the church of Rome ruled by the counsel of cardinals." Jacob. Andr. adv. Hos. p. 70. Dist. 19. Sic omnes. Andr. Barb. Sic. ad Bess. Polyd. Virg. de Invent. Lib. iv. cap. ix.

Therefore the pope himself saith thus unto them: *Vos eritis senatores urbis et regum*[17] *similes, veri mundi cardines, super quos militantis ostium ecclesiæ volvendum et regendum est*[18]: "Ye shall be the senators of my city, and like unto kings, the very hooks and stays of the world, upon whom the very door of the church militant must be turned and ruled." Such are they whom St Hierome imagineth thus to say: *Non est... vir in domo.... Non est... Christus corporaliter in ecclesia. Surgens enim a mortuis, ascendit in cœlum; nobisque ministerium gubernandæ ecclesiæ, suam videlicet domum, reliquit*[19]: "My husband is not at home. (That is to say), Christ is not now corporally in the church. For, being risen from the dead, he is ascended into heaven, and hath left unto us the government of his church, that is, the whole ordering of his house." Cerem. Lib. i. Sect. 8. cap. vi. Hieron in Prov. vii.

True it is as you say, "God is one, and is not changed. And his word endureth for ever." But the change is in you, M. Harding[20], and not in God. God's word is the word of life: your word is the word of vanity. God the Father hath not planted it; therefore it shall be plucked up by the roots. God saith by the prophet Malachi, "The lips of the priest shall keep knowledge; and the people shall require the law at his mouth. For he is the angel of the Lord of hosts." Mal. iii. Psal. cxix. Matt. xv. *Vos autem recessistis de via, &c.:* "But you are gone back from the way; you have offended many a one in the law; you have broken the covenant of Levi, saith the Lord of hosts. And therefore have I made you to be despised." Mal. ii.

Ye have changed the most part of the apostles' doctrine; and of all that ever they ordained ye have in a manner left nothing standing. St Bernard

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[12] In the part omitted Harding asserts that the greatest part of the Romish ceremonies came from the primitive church, and says that Becon was forced to confess this in his "Relics of Rome." But see Becon's Works, Lond. 1560—4. Vol. III. p. 288.]

[13] Cum enim rudis adhuc esset prima ecclesia.—B. Latom. Respons. ad Epist. M. Bucer. de Disp. Euch. Col. 1544. fol. A. iii. 2. Conf. B. Latom. adv. M. Bucer. De Contr. Quib. Alt. Def. Col. 1545. foll. F. ii. &c. Latomus here defends at length his previous assertion, and cries, O sanctam ruditatem; but the words above alleged do not occur.]

[14] The editor has not been able to find the work referred to.]

[15] Sic omnes apostolicæ sedis sanctiones accipiendæ sunt &c. divini Petri voce firmatæ.—Agath. Papa in Corp. Jur. Canon. Lugd. 1624. Decret. Gratian. Decr. Prim. Pars, Dist. xix. can. 2. col. 82.]

[16] Polyd. Verg. De Rer. Invent. Amst. 1671. Lib. iv. cap. ix. p. 262. Barbatius refers for his notion to Hostiensis.]

[17] Regnum, 1570.]

[18] Rit. Eccles. sive Sacr. Cerim. Rom. Eccles. Libr. Col. Agrip. 1557. Lib. i. Sect. viii. cap. iii. fol. 86; where *eritis* comes after *similes*, and *ac regendum est.*]

[19] Hieron. Op. Par. 1693-1706. Comm. Lib. i. in Prov. cap. vii. Tom. V. col. 538. This commentary is spurious.]

[20] 1567 omits *M. Harding.*]

Reading of Chapters.

saith of your own church of Rome: *A planta pedis usque ad verticem* [*capitis*] *non est sanitas ulla*[1]: "From the sole of the foot unto the crown of the head there is not one whole place." And yet ye bear us strongly in hand, that Christ and his apostles never ruled the church in better order than it is now ruled by the pope and his cardinals.

Bernard. in Conv. Paul. Serm. 1.[2]

All the rest of your empty talk is answered sufficiently before. Yet one pang of your eloquence I may not in any wise leave untouched. Thus ye say: "By the instinct of Satan ye have brought the people from devotion to careless idleness, from speaking to God with hearts and lips to a spiritual dumbness, from prayers to chapters, from holy thinking to unprofitable hearkening." If I were not well acquainted with your speech, M. Harding, I could not think ye would so unadvisedly bestow your words. I doubt not but even hereby it shall soon appear whether of us hath wilfully broken the apostles' orders, and refused the godly examples of the holy primitive church of God. Ye tell us that the reading of the scriptures unto the people in the church of God is a spiritual dumbness, and a thing unprofitable, as only devised of ourselves, and that, as you say, "by the instinct of Satan," and never before either known or used by any catholic learned father.

So little regard you what you say. Any man that hath been conversant in the ancient fathers may easily reprove your folly[3].

Orig. in Jos. Hom. 15.

Origen[4] saith: *Judaicarum historiarum libri traditi sunt ab apostolis, legendi in ecclesiis*[5]: "The books of (the old testament, which are called) the stories of the Jews, were delivered by the apostles to be read in the churches."

Dion. Eccles. Hierarch. cap. iii. ἀγιογράφων δὲλτων ἀνάγνωσις.

Dionysius saith: *Deinde ordine habetur sacrorum librorum lectio*[6]: "Afterward follow in order the lessons of the holy books."

Just. Mart. Apol. 2.

Justinus Martyr saith: *Die solis omnes, qui in oppidis vel in agris morantur, unum in locum conveniunt; commentariaque apostolorum vel prophetarum scripta leguntur. Deinde... is qui præest admonet omnes, et hortatur ut ea quæ lecta sunt bona imitentur. Deinde surgimus omnes et comprecamur*[7]: "Upon the Sunday the christian people that dwell in town or country meet together in one place. There the epistles of the apostles or the prophets' writings are pronounced unto us. Afterward, he that is the chief or minister warneth and exhorteth all the rest, that they will follow those good things that they have heard read[8]. That done, we rise up all and pray together."

Cypr. Lib. ii. Epist. 5.

St Cyprian saith: *Lector personat verba sublimia: evangelium Christi legit: a fratribus conspicitur: cum gaudio*[9] *fraternitatis auditur*[10]: "The reader soundeth out the high and heavenly words: he readeth out the gospel of Christ: he is seen of the brethren: he is heard with joy of (all) the brotherhood."

Concil. Constant. 5. Act. 1.

The fathers in the council of Constantinople say[11] thus: *Tempore diptychorum cucurrit omnis multitudo cum magno silentio circumcirca altare, et audiebant*[12]: "At the time of reading (of the chapter) all the multitude of the people with great silence drew round about the altar, or communion-table, and gave ear."

Concil. Laod. Can. 16.

In the council of Laodicea it is written thus: *In sabbatis evangelia cum aliis scripturis legi convenit*[13]: "Upon the sabbath-day it is convenient that the gospels and other scriptures[14] be read" (in the church unto the people). Leo

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[1 Bernard. Op. Par. 1690. In Conv. S. Paul. Serm. i. 3. Vol. I. Tom. III. col. 956.]

[2 *Serm. i.* is not in 1567, 1570.]

[3 This paragraph is not in 1567.]

[4 Yet the ancient father Origen, 1567.]

[5 Nisi bella ista carnalia figuram bellorum spiritalium gererent, nunquam...Judaicarum historiarum libri discipulis Christi...legendi in ecclesiis fuissent ab apostolis traditi.—Orig. Op. Par. 1733-59. In Lib. Jesu Nave Hom. xv. 1. Tom. II. p. 431.]

[6 Dion. Areop. Op. Antv. 1634. De Eccles. Hierarch. cap. iii. 2. Tom. I. p. 284.]

[7 Just. Mart. Op. Par. 1742. Apolog. i. 67. p. 83.]

[8 Readden, 1567, 1570.]

[9 Gladio, 1570.]

[10 ...nihil magis congruit voci...quam celebrandis divinis lectionibus personare: post verba sublimia... evangelium Christi legere ... hic a fratribus conspici...hic cum gaudio fraternitatis audiri.—Cypr. Op. Oxon. 1682. Ad Cler. et Pleb. Epist. xxxviii. p. 75.]

[11 Saith, 1570.]

[12 Concil. Constant. sub Menna Act. v. in Concil. Stud. Labb. et Cossart. Lut. Par. 1671-2. Tom. V. col. 185. For an account of the diptychs, which were registers of persons thought worthy of commemoration, see Bingham, Orig. Eccles. Book xv. chap. iii. 18.]

[13 Concil. Laod. can. 16. in eod. Tom. I. col. 1500.]

[14 Scripture, 1611.]

saith: *Solennitati sacratissimæ lectionis subjungatur exhortatio sacerdotis*[15]: "After the solemn reading of the most holy lesson let there follow the sermon or exhortation of the priest." Reading of Chapters.

St Chrysostom saith: *Stat minister, et communis minister, et alta voce clamat.... Post illam vocem lector incipit prophetiam*[16] *Esaiæ*[17]: "The minister and common minister standeth up and crieth out with loud voice (saying, 'Keep silence, and give ear'). After that, the reader beginneth the prophecy of Esay." St Ambrose saith: *Non possum ego a me facere quicquam: sicut audio,* [*et*] *judico. Audistis lectum: Ego non accuso vos... Moses vos accusat... audistis lectum*[18]: (Christ saith) "I cannot do any thing of myself[19]: as I hear, so I judge. Ye have heard it read[8]: I accuse you not; it is Moses that accuseth you. Ye have heard it read[8]."

Leo. de Resur. Dom. Serm. 2. Chrysost. in Act. Hom. 19. Ambros. Lib. v. Epist. 20. John v.

St Augustine saith: *Audistis, cum evangelium legeretur*[20]: *Modo, cum legeretur, si intenti fuistis* [*lectioni*], *audistis*[21]: *Audivimus in lectione, quæ lecta est, fratres dilectissimi*[22]: "Ye heard when the gospel was read: Ye heard erewhile when it was read, if ye gave ear to the reading: Dearly beloved, we have heard in the lesson that hath been read."

August. Psal. xxxvi. August. in 1. Hom. Hom. 49. August. de Temp. Serm. 2.

Hereby, I think, it may appear that the reading of lessons and chapters is no new device in the church of God.

And yet will you tell us, M. Harding, that all this is only a "spiritual dumbness," and an "unprofitable hearkening, brought in by the instinct of Satan, to promote his kingdom?" Or, if you dare so to tell us, must we believe you?

Verily Isidorus saith: *Lectio est non parva audientium ædificatio. Unde oportet ut, quando psallitur, psallatur ab omnibus; quando oratur, oretur ab omnibus; quando lectio legitur, facto silentio, æque audiatur a cunctis*[23]: "The lesson (in the church) bringeth great profit to the hearers: therefore, when singing is, let all sing together; when prayer is, let all pray together; and, when the lesson or chapter is read, let silence be made, and let all hear together." Tertullian saith: *Coimus ad literarum divinarum commemorationem:... fidem sanctis vocibus pascimus, spem erigimus, fiduciam figimus*[24]: "We come together to the reading of the holy scriptures: we feed our faith with those heavenly voices: we raise up our affiance: we fasten our hope." Again he saith: *Ubi fomenta fidei de scripturarum lectione*[25]*?* "Where is the feeding of faith, that cometh by the open pronouncing and reading of the scriptures?"

Isidor. de Eccles. Offic. Lib. i. cap. x. Tertull. in Apol. Tertull. ad Uxor. Lib. ii.

Origen saith: *Non fuisset necessarium legi hæc in ecclesia, nisi ex his ædificatio aliqua audientibus præberetur*[26]: "It had not been necessary to have these things read in the church, unless thereof might grow some profit to the hearers."

Orig. in Lev. Hom. 5.

Leo saith: *Sacram... dominicæ passionis historiam, evangelica, ut moris est, narratione decursam, ita omnium vestrum arbitror inhæsisse pectoribus, ut unicuique audientium ipsa lectio quædam facta sit visio*[27]: "I think that the holy story of our Lord's passion, which we, as the manner is, have read unto you, is so fastened unto all your hearts, that the very hearing itself unto every of the hearers is a kind of seeing." Chrysostom saith the manner was that, before every such lesson or chapter, the minister should say unto the people with a loud voice, *Attendamus*[28]: "Let us mark."

Leo de Pass. Dom. Serm. 19. Chrysost. in Act. Hom. 19.

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[15] Leon. Magni Op. Lut. 1623. De Resurr. Dom. Serm. ii. 1. col. 198.]

[16] Prophesiam, 1570.]

[17] Chrysost. Op. Par. 1718-38. In Act. Apost. Hom. xix. Tom. IX. pp. 159, 60.]

[18] Ambros. Op. Par. 1686-90. Epist. Class. II. Ad Horont. Epist. lxxvii. 10. Tom. II. col. 1091; where *audisti* twice.]

[19] Meself, 1567, 1570.]

[20] ... quæ per similitudines in evangelio modo proposita audivimus.—August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. In Psalm. xxxvi. Enarr. Serm. i. 2. Tom. IV. col. 258.]

[21] Id. Serm. cccxcii. cap. iv. 4. Tom. V. col. 1505.]

[22] Id. Serm. xvi. 1. Tom. V. Append. col. 33; where *fratres carissimi*. This seems to be a sermon of Cæsarius.]

[23] Isidor. Hisp. Op. Col. Agrip. 1617. De Offic. Eccles. Lib. I. cap. x. p. 393; where *est autem lectio*, and *ab omnibus psallatur cum oratur*.]

[24] Tertull. Op. Lut. 1641. Apolog. 39. p. 34.]

[25] Id. ad Uxor. Lib. II. 6. p. 190; where *scripturarum interjectione*.]

[26] Orig. Op. In Levit. Hom. v. 12. Tom. II. p. 214; where *nec fuisset*.]

[27] Leon. Magni Op. De Pass. Dom. Serm. xix. 1. col. 190.]

[28] ... ἔστηκεν ὁ διάκονος μέγα βοῶν· καὶ λέγων, πρόσχωμεν.—Chrysost. Op. In Act. Apost. Hom. xix. Tom. IX. p. 159.]

Reading of Chapters.

St Augustine saith: *Epistolæ apostolicæ non tantum illis scriptæ sunt, qui tempore illo quo scribebantur audiebant, sed etiam nobis. Non enim ob aliud in ecclesia recitantur*[1]: "The apostles' epistles were not written only to them that heard them at the same time when they were written, but also to us. For to none other purpose are they[2] read openly in the church."

August. contr. Cresc. Lib. i. cap. ix.

This therefore is no "spiritual dumbness," M. Harding: this is no "unprofitable hearkening:" this is no "instinct" or work "of Satan." St Augustine saith: *Vide formicam Dei: surgit quotidie; currit ad ecclesiam Dei; orat; audit lectionem; hymnum cantat; ruminat quod audit; apud se cogitat; recondit intus grana electa de area*[3]: "Behold God's emote[4]: she riseth daily; she runneth to the church of God; she prayeth; she heareth the lesson or chapter; she singeth the psalm; she cheweth or remembereth that she hath heard; she museth upon it within herself; and within she layeth up the corns chosen from the floor."

August. in Psal. lxvi.

Now may you bethink yourself, M. Harding. How can you so vainly say that the reading of the holy scriptures or chapters is a new device in the church of God? You see all the ancient learned fathers with one consent bear witness against you. What shall we think is the work[5] of God, if the hearing of God's word[6] be the work of Satan? What will you call spiritual speaking in the church, if the publishing of God's holy will be "spiritual dumbness?" Acknowledge your error. Give glory to God. What wise man will believe you further?

But here may you call to mind the spiritual speeches and heavenly sounds of your churches. There may you hear, *Ave, mater Anna, plena melle canna: Dic nobis, Maria, quid vidisti in via?* And, at the hallowing of your *Agnos Dei,* in cometh a post in haste and sweating, and telleth the pope, *Domine, Domine, Domine: Isti sunt agni novelli, qui annuntiaverunt Allelua. Modo venerunt ad fontes, &c.*[7] Here is pretty gear to comfort the conscience, as good as a song of Robin Hood. Better were it for you to sit dumb in the church of God, than thus to speak[8].

Durand. Lib. vi. Sabbat. Sanct.

Your churches, your churches, M. Harding[9], are full, not only of spiritual, but also of corporal and horrible dumbness. Of all that is said or done there, be it never so fond[10], the poor godly people knoweth nothing. St Augustine saith: *Si intellectum mentis removeas, nemo ædificatur audiendo quod non intelligit*[11]: "If ye remove the understanding of the mind, no man is edified or taketh profit by hearing that he cannot understand." Chrysostom saith: *Perdiderunt audiendi laborem et tempus. Nam qui non intelligit quod audit, perdit quod audit*[12]: "They have lost both their labour in hearing, and also the time. For he that understandeth not that he heareth loseth the thing that he heareth." Therefore the pope himself in his pontifical giveth this special charge unto the reader: *Stude... lectiones sacras distincte et aperte proferre ad intelligentiam et ædificationem fidelium*[13]: "Endeavour thyself[14] to pronounce the holy lessons (or chapters) distinctly and plainly (not to a spiritual dumbness, but) to the understanding and profit of the faithful."

August. de Gen. ad Lit. Lib. xii. cap. viii. Chrysost. in Matt. Hom. 131.

In Pontifical.

Touching the prayers that the simple people maketh in a tongue unknown, Christ saith: "This people honoureth me with their lips, but their hearts are far from me."

Matt. xv.

[1 ... memento apostolicas epistolas non eis tantum scriptas qui &c.—August. Op. Par. 1679—1700. Contr. Cresc. Donat. Lib. i. cap. ix. 12. Tom. IX. col. 395.]

[2 They are, 1567.]

[3 Id. in Psalm lxvi. Enarr. 3. Tom. IV. col. 658; where *ruminat quod audivit*, and *grana collecta.*]

[4 Emote: emmet.]

[5 Word, 1570.]

[6 Work, 1570.]

[7 Durand. Rat. Div. Offic. Venet. 1568. Lib. vi. cap. lxxix. 2. fol. 232.]

[8 The last two paragraphs are not in 1567.]

[9 But your churches, M. Harding, 1567.]

[10 The last five words are not in 1567.]

[11 August. Op. De Gen. ad Litt. Lib. xii. cap. viii. 19. Tom. III. Pars i. col. 302.]

[12 Chrysost. Op. Par. 1718-38. Op. Imperf. in Matt. Hom. xxxi. ex cap. xiii. Tom. VI. p. cxxxi.]

[13 Pontifical. Rom. Antv. 1627. De Ord. Lect. p. 16; where *studete*, and *proferre* after *fidelium.*]

[14 Theeself, 1567, 1570.]

THE APOLOGY, Chap. ix. Division 2.

In these things have they set all their religion, teaching the people that by the same God[15] may be duly pacified, spirits be driven away, and men's consciences well quieted.

M. HARDING.

What shall I say to all this, but that ye lie? I would say, as the manner is, saving your worships; but that your often and unshamefaced lying hath quite taken away from you all opinion of honesty. All Christ's religion which we profess consisteth not in these things, neither by these be men's consciences quieted.... By certain of these evil and impure spirits be driven[16] away indeed; which here, by sundry ancient records and testimonies, I would declare to be most true, were it not well enough known by daily experience.... But as for you, whereas neither bread, nor water, nor cross, driveth you away, it seemeth ye are worse to be conjured than the devil himself. Many of your sect catholic princes have found so stubborn, as they could never yet[17] rid their countries of them but by conjuration of fire.*

* Untruth. For hereby ye profess to quiet men's consciences. Read the answer.

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

Ye say, ye[18] never sought to quiet men's consciences by oil, water, palms, &c. And therefore ye stand up a tiptoe, and in your familiar manner cry out, "Ye lie." For short trial hereof, one example may suffice instead of many. Augustine Steuchus, one of your special and worthy doctors, saith: *Aquas*[19] *sale et oratio-nibus sanctificamus, ut ad earum aspersum nostra deleantur delicta*[20]: "We hallow water with salt and prayers, that by the sprinkling thereof our sins may be forgiven." Read your own pontifical, and ye shall find in the hallowing of your water, your ashes, your palms, your candles, &c. this clause evermore in the end: *Ut sint nobis ad salutem animæ et corporis*[21]: "That they may be to us to the salvation of body and soul."

August. Steuch. in Lib. Numer. cap. xix. Sins forgiven by holy water.

In Pontifical.

Whereas in the end ye vaunt yourself of your cruelty, and so pleasantly make sport with the blood of your brethren, take it not for ill if I answer you with the words of Salomon: *Viscera impiorum crudelia:* "The bowels of the wicked be always cruel." Therein, M. Harding, standeth your greatest puissance. If ye were no better armed with fire and sword than ye be with scriptures and doctors, no wise man would greatly fear your force.

Prov. xi.

We may say of you as cardinal Cusanus saith of the Turk: *Omnium, quæ in Alchorano continentur, ultima resolutio est gladius*[22]: "The last resolution and trial of all things that are contained in the Alchoran is the sword[23]."

Nic. Cusan. Cribrat. Lib. iii. cap. iii.

As for us, we may answer you now as St Cyprian sometime answered the heathens: *Nobis ignominia non est pati a fratribus quod passus est Christus; neque vobis gloria est facere quod fecit Judas*[24]: "It is no shame for us to suffer of our brethren the same violence that Christ suffered; neither is it any praise for you to do the same thing that Judas did."

Cypr. Lib. i. Epist. 3.

Tertullian saith unto your fathers: *Crudelitas vestra gloria nostra est:* .... *semen est sanguis Christianorum*[25]: "Your cruelty is our glory: the blood of Christians is the seed of the gospel." I pray God, all that innocent blood that hath been shed in this cause be not required at your hands "in the day of wrath, and at the declaration of the just judgment of God."

Tertull. in Apol.

Rom. ii.

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[15] By these God, Conf.]

[16] Drived, Def. 1567.]

[17] Yet never, Conf. and Def. 1567, 1570.]

[18] 1567 repeats *ye*.]

[19] Saith thus *Aquas*, 1567, 1570, 1609.]

[20] August. Steuch. Op. Venet. 1591. In Num. cap. xix. Tom. I. fol. 158; where *nostra aboleantur delicta*.]

[21] ... ut sis omnibus sumentibus salus mentis et corporis.—Missal. ad Us. ac Consuet. Sarum, Par. 1527. Benedict. Sal. et Aq. fol. + viii.; Bened. Pan. ibid. Conf. Missal. Rom. Antv. 1627. Benedict. Divers. pp. xcviii. &c. Dom. in Palm. p. 148.]

[22] Est igitur ultima resolutio probationis omnium quæ in Alchoran leguntur gladius.—N. de Cusa Op. Basil. 1565. Cribrat. Alchor. Lib. III. cap. iii. Tom. II. p. 916.]

[23] This paragraph is not in 1567.]

[24] Neque enim nobis ignominia est &c. nec illis gloria &c. fecerit Judas.—Cypr. Op. Oxon. 1682. Ad Cornel. Epist. lix. p. 127. It was not to the heathen that Cyprian said this.]

[25] Tertull. Op. Lut. 1641. Apolog. 50. p. 45; where *vestra illecebra est magis sectæ*.]

THE APOLOGY, Chap. x. Division 1.

For these, lo, be the orient colours and precious savours of christian religion: these things doth God look upon, and accepteth them thankfully: these must come in place to be honoured, and must put[1] quite away the institutions of Christ and of his apostles. And, like as in times past, when wicked king Jeroboam had taken from the people the right serving of God, and had brought[2] them to worship the[3] golden calves, lest perchance they might afterward[4] change their mind, and slip away, getting them again to Jerusalem to the temple of God there, he exhorted them with a long tale to be stedfast, saying thus unto them: "O Israel, these calves be thy gods;" in this sort commanded your God you should worship him; for it should be wearisome and troublous for you to take upon you a journey so far off, and yearly to go up to Jerusalem, there to serve and honour your God: even after the very same sort, when[5] these men had once made the law of God of none effect through their own traditions, fearing that the people should afterward open their eyes, and fall another way, and should somewhence else seek a surer mean of their salvation; Jesu, how often have they cried out, This is the same worshipping that pleaseth God, and which he straitly requireth of us, and wherewith he will be turned from his wrath; that by these things is conserved the unity of the church; that[6] by these all sins be cleansed[7], and consciences quieted; and that[6] whoso departeth from these hath left unto himself no hope of everlasting salvation: for it were wearisome and troublous (say they) for the people to resort to Christ, to the apostles, and to the ancient fathers, and to observe continually what their will and commandment should be. This, ye may say[8], is to withdraw the people of God from the weak elements of the world, from the leaven of the scribes and Pharisees, and from the traditions of men. It were reason, no doubt, that Christ's commandments and the apostles' were removed, that these their hests and devices may[9] come in place. O just cause, I promise you, why that ancient and so long allowed doctrine should be now abolished, and a new form of religion be brought into the church of God!

M. HARDING.

It should have become Scoggin, Patch, Jolle, Harry Pattenson, or Will Sommer[10], *to have told this tale much better than your superintendentships. And, if ye would needs have played the part yourselves, it had been more convenient to have done it on the stage, under a vice's coat, than in a book set abroad to the world in defence of all your new English church. Ye shall never make any reasonable man believe your scoffing tale.... We esteem little your railing comparison... with your spiteful words,* [*and*]... *so much devilish villany....*

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[1] And put, Conf.]
[2] And brought, Conf.]
[3] *The* is not in Conf.]
[4] Afterwards, Conf.]
[5] The same sort every whit when, Conf.]
[6] *That* is not in Conf.]
[7] Sins cleansed, Conf.]
[8] See, Conf. and Def. 1567, 1570, 1609.]
[9] Their devices might, Conf. and Def. 1567; their hests and devices might, 1570, 1609.]
[10] There was a jest-book published with the name of John Scoggin. The author is said to have been Dr Andrew Boord. Patch seems to have been an appellation commonly bestowed on fools: two of Cardinal Wolsey's bore it. Henry Pattenson was fool to Sir Thomas More. William Sommers was Henry VIII.'s jester. See Grainger's Biogr. Hist. of England, Lond. 1824. Vol. I. pp. 137, 49, 50.]

THE APOLOGY, Chap. x. Division 2.

The Church above God's word.

And yet, whatsoever it be, these men cry still that nothing ought to be changed; that men's minds are well satisfied herewithal; that the church of Rome, the church which cannot err, hath decreed these things. For Sylvester Prierias saith that the Romish church is the squire and rule of truth, and that the holy scripture hath received from thence authority[11] and credit. "The doctrine," saith he, "of the Roman[12] church is the infallible rule of faith[13], from the which the holy scripture taketh her[14] force[15]." And "indulgences and pardons (saith he) are not made known to us by the authority of the scriptures, but they are made[16] known[17] to us by the authority of the Roman[12] church, and of the bishops of Rome, which is greater then the [18]scriptures[19]." Pighius also letteth not to say that without the licence of the Roman[12] church we ought not to believe the very plain scriptures[20]. Much like as if any of those that cannot speak pure and clean Latin, and yet can babble out quickly and readily a little some such law-Latin as serveth the court, would needs hold that all others ought also to speak after the same way that[21] Mammetrectus[22] and Catholicon[23] spake many years[24] ago, and which themselves do yet use in pleading in court; for so may it be understood[25] sufficiently what is said, and men's desires may be[26] satisfied; and that it is a fondness now in the latter[27] end to trouble the world with a new kind of speaking, and to call again the old fineness and eloquence that Cicero and Cæsar used in their days in the Latin tongue. So much are these men beholden to the folly and darkness of the former times. "Many things," as one writeth, "are had in estimation oftentimes, because they have been once dedicate to the temples of the heathen gods:" even so we see[29] at this day many things allowed and highly set by of these men, not because they judge them so much worth, but only because they have been received into a custom, and after a sort dedicate to the temple of God.

C. Plinius.[28]

M. HARDING.

... Ye have never done with the church of Rome: I cannot blame you. For so long as that standeth, without ye repent and turn, [a]ye shall never be taken but for such as ye be, schismatics and heretics. But, alas! poor souls, what think ye to overthrow that church builded upon the rock [b]Peter, against which hitherto neither tyrants nor heretics, far passing you in learning and honesty of common life, could ever prevail? Trow ye to extinguish that faith of the Roman church, [c]which is the same that was the faith of Peter, for which Christ prayed that it should never fail? Ye labour in vain. Well may Satan win you: the church which our Lord prayed for by you shall he never win. Give

Luke xxii.

[a] So was Christ taken of the Pharisees.
[b] The foundation of the church of God is not Peter, but Christ.
[c] Untruth. For generally it is contrary to the faith of Peter.

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[11] Thence both authority, Conf.]
[12] Romish, Conf.]
[13] The rule of most infallible faith, Conf.]
[14] His, Conf.]
[15] Sylvest. Prier. In Luth. Concl. Dial. in Luth. Op. Witeb. 1552-80. Tom. I. fol. 159. 2. See Vol. I. page 216, note 4.]
[16] Not, Def. 1570.]
[17] Are known, Conf. and Def. 1567.]
[18] These three words are not in Conf.]
[19] Id. ibid. fol. 166. See Vol. I. page 76, note 3.]
[20] Alb. Pigh. Hierarch. Eccles. Col. 1538. Lib. I. cap. ii. fol. 7. 2. See before, page 754, note 9; also below, page 863, note 8.]
[21] Which, Conf.]
[22] Mammotrectus was an elementary work by Marchesinus to teach the pronunciation and meaning of Latin words in the bible; &c. It was printed in 1470.]
[23] Catholicon was a Latin vocabulary compiled by Joannes Januensis de Balbis. It was printed by Faust, 1460.]
[24] Year, Conf.]
[25] Understand, Conf.]
[26] Desires be, Conf.]
[27] Later, Conf. and Def. 1567, 1570.]
[28] This reference is not in Conf.]
[29] See we, Conf.]

The Church above God's word.

over therefore your vain and wicked attempts. Trust not in the patches that falsely ye allege out of canonists'[1] *glosses, schoolmen, rhyming poets, heretics, and whatsoever*[2]*, be they never so bad. Some ignorant persons may ye deceive, whose sins deserve the same...*

What Sylvester Prierias saith, I mind not here to discuss. [d]*Neither where he saith that you allege have you thought good to tell us, lest by perusing the place we should take you in a lie, as we have almost in all your other allegations. The like sincerity you use in alleging Pighius. We bind ourselves neither to the words of Sylvester, nor of Pighius. If they err, what is that to us? Let them bear their own burden. If they tell truth, we believe them for truth's sake: if otherwise, we leave that part for you to carp....If Sylvester Prierias said that for points of belief the doctrine of the Roman church is a squire to try their truth by, the same* [e]*being well understanded, it*[3] *is right true. Likewise, if Pighius say that the Roman church sheweth unto us which be the approved and undoubted scriptures, and which be not, this is so true as yourself (I suppose) will yield thereunto. As for that the scripture received from the church of Rome authority, credit, and force,* [f]*if in your meaning you exclude God, that is your lie, not Sylvester's sentence. If relation be made to us, that we ought not give credit unto it,* [g]*unless it had been shewed to be holy scripture by the Roman church, which is the true church of Christ; in this sense, be it Sylvester, or who else soever saith it, it is a true saying, and agreeable to St Augustine,* *Contr. Epist. Fund. cap. 5.* *who said,* Ego...evangelio non crederem, nisi me catholicæ ecclesiæ commoveret auctoritas[4]: *"I would not believe the gospel, except the authority of the catholic church moved me." And for that ye*[5] *allege out of him touching indulgences, truth it is the full and whole knowledge of them is not plainly opened unto us by express and evident words of scripture, no more than the mystery of the blessed Trinity, baptizing of infants, and many other truths; but rather by the doctrine of the Roman church.*

Where you tell us of Pighius, that he letteth not to say that "without the licence of the Romish church (for in that word you please yourself well) we ought not to believe the very plain scriptures," [h]*we will proclaim you a liar, until you shew us where he spake so far beside reason and learning. The holy church doth not will us to stay from belief of the scriptures until we have licence, but by all ways and means inviteth and stirreth us to believe the truth in the scriptures uttered....*

d It is easily found in his book *Contra Lutherum.*

e A commentary beside the text.

f A proper gloss.

g Vanity of vanities. For the scriptures were known and believed before there was any church in Rome.

h It is no hard matter to find it. Read the answer.

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

The greatest weight hereof hangeth upon two of your doctors, Sylvester Prierias and Albertus Pighius; whose credit notwithstanding ye would fain otherwise save upright, yet here, as it seemeth, ye are content for shame to give them over. "We bind ourselves (ye say) neither to the words of Sylvester, nor of Pighius. If they err, what is that to us?" This short and blunt answer, notwithstanding it seem to like well you, yet perhaps Prierias and Pighius it would not like. I see no great cause to the contrary, but either of them might as well renounce your authority, and say of you, "We are not bound neither to M. Harding's words, nor to his fellows'." For that ye doubt the truth of our allegations, read Sylvester Prierias, master of the pope's palace, in his book intituled, *Contra præsumptuosas Martini Lutheri conclusiones, de potestate papæ.* His words there amongst others be these: *Quicunque non innititur doctrinæ Romanæ ecclesiæ ac Romani pontificis, tanquam regulæ Dei infallibili, a qua etiam sacra scriptura robur trahit et auctoritatem, hæreticus est*[6]: "Whosoever leaneth not to the doctrine of the Roman church and of the bishop of Rome, as unto the infallible rule of God, of which doctrine the holy scripture taketh force and authority, he is an heretic."

Sylvest. Prier. contr. Luth.

Here, M. Harding, this doctor teacheth you that the authority and credit

[1 Canonists, glosses, 1611.]
[2 Whosoever, Conf. and Def. 1567, 1570, 1609.]
[3 *It* is not in Conf. and Def. 1567.]
[4 August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. Contr. Epist. Manich. cap. v. 6. Tom. VIII. col. 154.]
[5 You, Conf. and Def. 1567, 1570.]
[6 Sylvest. Prier. In Luth. Concl. Dial. in Luth. Op. Witeb. 1552-80. Tom. I. fol. 159. 2. See Vol. I. page 216, note 4.]

of the scriptures hangeth of the allowance of the pope, as without which the scriptures of God should be no scriptures.

The Church above God's word.

Again he saith: *Auctoritas Romanæ ecclesiæ Romanique pontificis major est, &c.*[7]: "The authority of the Roman church, and of the bishop of Rome, is greater" (than the authority of God's word). If this suffice you not, M. Harding, I know not what thing may suffice you[8].

As for that is here alleged of Pighius, it is the very sound and sense of the greatest part of his common place, *De ecclesia.* Of whose judgment herein M. Calvin writeth thus: *Pighius ait, nullius scripturæ auctoritate, quantumlibet claræ nostro quidem judicio et evidentis, adversus claram consonantemque orthodoxorum patrum sententiam, [et] adversus communem ... ecclesiæ ... definitionem, aliquid credere cuiquam licere*[9]: "Pighius saith that no man may lawfully believe anything by the authority of any scripture, be the same in our judgment never so plain and evident, against the clear and agreeable judgment of the catholic fathers, and against the common determination of the church." By which he meaneth only the church of Rome. Therefore, M. Harding, it may please you now a little to spare your voice, and to stay your proclamation.

Alb. Pigh. in Loc. Comm. de Eccles.

But, forasmuch as ye seem so little to esteem these two doctors, Priorias and Pighius, being otherwise not long sithence the chief leaders and captains of all your bands, ye may therefore join others to them, to better their credit, and to increase the company. And forasmuch as we speak of the church of Rome, let us hear the judgment of a cardinal of the church of Rome, notwithstanding otherwise alleged before.

Cardinal Cusanus therefore hereof saith thus: *Hæc est omnium, &c.*[10]: "This is the judgment of all them that think rightly, that found the authority and understanding of the scriptures in the allowance of the church; and not contrariwise lay the foundation of the church in the authority of the scriptures. There be no commandments of Christ but such only as so be taken and holden by the church. Therefore the scriptures follow the church; but contrariwise the church followeth not the scriptures[12]." Likewise saith Johannes Maria Verractus: *Humiliter confitemur ecclesiæ auctoritatem esse supra evangelium*[13]: "We do humbly confess that the authority of the church is above the authority of the gospel." Likewise Albertus Pighius saith: [*Apostoli quædam scripserunt*]: *non ... ut scripta illa præessent fidei et religioni nostræ; sed potius ut subessent*[14]. *Scripturæ sunt muti judices*[15]: *Scripturæ sunt veluti cereus nasus*[16]: "The apostles have written certain things; not that their said writings should rule our faith or religion; but rather that they should be under and be ruled by our faith. The scriptures are dumb judges: the scriptures are like a nose of wax."

Nic. Cus. ad Bohem. Epist. 2.[11]

Johan. Maria Verract. Editus est An. 1561. Alb. Pigh. Hierar. Lib. i. cap. ii. Alb. Pigh. in Controv. de Eccles.

By these and other like unreverent and godless speeches they seek to lead the poor simple deceived people from the holy scriptures, and voice of God, to the authority of their church; by which church they understand only the pope and his cardinals of the church of Rome[17].

But ye say: "These be the priests of the house of Levi: the pope is the judge for the time in the place that our Lord hath chosen." Some others of you say: *Papa ... est tota ecclesia virtualiter*[18]: "The pope is by power and

Deut. cap. xvii.

Herv. de Potest. Pap. cap. xxiii.

[7] Id. ibid. fol. 166. See Vol. I. page 76, note 3.]

[8] This sentence is not in 1567.]

[9] Cum nullius scripturæ auctoritate, quantumvis, ut nobis forte videretur, apertæ atque evidentis... adversus &c. licere, alibi a nobis clarissime demonstratum sit.—Alb. Pigh. De Lib. Hom. Arbitr. et Div. Grat. Col. 1542. Lib. IV. fol. 58. 2. Conf. Explic. Cathol. Contr. Par. 1586. Controv. III. fol. 91. 2; et Calv. Op. Amst. 1667-71. Resp. contr. Pigh. de Lib. Arbitr. Lib. IV. Tom. VIII. p. 149; where *quamlibet claræ*.]

[10] N. de Cusa Op. Basil. 1565. Ad Bohem. Epist. ii. Tom. II. p. 834. See before, pages 759, note 18; and Vol. III. page 248, note 5.]

[11] Nicol. Cusanus de Authoritate Ecclesiæ et Concilii supra et contra Scriptur., 1567.]

[12] In 1567, the original Latin of the passage is fully given.]

[13] Norm. et. Prax. Const. Relig. et Eccles. ad calc. Protest. Concion. August. Confess. adv. Convent. Trident. 1563. p. 118; where *supra evangelion esse*. Conf. J. M. Verrat. Disp. adv. Lutheran. Venet. 1544-54. De Eccles. Interluct. VIII. Tom. I. fol. 163. 2.]

[14] Alb. Pigh. Hierarch. Eccles. Col. 1538. Lib. I. cap. ii. fol. 6. 2. See before, page 759, note 19.].

[15] Id. Explic. Cathol. Contr. Controv. III. De Eccles. fol. 89. 2. See before, page 758.]

[16] Id. Hierarch. Eccles. Lib. III. cap. iii. fol. 80. See before, pages 758, 9.]

[17] The last five words are not in 1567.]

[18] Herv. de Potest. Eccles. et Papal. Par. 1506. fol. EE. i. 2. See before, page 729.]

The Church above God's word.

virtue the whole church." Whatsoever these shall happen to say, we may not swerve from their judgment, neither to the right hand, nor to the left hand. Whereupon the Hebrew gloss noteth thus: *Si dixerint tibi, quod dextra sit sinistra, aut [quod] sinistra [sit] dextra, talis sententia tenenda est*[1]: "Although they tell thee that thy right hand is thy left hand, or that thy left hand is thy right hand, yet such a sentence must be holden as good."

Nic. Lyra in Deut. cap. xvii. August. contr. Epist. Fund. cap. v.

St Augustine, ye say, holdeth hard of your side. He saith: *Non crederem evangelio, nisi me ecclesiæ catholicæ auctoritas commoveret*[2]: "I would not believe the gospel, except the authority of the catholic church moved me." These few poor words have been tossed of your part, and wrung, and pressed to the uttermost, to yield out that was never in them. For hereby ye would fain prove that the authority of the church, whereby ye evermore understand your church of Rome, and none other, is above the authority of God's word; that is to say, that the creature is above the Creator that made heaven and earth.

But what if St Augustine, as he saith, I believe the gospel because of the church, have likewise said, I believe the church because of the gospel? Then, I trow, ye must turn your tale, and say, the gospel is above the church. His words be plain: *Ex ore veritatis ecclesiam agnosco participem veritatis*[3]: "By the mouth of (God, that is) the truth, I know the church that is partaker of the truth." Again he saith: *Nolo humanis documentis, sed divinis oraculis ecclesiam sanctam demonstrari*[4]. *Ecclesiam quærere debemus in verbis Christi, qui est veritas, et optime novit corpus suum*[5]. *Ecclesiam... sine ulla ambiguitate sancta scriptura demonstrat*[6]. *In scripturis sanctis ecclesia manifeste cognoscitur*[7]. *Ecclesiam, sicut ipsum caput, in scripturis sanctis canonicis debemus agnoscere*[8]: "I would the church should be shewed, not by the decrees of men, but by the heavenly oracles, or words of God. We must seek the church in the words of Christ, which is the truth, and best knoweth his own body. The holy scripture sheweth us the church without doubting. In the holy scriptures the church is plainly known. We must know the church by the holy canonical scriptures, as we know (Christ, that is) the head."

August. in Psal. lvii.

August. de Unit. Eccles. cap. ii. August. contr. Cresc. Gram. Lib. i. cap. xxxiii. August. de Unit. Eccles. cap. xvi. August. eod. loc.

Likewise saith Chrysostom: *Nullo modo cognoscitur... quæ sit vera ecclesia,... nisi tantummodo per scripturas*[9]: "It is not any-ways known which is the true church of Christ, but only by the scriptures."

Chrysost. in Matt. Hom. 49.

And thus, forasmuch as we know both Christ by the church, and the church by Christ, the one giving evidence to the other; by this reckoning, M. Harding, and by your shifting of turns, we must sometimes place Christ above the church, and sometimes the church above Christ.

Howbeit, St Augustine's mind was not to commence an action between Christ and his church, in comparison of their dignities, or for trial and keeping of their bounds, or to teach us that the truth of God taketh authority of the church; but only to shew us that the church is a witness to God's truth. And certainly it hath great weight of persuasion to move the conscience of any man, to see so many kingdoms and countries to join together in the profession and obedience of one truth. And I doubt not but even this day many thousands are the sooner led to humble themselves unto the gospel of Christ, for that they see the whole world, that is to say, the whole church of God, is contented so willingly and so humbly to embrace the same. David, to testify the truth and certainty of the gospel, saith thus: "The sound of the apostles went out into all the earth, and the words of them into the ends of all the world." "This is the turning of the right hand of God."

Psal. xix. Rom. x. Psal. lxxvii.

[1 Hic dicit glo. Hebraica: Si dixerit tibi &c. vel sinistra &c. sententia est tenenda.—Bibl. cum Gloss. Ord. et Expos. N. de Lyra, Basil. 1502. Deut. cap. xvii. Pars I. fol. 350.]

[2 August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. Contr. Epist. Manich. cap. v. 6. Tom. VIII. col. 154. See before, page 862.]

[3 Id. in Psalm. lvii. Enarr. 6. Tom. IV. col. 545; where *ex veritatis ore agnosco ecclesiam.*]

[4 Id. contr. Donat. Epist. vulg. Lib. de Unit. Eccles. cap. iii. 6. Tom. IX. col. 341; where *sanctam ecclesiam.*]

[5 ...in illius potius verbis eam quærere debemus, qui veritas est, et &c.—Id. ibid. cap. ii. 2. col. 338.]

[6 Id. contr. Cresc. Donat. Lib. i. cap. xxxiii. 39. Tom. IX. cols. 407, 8.]

[7 Id. contr. Donat. Epist. cap. xviii. 46. col. 369.]

[8 ... ecclesia, quam sicut &c.—Id. ibid. cap. xix. 49. col. 372.]

[9 Chrysost. Op. Par. 1718-38. Op. Imperf. in Matt. Hom. xlix. ex cap. xxiv. Tom. VI. p. cciv.]

Therefore St Augustine saith unto Faustus the heretic: *Cur non potius evangelicæ auctoritati, tam fundatæ, tam stabilitæ, tanta gloria diffamatæ, atque ab apostolorum temporibus usque ad nostra tempora per successiones certissimas commendatæ, te non subdis*[10]*?* "Why dost thou not rather submit thyself[11] unto the authority of the gospel, being so grounded, so stablished, preached and published with so great glory, commended and delivered unto us by most certain successions from the time of the apostles until our time?" August. contr. Faust. Lib. xxxii. cap. xix.

Likewise in this same place by you alleged St Augustine saith: *Ego non crederem evangelio, nisi me catholicæ ecclesiæ commoveret auctoritas. Quibus ergo obtemperavi dicentibus, Credite evangelio, cur eis non obtemperem dicentibus, ... Noli credere Manichæo*[12]*?* "I would not believe the gospel, unless the authority of the catholic church moved me. Seeing therefore I have obeyed them saying to me, 'Believe the gospel;' why should I not also obey them saying unto me, 'Believe not Manichee'?" August. contr. Epist. Fund. cap. v.

Thus the consent of the church beareth witness to the gospel; without which witness, notwithstanding, the gospel nevertheless were the gospel still. Therefore Chrysostom saith: *Si dixerint in ipsis veris ecclesiis ... Christum apparuisse, nolite eis credere dicentibus ista de me: Quia non est digna divinitatis meæ notitia hæc*[13]*:* "If they shall tell you that Christ hath appeared, yea, even in the very true churches, yet believe them not saying thus of me; for this is no meet knowledge for my Godhead." Chrysost. in Matt. Hom. 49. In Oper. Imperf.[14]

To conclude, M. Harding, we will say to you as St Augustine sometime said to the Donatian heretics, advancing[15] their only church in Africa, even as you now advance[16] only your church of Rome: *Nos post vocem Pastoris nostri, per ora prophetarum, per os proprium, per ora evangelistarum nobis apertissime declaratam, voces vestras non admittimus, non credimus, non accipimus*[17]*:* "After the voice of our Shepherd, uttered most plainly unto us by the mouths of the prophets, by his own mouth, and by the mouths of the evangelists, if ye bring us your own voices, we allow them not, we believe them not, we receive them not." August. de Unit. Eccles. cap. xi.

The Apology, Chap. xi. Division 1.

"Our church," say they, "cannot err." They speak that (I think) as the Lacedæmonians long sithence[18] used to say that it was not possible to find any adulterer in all their commonwealth; whereas indeed they were rather all adulterers, and had no certainty in their marriages, but had their wives in[19] common amongst them all; or, as the canonists at this day for their bellies' sake use to say of the pope that, forsomuch as he is lord of all benefices, though he sell for money bishopricks, monasteries, priesthood, spiritual promotions, and part[20] with nothing freely, yet, because he counteth all his own, he cannot commit simony, though he would never so fain[21]. But how strongly and agreeably to reason these things be spoken, we are not as yet able to perceive, except perchance these men have plucked off the wings from the truth, as the Romans in old time did proine and pinion their goddess Victoria[22], after they had once gotten her home, to the end that with the same wings she should never be[23] able to flee away from them again[24]. Sum. Angel. in Dict. Pap. Theodor. de Schism. Plutarch.

[10] August. Op. Contr. Faust. Lib. xxxii. cap. xix. Tom. VIII. col. 461; where *non te.*]

[11] Theeself, 1567, 1570.]

[12] Id. contr. Epist. Manich. cap. v. 6. Tom. VIII. col. 154; where *crede evangelio,* and *Manichæis.* See before, page 862.]

[13] Chrysost. Op. Imperf. in Matt. Hom. xlix. ex cap. xxiv. Tom. VI. p. ccix; where *dixerint* comes after *ecclesiis.*]

[14] 1567 has not *In Oper. Imperf.*]

[15] Avancing, 1567, 1570.]

[16] Avance, 1567, 1570.]

[17] August. Op. Contr. Donat. Epist. cap. xii. 32. Tom. IX. col. 359.]

[18] Since, Conf.] [19] *In* is not in Conf.]

[20] Parteth, Conf.]

[21] See below, page 866, note 8, and page 868, note 5.]

[22] Victorie, Conf. and Def. 1567.]

[23] Never more be, Conf.]

[24] This is related of the Athenians. See Pausan. Lib. III.]

M. HARDING.

Toward the end of your Apology, sir Defender, whosoever you be that pieced it together, you do but trifle. Of like your stuff is spent: for here little say you that you have not said already. Wherefore I crave pardon of the reader, if, according to the slenderness of matters objected, my[a] *confutation seem altogether*[1] *slender. Sir, you do now but patch pieces together, which you have gathered out of your note-books, into the same infarced*[2]*, some out of the canonists, some out of the school-men, and them not of the greatest estimation, most of all out of humanity-books, wherein you be prettily seen. And that seemeth to be your chief profession. As for divinity, there appeareth no great knowledge in you.... What ye rehearse of the Lacedæmonians, it pertaineth to your own companies no less than to them; I mean only your apostates, monks, friars*[4]*, priests, and nuns....*

[a] This is good plain dealing. For indeed this answer is very slender.

You find great fault in the canonists that be at this day, and name in your margent Summa Angelica, *the author whereof died many years past. If he, Theodoricus, whatsoever he was, or any other canonist offend you, as for his belly's sake, speaking of the pope that should set your teeth an edge, what pertaineth that to us, who defend the catholic faith, not the saying*[5] *of every canonist? You were best, seeing you make so much ado with them, to article their errors, and either write a railing book against them, which ye*[b] *can easily do, or send one of your best-learned superintendents to Bononia, there in open school with disputations to confute them. And so doubtless ye shall either convert them, which were a worthy act, or prove yourselves fools, which were great pity.*

[b] With M. Harding's good instructions.

But, to answer your objection, we say first, that you allege Summa Angelica *falsely. Nothing is found sounding*[6] *to that ye*[7] *burden the pope withal, in the place by you quoted, in* dict. Papa. *Next, whereas it is written in* Summa Angelica, In Curia Romana Titulus de Simonia non habet locum[8]; *you, sir Defender, either not knowing what followed, or of malice abusing the place, have reported the same as if it were precisely said without any distinction: whereas indeed the self-same Sum useth this distinction, saying:* Verum [est] in iis quæ[9] sunt simoniaca de jure positivo solum; sed non in iis quæ sunt simoniaca de jure divino[8]: *Whereby he meaneth that the pope is not under the rules of simony, concerning*[c] *such laws and pains as himself*[10] *or his predecessors have made in that behalf. For they have made many things belonging thereto, as you may well know yourself, who are so prettily seen in the canon law, as it may appear by the often and cunning allegations which you bring out of the glosses. But, concerning*[d] *that simony which properly is so called, the pope is no less subject thereto, by the true judgment of* Summa Angelica[e] *which you have shamefully belied, than any other man.*

In dict. Simon. Ver. utrum Authoritas.

[c] A worthy distinction. Hereby the pope may sell bishoprieks and benefices without simony.

[d] This kind of simony standeth only in selling of orders and sacraments, &c.

[e] Untruth, shameless, as shall appear.

You jest at God's blessed truth always remaining in his holy church, and profanely resemble it to a bird proined and pinioned, that it fly not away: as though the church kept truth with such policy as the old Romans are feigned to have kept their goddess Victory. Well, sir, we tell you in sadness, we are assured of the truth, that it is in the church, and that it shall never depart from thence. And, if ye call this cutting away of her wings, that it never fly from the church, we grant they be cut in such sort as she shall keep the church for ever, as her own nest. And will you know who telleth us this? Even God himself, saying in his prophet Esay to Christ of his church: "I will make this covenant with them, saith our Lord: my Spirit which is in thee, and my words which I have put in thy mouth, [f]shall not depart from thy mouth, and from the mouth of thy seed, and from the mouth of thy seed's seed, saith our Lord, from this time forth for evermore."... Isai. lix.[11]

[f] Full discreetly and well applied, as if these words had been meant of the pope and his successors.

Against[12] *this truth, whatsoever*[13] *ye bring in reproof of popes' lives, whom notwithstanding most impudently ye belie, what undiscreet sayings or flatteries*

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[1] Also, Conf. and Def. 1567, 1570, 1609.]
[2] Inforced, Def. 1570, 1609, 1611.]
[3] *Of* is not in Conf.]
[4] Monks and friars, Conf. and Def. 1567.]
[5] Sayings, Conf. and Def. 1567, 1570.]
[6] Founding, Conf.]
[7] You, Conf. and Def. 1567.]
[8] Summ. Angel. Argent. 1513. Sim. v. 6. fol. 271. 2; where *his* twice for *iis*.]
[9] Qui, Def. 1570.]
[10] As he himself, Conf. and Def. 1567.]
[11] This reference is inserted from Conf. and Def. 1567.]
[12] Again, 1611.]
[13] Whosoever, 1611.]

soever ye burden the canonists with, all turneth to nothing. The truth remaineth unshaken: your spirit of lying, scoffing, and malice, thereby is deciphered. The Pope cannot commit Simony.

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

Here ye say, "Sir Defender is prettily seen in humanity; for that (ye say) seemeth to be his chief profession." Verily, M. Harding, we are well pleased to take such and so much learning, as you may spare us. We contend only for truth, and not for learning. Whatsoever our learning be, if it may please God to use it to his glory, it shall be sufficient, be it never so little. Howbeit, had you not had some good liking in your own learning, ye would not upon so simple occasions have upbraided others.

Touching that sundry of your doctors have said the pope cannot commit simony, first it shall be necessary in that behalf to consider the estate[14] and practice of the church of Rome. St Bernard, writing unto pope Eugenius, saith: *Limina apostolorum ambitio jam plus terit quam devotio. Vocibus ambitionis vestrum toto die resultat palatium... Ambitio in ecclesia per te regnare molitur*[15]: "The apostles' entries or gates in Rome are now more worn with ambition than with devotion. All the day long your palace ringeth with the sound of ambition. By thy means ambition seeketh to reign in the church of God." Bernard. de Consid. Lib. iii. Again he saith: *Sacri gradus dati sunt in occasionem turpis lucri; et quæstum æstimant pietatem*[16]: "The holy degrees, or ecclesiastical rooms, are given over to occasion of filthy gain; and the same gain they count holiness." Bernard. in Conv. Paul. Serm. 1. Ludovicus Vives saith: [*Romæ*] *cum omnia prope.... vendantur et emantur, nihil tamen agas sine lege ac formula, atque etiam sanctissimi juris*[17]: "At Rome, notwithstanding all things be bought and sold, yet may ye do nothing there without form and order, and that of most holy religion." De Civit. Dei. Lib. xviii. cap. xxii. Vives.

Your own gloss saith: *Roma est caput avaritiæ. Ideo omnia ibi venduntur*[18]: "Rome is the head of covetousness. Therefore all things there are bought and sold." In Sexto, de Elect. et Elect. Pot. Fund. in Gloss. Where as also Johannes Andreæ, your great canonist, noteth this verse, alluding to[19] the name of Rome:

Roma manus rodit: quos rodere non valet, odit[20].

Durandus saith: "Simony so reigneth in the church of Rome, as though indeed it were no sin[21]." To be short, these two verses were commonly spread of pope Alexander: Durand. de Mod. Celebr. Concil. Lib. xx.

Vendit Alexander claves, altaria, Christum.
Vendere jure potest: emerat ipse prius[22]:

Muscul. in Johan. cap. vi.

"Pope Alexander maketh sale of his keys, of his altars, and of Christ himself.
Well may he sell these things; for he himself paid well for them."

Notwithstanding, ye doubt not but all this, by a pretty sorry distinction, may soon be excused. For thus ye say: *Verum [est] in iis quæ sunt simoniaca de jure positivo solum; sed non in iis quæ sunt simoniaca de jure divino*[23]: "Whereby (ye say) the author meaneth that the pope is not under the rules of simony, concerning such laws and pains as he himself or his predecessors have made and provided in that behalf." Summ. Angel in Simon. And therefore, as your modest manner is, ye say we have "falsely alleged and shamefully belied *Summa Angelica*." But why do you not better open the several parts of your distinction, M. Harding[24]? Why do ye not better teach us to understand what is simony by law positive, and what is simony by the law of God? And why

[14] State, 1567.]

[15] Annon limina apostolorum plus jam ambitio quam devotio terit? Annon vocibus ejus vestrum tota &c.—Bernard. Op. Par. 1690. De Consid. Lib. III. cap. i. Vol. I. Tom. II. cols. 427, 8.]

[16] ...dati sunt sacri gradus &c.—Id. in Conv. S. Paul. Serm. i. 3. Vol. I. Tom. III. col. 956.]

[17] August. de Civ. Dei, cum Comm. Lod. Vivi. Basil. 1522. Lib. XVIII. cap. xxii. p. 590.]

[18] Sext. Decretal. Lugd. 1572. Lib. I. Tit. vi. Not. in cap. 17. col. 121. In the later editions these words are omitted.]

[19] *To* is not in 1567.]

[20] Ibid. Gloss. ibid. Conf. Joan. Andr. in Sext. Decretal. Venet. 1581. Tit. vi. De Elect. cap. 17. fol. 31.]

[21] Et cum in curia Romana publice contrarium fiat ac si non esset peccatum committere simoniam, vel si dare vel accipere post non esset idem sicut dare vel accipere ante. &c.—Durand. De Mod. Gen. Concil. Celebr. Tractat. Lugd. 1531. Pars II. Rubr. xx. fol. 24. 2.]

[22] Wolf. Muscul. Comm. in Evang. Joan. Basil. 1545. Heptas Prim. cap. vi. p. 359.]

[23] See last page, note 8.]

[24] 1567 has not *M. Harding.*]

do ye not declare each part by plain examples? Seeing you thus to steal away in the dark, we have some cause to doubt your dealing.

The Pope cannot commit Simony.

Howbeit, to make the matter plain, your own gloss saith thus: *Simoniaca de sui natura sunt, quæ novo aut veteri testamento prohibita sunt; ut emere vel vendere sacramenta. Simoniaca de jure positivo sunt, quæ solum sunt spiritualia ex constitutione ecclesiæ; ut sunt tituli beneficiorum ecclesiasticorum, &c.*[1]

Extr. de Othe. Jud. Deleg. Ex parte N. in Gloss.

"These things are simoniacal of their own nature that are forbidden in the old and new testament; as to buy or sell sacraments. These things are simoniacal by law positive, which are spiritual only by the ordinance of the church. Such are the titles of all ecclesiastical benefices and dignities; as be bishopricks, deaneries, abbeys, archdeaconries, &c." Thus, M. Harding, if your pope sell sacraments, which will yield him but little money, he may be charged with simony: but if he sell bishopricks, deaneries, abbeys, archdeaconries, prebends, parsonages, never so many, yet, by the shift of your pretty distinction, no man may charge him. For all these things are spiritual only by the pope's own positive law, that is to say, by the ordinance of the church. And think you not so good a distinction was well worth the finding out?

Aureum Speculum.

One of your own company speaking hereof saith thus: *O Petre, quantam animarum multitudinem catervatim transmisit et transmittit ad infernum hæc superstitialis et damnanda distinctio!... Multis est occasio, et viam aperit ad ruinam damnationis æternæ*[2]: "O Peter, Peter, how many souls hath this superstitious and damnable distinction sent by heaps, and yet doth daily send into hell! It is an occasion unto many, and openeth the way unto the fall of everlasting damnation."

ff. De Offic. Præt. L. Barb. col. 2.

To make the matter plain, Baldus saith: *Simonia non cadit in papam recipientem*[3]: "Though the pope take money, yet no simony can touch him."

ff. Rod. Tit. Ead. L. Bart.

In like sort saith his fellow Bartolus: *Papa non dicitur facere simoniam conferendo beneficia et dignitates, accepta pecunia*[4]: "The pope is not said to commit simony, although he take money for the benefices and dignities of the church."

Theodor. de Schism. int. Urban et Clem. Lib. ii. cap. xxxii.

Theodoricus saith: *Papa non potest committere simoniam. Sic tenent juristæ: quia simonia excusatur per auctoritatem ejus*[5]: "The pope cannot commit simony. So hold the canonists. For simony by his authority is excused."

Felin. de Offic. Judic. Deleg. ex parte N.

Felinus saith: *Ista glossa videtur dicere, quod [papa] non committit simoniam in recipiendo pecuniam pro collatione beneficiorum; ex quo non ligatur propriis constitutionibus.... Tamen moderni tenent indistincte, quod papa non involvatur crimine simoniæ; et ita ego teneo; et sic est servanda communis opinio... Ergo [papa] potest dictam prohibitionem simoniæ, firmatam in universali ecclesia, limitare respectu apostolicæ sedis.... Et si diceres, requiritur in talibus apparens causa, dico hic esse [causam] apparentem. Nam cessante tali redditu, qui maximus est, attenta hodierna tyrannide, sedes apostolica contemneretur*[6]: "This gloss seemeth to say, that the pope committeth not simony receiving money for the bestowing of benefices; forasmuch as the pope is not bound to his own constitutions. Yet now-a-days the lawyers hold, without any such distinction (of

A just and a reasonable cause wherefore the pope may sell bishopricks, deaneries, abbeys, &c.

[1 Prohibita, quia simoniaca sunt illa, quæ in veteri testamento novoque simoniaca erant in sui natura: ut vendere sacramenta...Simoniaca, quia prohibita sunt illa, quæ per constitutionem ecclesiæ facta sunt simoniaca: quale est hoc [archidiaconatus dimissio].—Corp. Jur. Canon. Lugd. 1624. Decretal. Gregor. IX. Lib. I. Tit. xxix. Gloss. in cap. 12. col. 335. Conf. Aur. Specul. Papæ, ut in not. seq.]

[2 Aur. Specul. Papæ, Pars II. cap. i. in Fasc. Rer. Expet. et Fug. Lond. 1690. Tom. II. p. 81.]

[3 Istud est verum quia papa non committit simoniam. &c.—Bald. Perus. Comm. in Digest. Vet. Lugd. 1562. Lib. I. Tit. xiv. De Offic. Pretor. Lex 3. fol. 52. 2. The passage is nearly word for word the same with that quoted in the next note from Bartolus.]

[4 Tamen secundum quosdam simonia non habet locum in curia Romana. Istud est verum, quia papa non committit simoniam, quia papatus est apostolatus, aut sanctum recipit, sed promovendi committunt infinitas simonias in curia Ro. inscio apostolico. —Bartol. in Jus Civil. Comm. Basil. 1562. Ad Lib. I. Digest. Tit. xiv. De Offic. Prætor. Lex 3. Tom. I. p. 77.]

[5 ... quidam...magistri in...theologia...dolentes ita communiter et aperte simoniam committi in curia, et quod sic fieri posset, multis juristis et aliis pertinaciter asserentibus, ... determinarunt ... quod papa vendendo ecclesiastica beneficia...simoniacus esset.—Theod. a Niem De Schism. Basil. 1566. Lib. II. cap. xxxii. p. 89.]

[6 ...utrum papa committat simoniam in &c. beneficiorum. Ista glossa &c. quod non ex quo &c. Mod. hic tenent &c. ego hic teneo &c.—Felin. Sand. Comm. Lugd. 1587. Sup. Decretal. Lib. I. Tit. xxix. cap. 12. foll. 191, 2.]

law positive, and law of God), that the pope cannot in any wise come within the danger of simony; and so I myself[7] do hold; and so the common opinion must be holden. Therefore, notwithstanding the law that forbiddeth simony take place in the whole universal church, yet in respect of the apostolic see of Rome it may be restrained. But thou wilt say, in such cases there ought to be some apparent cause: I tell thee that there is a cause apparent. For this revenue (of simony), which is very great, being once cut off, considering the tyranny that now is, the apostolic see would be despised." By this authority it appeareth the pope is not able to maintain his estate and countenance, nor to save all things upright, without simony.

The Pope cannot commit Simony.

Panormitane saith: *Etsi papa accipiat pecuniam pro collatione alicujus prælaturæ aut beneficii, tamen dominus cardinalis ait, non committitur simonia*[8]: "Notwithstanding the pope take money for the bestowing of a bishoprick or of a benefice, yet my lord cardinal saith, there is committed no simony." Extr. de Simon. cap. i. num. 6. fol. 18. Abb.

Archidiaconus Florentinus saith: *Papa, recipiendo pecuniam, non præsumitur animo vendendi recipere; sed ut illa [pecunia] ad usum suum convertatur; cum papa sit dominus rerum temporalium, per illud dictum Petri, Dabo tibi omnia regna mundi*[9]: "The pope receiving money (for bishopricks or benefices) is not thought to take it by way of sale; but only to turn the same money to his own use. For the pope is lord of all worldly goods, as it appeareth by the words of Peter" (which words notwithstanding Peter never spake, for they were spoken by Satan), "Unto thee will I give all the kingdoms of the world." Arch. in Tract. de Hær. ver. Et quia tanta est. The devil's words alleged under the name of St Peter.

Again, Felinus saith: *Quod datur papæ, datur sacrario Petri; nec est proprium papæ; sed prodest danti, tanquam facienti opus piissimum*[10]: "Whatsoever is given to the pope (for bishoprick or benefice, by way of simony), it is given to St Peter's treasury. Neither is it the pope's own several goods. But it is available to the giver, as unto one that doth a most godly deed." Such a special grace hath the pope: of most devilish vice he is able to make most godly virtue. And, for the better furtherance of the matter, St Peter must be made accessory to the simony[11]. Felin. de Offic. Judic. Deleg. ex parte N. The pope changeth vice into virtue.

Hostiensis saith: *Papa potest vendere titulum ecclesiasticum, ut episcopatum, abbatiam, &c.*[12]: "The pope may sell any ecclesiastical title or dignity, as a bishoprick or an abbey, without danger of simony." Extr. de Simon. cap. i. Hostien.

But what speak we of the pope? Your cardinals themselves, by your favourable constructions and godly orders, are likewise privileged to commit simony safely, and freely, and without blame. Panormitane saith: *Cardinalis pro palafreno a nobili viro recepto non præsumitur committere simoniam*[13]: "A cardinal, for receiving a palfrey of a noble man (for a benefice or a bishoprick), is not thought to commit simony." Extr. de Simon. Etsi quæstiones.

Thus, whereas Christ drave buyers and sellers out of the church, you by your proper distinctions have received in buyers and sellers, and thrust out Christ. St Hierome saith: *Per nummularios significantur beneficii ecclesiastici venditores, qui domum*[14] *Dei faciunt speluncam latronum*[15]: "By the exchangers are signified the sellers of ecclesiastical benefices, which make the house of God a den of thieves." Hieron.

In your own decrees it is written thus: *Tolerabilior est... Macedonii hæresis, qui asserit Spiritum Sanctum esse servum Patris et Filii. Nam isti faciunt Spiritum Sanctum servum suum*[16]: "The heresy of Mace- i. Quæst. 1. Eos qui.

[7 Meself, 1567, 1570.]

[8 ...si de facto recipit pecuniam &c. seu beneficii ...do. Card. hic simpliciter dicit quod non committat simoniam.—Panorm. sup. Quint. Decretal. Lugd. 1534. De Sim. Tit. iii. cap. 1. 6. fol. 69.]

[9 Felin. Sand. Comm. Sup. Decretal. Lib. i. Tit. xxix. cap. 12. fol. 192; where *dominus sit*, and *Petro.*]

[10 Id. ibid.]

[11 This sentence is not in 1567.]

[12 These words have not been found in Hostiensis, in the place referred to; but see Aur. Specul. Papæ, Pars ii. cap. i. in Fasc. Rer. Expet. et Fug. p. 81; where it is said: Ideo Jo. An. post Goff. et Hosti. notavit in c. 1. de si. et communiter alii dicunt ibidem, quod papa potest vendere titulum ecclesiasticum.]

[13 Panorm. sup. Quint. Decretal. De Sim. Tit. iii. cap. 18. fol. 73. The horse in the case referred to was given without the knowledge of the person consecrated to the cardinal who was bringing his pall.]

[14 Dominum, 1570.]

[15 Perhaps the following passage may be intended: Observa propter avaritiam sacerdotum altaria Dei nummulariorum mensas appellari. cathedrasque vendentium columbas evertit; qui vendunt gratiam Spiritus sancti, &c.—Hieron. Op. Par. 1693-1706. Comm. Lib. iii. in Matt. cap. xxi. Tom. IV. Pars i. col. 97.]

[16 Tolerabilior est enim Macedonii, et eorum ...

donius, that said the Holy Ghost is servant and slave to the Father and to the Son, is more tolerable than is the heresy of these simonists. For these men make the Holy Ghost their own servant."

Yet ye say, ye are well assured that the truth is in the church of Rome, and shall never depart from thence, notwithstanding any disorder or fault whatsoever there committed. And for proof thereof ye allege, as ye say, the words of God himself in the prophet Esay: albeit, in that whole prophet there is not one word expressly mentioned of the church of Rome. Such a fantasy, as it appeareth, was sometimes in the heretics called the Manichees. For thus they said: *A....principibus gentis tenebrarum....lumen, ne ab iis aufugeret, tenebatur*[1]: "The princes of the nation of darkness held fast the light, lest it should flee from them." For even so doth the pope and his cardinals hold the truth, as the princes or powers of darkness held the light. And what are the popes and their cardinals, but only the powers and princes of darkness[2]? It was hard dealing for you to bind Christ in recognisance not to depart from the pope. Ye should rather have bound the pope not to depart from Christ.

Isai. lix.

August. de Nat. Bon. cap. xlvi.

St Hierome saith: *Prophetæ Hierusalem non habent in ore prophetiam, et in Domino requiescunt, et dicunt, Non venient super nos mala. Quorum causa speculatorium Dei hostili aratro dividitur; et locus quondam pacis ruinis plenus fit; et templum Domini in vepres spinasque convertitur, et est habitaculum bestiarum*[3]: "The prophets of Hierusalem have never a word of prophecy in their mouths. Yet they rest themselves upon the Lord, and say, There shall no evil come upon us. For their sakes the watch-tower of the Lord is turned up with the enemy's plough: the place of peace is full of ruin: the temple of the Lord is turned into briers and thorns, and is become a stable of wild beasts."

Hieron. in Mich. cap. iii.

The Apology, Chap. xi. Division 2.

But what if Jeremy tell them, as is afore rehearsed, that these be lies? What if the same prophet say in another place, that the self-same men who ought to be keepers of the vineyard, have brought to nought and destroyed the Lord's vineyard? How if Christ say that the same persons, who chiefly ought to have care[5] over the temple, "have made the Lord's temple a den of thieves?"

Jer. xii.[4]

Matt. xxi.[4]

M. HARDING.

*Here come you in with your "what ifs," which commonly you use, when other rhetoric faileth you. We tell you plainly, without any "ifs," that *Jeremy meant of you and such as you be, and calleth your whole new-fangled doctrine* verbum[6] mendacii, *"the words of lying," earnestly giving warning, that men give no credit to them. His other rebuke pertaineth also to you... When were ever such thieves in the church of God as ye are?...*

* Learnedly proved.

The Apology, Chap. xii. Division 1.

If it be so that the church of Rome cannot err, it must needs follow that the good luck thereof is far greater than all these men's policy. For such is their life, their doctrine, and their diligence, that for all

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Spiritus sancti impugnatorum impia hæresis. Illi enim...servum Dei Patris et Filii Spiritum sanctum delirando fatentur: isti vero eundem Spiritum efficiunt suum servum.—Ex Epist. Taras. in Corp. Jur. Canon. Decret. Gratian. Decr. Sec. Pars, Caus. i. Quæst. i. can. 21. col. 501.]

[1 August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. Lib. de Nat. Bon. contr. Manich. cap. xlvi. Tom. VIII. col. 516; where *ab eis ne fugeret teneretur.*]

[2 This sentence is not in 1567.]

[3 Nunc videas prophetas Jerusalem non habere in ore &c. requiescere, et dicere: Non &c.—Hieron. Op. Par. 1693-1706. Comm. Lib. i. in Mich. Proph. cap. iii. Tom. III. col. 1520.]

[4 These references are not in Conf.]

[5 Have a care, Conf. and Def. 1567, 1570.]

[6 Verba, Conf. and Def. 1567.]

them the church may not only err, but also utterly be spoiled and perish. No doubt, if that church may err, which hath departed from God's words[7], from Christ's commandments, from the apostles' ordinances, from the primitive church's examples, from the old fathers' and councils' orders, and from their own decrees, and which will be bound within the compass of none, neither old or[8] new, nor their own nor of others[9], nor man's law, nor God's law; then it is out of all question, that the Romish church hath not only had power to err, but also that it hath shamefully and most[10] wickedly erred in very deed.

M. HARDING.

A man would have thought you would have brought some substantial argument whereby to prove that the church erreth. Neither make you excuse, in that you speak of the Roman church. In this account we make no difference between the Roman church and the church. But all your proofs depend upon your "ifs," which being denied, you have no more to say. "No doubt (say you) if that church may err which hath departed from God's word, from Christ's commandments, &c., then it hath erred in very deed." But, sir, what if a man deny your supposal, and stay you in your first "if," what have you to prove it? All that you have said hitherto we know, and of little force it is. But no doubt, say you, "if that church may err which hath departed from God's word, &c." Yea, forsooth, if all "ifs" were true, then, if heaven fell, we should catch larks. And, if a bridge were made between Dover and Calais, we might go to Bullein a-foot, as William Somer once told king Henry, if it be true that I have heard say.

The church of Rome is the whole catholic church.

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

Here is nothing else but only the canonization of poor William Somer. While your books, M. Harding, shall live, all his sage saws shall never die.

THE APOLOGY, Chap. xii. Division 2.

But say they, ye have been of[11] our fellowship, but now ye are become forsakers of your profession, and have departed from us. It is true: we have departed from them, and, for so doing, we both give thanks to Almighty God, and greatly rejoice in[12] our own behalf. But yet for all this, from the primitive church, from the apostles, and from Christ, we have not departed. True it is, we were brought up with these men in darkness, and in the lack of the knowledge[13] of God; as Moses was brought up in learning[14], and in the[15] bosom of the Egyptians. "We have been of your company," saith Tertullian. "I confess it; and no marvel at all: for," saith he, "men be made, and not born Christians[16]."

Tertull. in Apolog.[4]

M. HARDING.

... We say (as ye report) that ye have been once of our fellowship, but now ye are become apostates, and forsakers of your profession, and have wickedly departed from us. By the name of "us," we mean not some one particular company, but Christ's catholic church. We say of you as St John said of the like whom he calleth antichrists: Ex nobis exierunt, sed non erant ex nobis. Nam si fuissent ex nobis, permansissent utique nobiscum: "*They are departed from out of us, but they were not of us. For if they had been of us, they had doubtless remained still with us.*"

1 *John* ii.

By this whole discourse Christ and his apostles may be condemned.

[7 Word, Conf. and Def. 1567.]
[8 Nor, Conf. and Def. 1567.]
[9 Nor other folks, Conf. and Def. 1567.]
[10 Must, Conf.]
[11 Been once of, Conf.]
[12 On, Conf. and Def. 1567, 1570.]
[13 Of knowledge, Conf.]
[14 In the learning, Def. 1567, 1570, 1609.]
[15 Taught up in the learning and the, Conf.]
[16 De vestris fuimus. fiunt, non nascuntur Christiani.—Tertull. Op. Lut. 1641. Apolog. 18. p. 18.]

But what is your answer hereunto? It is desperate, foolish, and lying. First, ye confess the thing, and not only that, but also thank God for it, and greatly rejoice in it. And therein ye follow the worst[1] *sort of sinners, of whom Salomon saith:* Lætantur cum male fecerint, et exultant in rebus pessimis: "*They be glad when they have done evil, and rejoice in the worst things that are.*" *Ye have divided the church of God, ye have rent our Lord's net, ye have cut his whole woven coat, which the wicked soldiers that crucified him could not find in their hearts to do. Dionysius Alexandrinus, writing to Novatus, the great heretic, who did as ye have done, saith thus unto him, as Eusebius reciteth; whereby ye may esteem the greatness of your crime*[2]*: "Thou shouldest have suffered whatsoever it were, that the church of God might not be divided. And martyrdom suffered for that the church should not be divided is no less glorious than that which is suffered for not doing idolatry: yea, in mine opinion, it is greater; for there one is martyred for his own only soul, and here for the whole church*[3]*." Thus it followeth that by your apostasy, and by you*[4] *dividing of God's church, ye have done more wickedly*[a] *than if ye committed idolatry.*

Prov. ii.

Eccles. Hist. Lib. vi. Cap. v. in Græcis.

[a] A good excuse of idolatry.

"But yet for all this" (say they) "from the primitive church, from the apostles, and from Christ, we have not departed." What can be said more foolishly? Why, sirs, [b]*is not the primitive church and this of our time one church? Doth it not hold together by continual succession till the world's end? What, hath Christ more churches than one? Is the primitive church quite done, and now must there begin a new? Is not Christ, his apostles, and all true believers, in what time or place soever they live, his one mystical body, whereof he is the head, all other the members? As Christ is one, the Holy Ghost one, one faith, one baptism, one vocation, one God; so is the church one, which began at the first man, and shall endure to the last; whereof the living part on*[5] *earth before the coming of Christ into flesh was sometime brought to small number; after his coming, after*[6] *that the apostles had preached, and spread the gospel abroad, the number neither was ever, nor shall be, other than great (though sometime accounted small in respect to the unbelievers) until the coming again of the Son of Man, what*[7] *time he shall scantly find faith, specially that which worketh by charity, in the earth. Against which time busily ye make preparation.*

[b] Yes, verily: even as the house of God and the cave of thieves were all one temple. Matt. xxi.

Luke xviii.

For some part of excuse of your forsaking the church ye say ye were brought up with us in darkness, and in the lack of knowledge of God, as Moses was among the Egyptians; for that ye bring out of Tertullian helpeth you nothing at all. I pray you, sirs, what darkness mean ye? Speak ye of sin? We excuse not ourselves. But when took ye out the beam of your own eyes, that ye espy the mote of our eye? It were well ye proved yourselves honest men, before ye required us to be angels. If ye mean the darkness of ignorance, as peradventure ye do, and the lack of knowledge of God, now that ye are departed from us, and have set chair against chair, (I see no[9] *cause why to say altar against altar), what more and better knowledge of God have ye than we have, and ever have had? Do we not know the articles of our belief? Tell us, which do we lack? "This is life everlasting (saith our Saviour in the gospel) to know thee God alone, and, whom thou hast sent, Jesus Christ." So far as God lighteneth our understanding with the supernatural light of his grace, thus*[10] *much we know. For which Peter the son of Jona was accounted blessed of Christ, the same we sinful papists, through God's grace, also know and confess. The commandments of God we know; what is good, what is evil; which be sins, which be virtues; what is to be followed, what is to be shunned: so far as is behoveful, we be not ignorant.*

Here M. Harding layeth[8] out his heaps of learning.

John xvii.

Matt. xvi.

What is the darkness, then, for which ye would needs be gone from us? And

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[1] Worse, Conf. and Def. 1567, 1570.]

[2] Crie, Def. 1570, 1609, 1611.]

[3] Ἐδει μὲν γὰρ καὶ πᾶν ὁτιοῦν παθεῖν ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ διακόψαι τὴν ἐκκλησίαν τοῦ Θεοῦ· καὶ ἦν οὐκ ἀδοξοτέρα τῆς ἕνεκεν [τοῦ μὴ εἰδωλολατρῆσαι γενομένης ἡ ἕνεκα] τοῦ μὴ σχίσαι μαρτυρία, κατ' ἐμὲ δὲ καὶ μείζων. ἐκεῖ μὲν γὰρ ὑπὲρ μιᾶς τις τῆς ἑαυτοῦ ψυχῆς, ἐνταῦθα δὲ ὑπὲρ ὅλης τῆς ἐκκλησίας μαρτυρεῖ.—Euseb. in Hist. Eccles. Script. Amst. 1695-1700. Lib. vi. cap. xlv. p. 201. The words within brackets are supplied from Nicephorus, vi. iv.]

[4] Your, Conf. and Def. 1567, 1570.]

[5] One, 1611.]

[6] Coming and after, Conf. and Def. 1567.]

[7] Man at what, Conf. and Def. 1567.]

[8] Saith, Def. 1570.]

[9] Not, Conf. and Def. 1567.]

[10] This, Conf. and Def. 1567.]

what is that worthy knowledge ye have won by your departure? Tell us, that we may buy the books, and go to school with you. Truly, without ye have some hidden and secret knowledge, which ye have not uttered to the world hitherto, as we believe ye have not, being such boasters as ye are, we see little cause ye should twit us of ignorance, and brag of your own knowledge. This we see full well, they that run away from us to your side, be they monks or friars, tinkers or tapsters, cobblers or bodgers, white or black, by and by in your synagogues they be great rabbins. And ye the superintendents admit them to be your ministers and preachers of the word, and tell them they can do well; and they believe no less themselves: but the people take them for such as they knew them before they took such degree, and many times for their good behaviour they forget their holy ministry, and christen them by their common name, which was not given them at the font. Yet all this proveth not either our ignorance, or your marvellous and rare knowledge. Neither shall ye ever be able to prove to any man of learning and judgment, that in any liberal sciences or right knowledge of the scriptures ye are comparable to the learned men of the catholic church. Though above[11] *fifty years past and upward for a space the studies of eloquence and of tongues were intermitted, yet then, and before those times, was there no small number of men who had profound knowledge of all good arts, and specially of the holy letters. I report me to Thomas Walden, who very learnedly confuted the heresies of your great-grandfather John Wicliffe; to Alcuinus, in the great Charles' time; to Beda before that; all three Englishmen; to Anselm and Lanfranc, bishops of England, though strangers born; to St Thomas of Aquine, St Bernard, Rupertus, and hundreds more, which here is no place to reckon. Were not they, by confession of all, great clerks? Do not the best-learned of our time, in obscure matters, fetch light of them? To say the truth, in comparison of their clear light, your ill-savouring snuffs may scantly seem to yield a dark smoke. Many talk of your painted sheath, who, were they learned indeed, would soon perceive neither that to be very fresh and gay; for, as for your sword, what rusty and beggarly metal it is, the wiser part of the world seeth*. Therefore ye shall do well, sirs, to speak no more of the darkness and ignorance of the catholic church, and to boast less of your great cunning and knowledge.*

* A very learned and a worthy conclusion. But "woe be to them that call light darkness, and darkness light:" Isai. v.

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

Your head was very idle, M. Harding, when it could so easily yield us such idle talk. If ye think it in no case to be lawful to depart from them, whatsoever they be, that bear the shew and countenance of the church, then must ye needs condemn the apostles and prophets, and most specially Christ himself. But let us consider from what company we are departed; so may the causes of our departure the better appear. For the pope himself saith not nay, but upon just considerations any church may leave the church of Rome. His own words be these: *Nulli agere licet sine discretione justitiæ contra disciplinam Romanæ ecclesiæ*[12]: "Without discretion of justice it is lawful for no man to do anything contrary to the order of the church of Rome." By this the pope's own decree, with discretion of justice it is lawful to do contrary to the orders of the church of Rome.

Dist. 12. Non Decet. in Rubr.

But for a short and general view of that whole church, in this behalf, St Bernard saith thus: *Parum est nostris pastoribus, quod non servant nos, nisi et perdant....Non parcunt suis, qui non parcunt sibi, perimentes pariter et pereuntes*[13]: "It is not sufficient for our bishops that they save us not, unless they also do destroy us: sparing not themselves, they spare not their people. They do both perish themselves, and kill others." Again he saith: *Non custodiunt hoc tempore sponsam, sed perdunt: non custodiunt gregem Domini, sed mactant et devorant*[14]: "They keep not this day the spouse of God, that is, his church, but they destroy her: they keep not the flock, but they kill and devour." He that writeth *Para-*

Bernard. in Synod. Rem.

In ead. Synod.

[11] About, Conf. and Def. 1567, 1570.]

[12] Corp. Jur. Canon. Lugd. 1624. Decret. Gratian. Decr. Prim. Pars, Dist. xii. can. 1. Kubr. col. 41.]

[13] Bernard. Op. Par. 1690. In Concil. Rem. Serm. 6. Vol. II. Tom. v. col. 738.]

[14] ... non est custodire, sed perdere [sponsam]: ...non est pascere gregem Domini, sed mactare et devorare.—Id. ibid.]

Departing from the Church of Rome.

lipomena Urspergensis, in the story of the council of Constance, saith thus: *Spiritum extinguebant: prophetias*[1] *aspernabantur: Christum in membris suis persequebantur: eratque plane persequutrix ecclesia*[2]*:* "They oppressed the Spirit of God: they defied the voices of the prophets: they persecuted Christ in his members. And, indeed, the church was given to work persecution."

Paralip. Ursp. p. 396.

Æneas Sylvius, that afterward was pope Pius II., saith: *Refriguit caritas, et fides omnis interiit*[3]*:* "Charity is waxen cold, and all faith is dead."

Æn. Sylv. in Epist. ad Casp. Schlick. Paralip. Ursp. in Clem. V.

In the life of Pope Clemens V. it is written thus: *Hic...fuit publicus fornicator....Ab eo tempore defecit omnis disciplina et religio in cardinalibus, et tres radices vitiorum, superbia, avaritia, luxuria, validissime dominantur*[4]*:* "The pope was an open whoremaster. From that time forward all kind of discipline and religion decayed in the cardinals; and three roots of vices, pride, avarice, and lechery, mightily bare the sway."

In Concil. Trid. Anton. Marin.

Antonius Marinarius, at your late chapter at Trident, saith thus of the church of Rome: *Si evangelica fides nostræ vitæ regula esset, re ipsa Christiani essemus. Nunc titulo et ceremoniis vocamur Christiani*[5]*:* "If the faith of the gospel were a rule unto our life, then should we be Christians in very deed: as now, by titles and ceremonies, we bear only the name of Christians." To

Nic. Cusan. Excit. Lib. ix.

like purpose saith Nicolaus Cusanus, a cardinal of Rome: *Si recte respicimus, omnis religio christiana, paucis demptis, degeneravit in apparentiam*[6]*:* "If we mark it well, all our christian religion, a few excepted, is grown out of kind unto a shew[7]."

Concil. Trid. Epist. Bitont.

At the said[8] chapter the bishop of Bitonto said thus, as I have reported before: *Quibus...turpitudinum monstris, qua sordium colluvie, qua peste non sunt fœdati, non corrupti in ecclesia sancta,...et populus et sacerdos?...A sanctuario Dei incipite: si ullus*[9] *jam pudor, si ulla pudicitia, si ulla superest bene vivendi vel spes vel ratio*[10]*:* "With what monsters of filthiness, with what villany[11], with what pestilence be they not corrupted and defiled in the holy church (of Rome), as well the priest as the people? Begin even with the sanctuary of God, if there be any shame, if there be any regard of honesty, if there be any hope, or way to live well."

Fran. Zeph. in Apolog. Tertull.

Another saith: *O nos miseros qui Christiani dicimur! Gentes agimus sub nomine Christi*[12]*:* "Miserable are we that are called Christians. We live as

Arnulph. aut Bernard. in Concil. Rem.

heathens under the name of Christ." Another saith: *O lugenda Roma, quæ nostris majoribus clara patrum lumina protulisti; nostris temporibus monstrosas tenebras futuro seculo famosas offudisti*[13]*!* "O miserable Rome, which in the time of our elders hast brought forth the lights of worthy fathers; but in our days hast brought forth monstrous darkness, shameful and slanderous to

Petrarch. in Rythm. Ital. Schola di Errori: e Tempio de Eresia.

the time to come!" Petrarcha calleth Rome "a school of error, and a temple of heresy[14]."

Herm. Ridd.

Brigitta, whose words and prophecies ye have in reverence, saith in her revelations: *Christus sumet benedictionem a clero Romano, et dabit* [*eam*] *alteri genti facienti voluntatem Domini*[15]*:* "Christ shall take his blessing from the clergy of Rome, and shall give the same unto a people that shall do his will."

By these few we may conceive the whole state of the church of Rome,

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[1 Propheticas, 1570.]

[2 Rer. Mem. Paraleip. ad calc. Chronic. Abbat. Ursperg. Argent. 1537. p. 396; where *spiritus* and *membris ejus.*]

[3 Æn. Sylv. Op. Basil. 1551. Ad Casp. Schlick. Epist. liv. p. 539; where *omnis interiit fides.*]

[4 Rer. Mem. Paraleip. p. 367.]

[5 Si &c. ipsa (qui nunc titulo ac cæremoniis vocamur) Christiani essemus.—Anton. Marin. Conc. in Trident. Concil. in Concil. Stud. Labb. et Cossart. Lut. Par. 1671-2. Tom. XIV. col. 1038.]

[6 Nic. de Cusa Op. Basil. 1565. Excit. Lib. IX. Tom. II. p. 651; where *in apparentiam degeneravit.*]

[7 This sentence is not in 1567.]

[8 Same, 1567.]

[9 Ullas, 1611.]

[10 Corn. Epist. Bitont. Orat. in Concil. Stud. Labb. et Cossart. Tom. XIV. cols. 992, 3; where *si ulla supererat.*]

[11 Vileness, 1567.]

[12 The paraphrase of Zephyrus on the *Apologeticus* of Tertullian is printed in several editions of that father, *e.g.* in that of Franeker, 1597; but the words cited have not been found.]

[13 Arnulph. in Catalog. Test. Genev. 1608. col. 1560.]

[14 F. Petrarch. Op. Basil. 1581. Sonett. cviii. Tom. IV. p. 149. See Vol. III. page 345, note 12.]

[15 Herm. Ryd De Vit. et Honest. Cler. cap. vii. in Fasc. Rer. Expet. et Fug. Lond. 1690. Tom. II. p. 145.]

which only church, above all others, M. Harding telleth us, is so founded in the truth, that it never can[16] have power to be deceived.

Departing from the Church of Rome.

We have departed therefore from shepherds that spoiled the flock; from bishops that destroyed the church, that oppressed the Spirit of God, that defied the voice of the prophets, that persecuted Christ in his members, that both perished themselves and killed others, that wallowed in monsters of filthiness, that lived as heathens under the name of Christ, that were void of charity, void of faith, void of discipline, void of religion, that were Christians only in titles and ceremonies; from whom Christ had withdrawn his blessing: to be short, we have departed from the temple of heresy, and from the school of error.

This, M. Harding, is the beauty and face of your Roman clergy: this is that blessed company that we have forsaken.

Yet, say you, it had been better to have died than to have broken the unity of such a church. For your friends tell you that, without the obedience of the bishop of Rome, there is no hope of salvation[17]. Notwithstanding, your own Clemens, whom ye commonly call the apostles' fellow, saith thus: *Schisma efficit, non qui ab impiis secessionem facit, sed qui a piis*[18]: "He maketh no schism or division in the church that departeth from the wicked; but he that departeth from the godly." And therefore he addeth further: *Laici, cum iis qui contraria sententiæ Dei dogmata defendunt nolite societatem habere, neque participes illorum impietatis fieri. Ait enim Dominus, Recedite de medio horum hominum, ne cum eis pereatis*[19]: "Ye laymen, have ye no[20] fellowship with them, nor be you partakers of their wickedness, that defend doctrines contrary to the doctrine of God. For our Lord saith, 'Depart from the midst of this people, lest ye perish together with them.'"

De Major. et Obed. Unam Sanctam. Subesse Romano pontifici est de necessitate salutis. Clem. Apost. Const. Lib. vi. cap. iv.

Pope Pius II. saith: *Resistendum est quibuscunque in faciem, sive Paulus sive Petrus sit, qui ad veritatem non ambulat evangelii*[21]: "We must withstand any man unto the face, be it Peter, be it Paul, if he walk not after the truth of the gospel."

Æn. Sylv. ad Rect. et Univ. Col. Paralip. Ursp. p. 435.

St Augustine saith: *Ne catholicis [quidem] episcopis consentiendum est, sicubi forte falluntur, et contra canonicas... scripturas aliquid sentiant*[22]: "We may not agree, no, not with the catholic bishops, if they happen to be deceived, and think anything contrary to the canonical scriptures."

August. de Unit. Eccles. cap. x.

Therefore Cardinal Cusanus' advice, by the counsel at[23] St Gregory, whom he allegeth, is[24], "If vices have grown in the church through overmuch obedience towards the prelates, that we favour them not, but withstand them:" *Ut si qua vitia ex nimia obedientia exorta sint,... non foveantur... sed [eis] resistatur*[25]. In which words it is to be noted, that the people may yield too much obedience and reverence towards their prelates[26].

Nic. Cusan. de Concord. Lib. ii. cap. xxv.

St Chrysostom saith: *Ex ipsis veris ecclesiis frequenter exeunt seductores. Propterea nec ipsis omnino credendum est, nisi ea dicant vel faciant quæ convenientia sint scripturis*[27]: "Even out of the very true churches oftentimes there come deceivers. Therefore we may not in anywise believe, no not them (notwithstanding they be the true churches of God), unless they speak or do such things as be agreeable to the scriptures."

Chrysost. in Matt. Hom. 49.

Anselmus, a late writer, expounding these words of St Paul, *Tunc revelabitur ille iniquus*, saith thus: *Romanus pontifex, qui tenet nunc ecclesias, teneat*

Anselm. in 2 Thess. ii.

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[16] Can never, 1567.]

[17] Bonifac. VIII. in Corp. Jur. Canon. Lugd. 1624. Extrav. Comm. Lib. I. De Major. et Obed. cap. 1. col. 212. See Vol. I. p. 95, note 11.]

[18] Const. Apostol. Lib. VI. cap. iv. in Concil. Stud. Labb. et Cossart. Tom. I. col. 374. This is the rubric or heading of the chapter.]

[19] Ibid. col. 375.]

[20] Have no, 1567.]

[21] Rer. Mem. Paraleip. p. 435.]

[22] August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. Contr. Donat. Epist. cap. xi. 28. Tom. IX. col. 355 where *nec* for *ne*, and *ut* for *et*.]

[23] Possibly *of*: 1570 has *ad*.]

[24] That, 1570.]

[25] Nic. de Cusa Op. De Concord. Cathol. Lib. II. cap. xxv. Tom. II. p. 757; where *ex obedientia nimia exorta sunt*. Conf. Corp. Jur. Canon. Decret. Gratian. Decr. Sec. Pars, Caus. II. Quæst. vii. can. 57. col. 710.]

[26] This paragraph is not in 1567.]

[27] Chrysost. Op. Par. 1718-38. Op. Imperf. in Matt. Hom. xlix. ex cap. xxiv. Tom. VI. p. ccix; where *ecclesiis veris*.]

Departing from the Church of Rome.

illas, donec de medio fiat: id est, donec ab ipsa Romana ecclesia, quæ est medium et cor ecclesiarum, fiat iniquitas, ob quam ab ea multæ discedant ecclesiæ[1]: "Let the bishop of Rome, that now holdeth the churches, hold them still, until it be taken away from the midst: that is to say, until wickedness be wrought of the church of Rome, that is the midst and heart of churches; for which wickedness many churches shall depart from her."

Ambros. in Epist. ad Theod. et Valent.

St Ambrose saith: *Nullus pudor est ad meliora transire*[2]: "It is no shame to go to the better."

August. contr. Faust. Lib. xv. cap. iii.

St Augustine saith unto Faustus the heretic: *Ille me quondam de gremio tuo error excusserat. Expertus fugi, quod experiri non debui*[3]: "That error shook me once out of thy bosom. Being taught by proof, I have fled that thing that I should not have proved."

Ambros. Ansbert. in Apoc. Lib. ii. cap. ii.

Ambrosius Ansbertus, one of your own doctors, saith: *Per Hieremiam prophetam dicitur, Exite de medio ejus, populus meus, et salvet unusquisque animam suam ab ira furoris Domini. Nequaquam enim in hac vita de medio civitatis reprobæ, id est, de medio malorum, quos Babylon illa significat, electorum aliquis valet exire, nisi detestando quod ab ipsis agitur, et agendo quod ab ipsis detestatur*[4]: "The prophet Hieremy saith, O my people, go forth from the midst of them, and save every man his own soul from the rage of our Lord's fury. For none of the elect of God can in this life go forth from the midst of that wicked city, that is to say, from the midst of the evil, which that Babylon signifieth, but by defying that they do, and by doing that they defy."

Cypr. de Laps. Serm. 5.

And, whereas ye would so fain dazzle our eyes and cover your deformities with the name of the church, St Cyprian saith: *Non est pax... sed bellum; nec ecclesiæ jungitur qui ab evangelio separatur*[5]: "It is no peace, but war; neither is he joined to the church that is divided from the gospel."

Chrysost. ad Pop. Ant. Hom. 17.

St Chrysostom saith: *Mihi civitas non habens pios cives omni villa vilior est, et quacunque spelunca ignobilior*[6]: "A city that hath not godly citizens is unto me viler than any village, and more loathsome than any cave." And this he saith of the city of Antioch, which by express words he more esteemeth than the city of Rome.

We grant we have departed from you, upon such occasion, and in such sort, as Moses sometime departed from out of Egypt; or as St Augustine departed[7] from the Manichees. Howbeit, in very deed you have rather departed from out of us. Chrysostom saith: *Sic... de ista nova Hierusalem, id est, de ecclesia, qui spirituales Christiani fuerunt, relicta corporali ecclesia, quam perfidi occupaverant violentia, exierunt ab illis. Magis autem illi exierunt a nobis, sicut Johannes exponit. Non enim ille*[8] *de ecclesia exire videtur qui corporaliter exit, sed qui spiritualiter veritatis ecclesiasticæ fundamenta reliquit. Nos enim ab illis exivimus corpore; illi... a nobis animo. Nos* [*enim*] *ab illis exivimus loco; illi a nobis fide. Nos apud illos reliquimus fundamenta parietum; illi apud nos reliquerunt fundamenta scripturarum. Nos ab illis egressi sumus secundum aspectum hominum; illi autem a nobis secundum judicium Dei.... Relicta est autem... deserta, ex quo de illa corporali ecclesia spiritualis exivit; id est, de populo suo, qui videbatur christianus et non erat, populus iste exivit qui non videbatur et erat.... Magis autem, secundum quod diximus, illi a nobis exierunt quam nos ab illis*[9]: "Even so, touching this new Hierusalem, which is the church, they that were spiritual christian men, leaving the bodily church, which the wicked by violence had invaded, departed out from them; or, as St John expoundeth it, they rather departed out from us. For he seemeth not indeed to depart from the church, that bodily departeth; but he that spiritually leaveth the foundations of the ecclesiastical truth. We have

Chrysost. in Matt. Hom. 49.

[1 Anselm. Op. Col. Agrip. 1612. In Epist. II. ad Thessal. cap. ii. Tom. II. p. 342.]

[2 Ambros. Op. Par. 1686-90. Ad Valent. Epist. xviii. 7. Tom. II. col. 834.]

[3 August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. Contr. Faust. Lib. xv. cap. iii. Tom. VIII. col. 273.]

[4 Ambros. Ansbert. In Apoc. Libr. Decem, Col. 1536. Lib. II. p. 43; where *quod ab eis detestatur.*]

[5 Cypr. Op. Oxon. 1682. De Laps. pp. 128, 9.]

[6 Chrysost. Op. Par. 1718-38. Ad Pop. Ant. Hom. xvii. Tom. II. p. 176.]

[7 *Departed* is not in 1567.]

[8 Illi, 1609, 1611.]

[9 Chrysost. Op. Op. Imperf. in Matt. Hom. xlvi. ex cap. xxiv. Tom. VI. pp. 195, 7; where *fundamenta relinquit.*]

departed from them in body; they have departed from us in mind: we from them by place; they from us by faith. We have left with them the foundations of the walls: they have left with us the foundations of the scriptures. We are departed forth from them in the sight of man: they are departed from us in the judgment of God. But now, after that the spiritual church is gone forth, the bodily church is left forsaken; that is to say, from that people, that seemed to be a christian people and was not, this people is gone forth, that seemed not outwardly but was so indeed. Notwithstanding, as we have said before, they have rather departed from us, than we from them." The Church in few.

Ye say your church of Rome that now is and the primitive church is all one church. Even so the moon, both in the full and in the wane, is all one moon. Even so Hierusalem, as well under David as under Manasses, was all one city. The holy place, whether the majesty of God, or the abomination of desolation stand in it, is all one place. The primitive church, say you, and the church of Rome that now is, is all one church. Therefore we say, the church of Rome that now is, in truth and religion ought to agree with the primitive church.

Whether the church may be brought to a few number[10] or no, we had occasion somewhat to say before. The ancient father, Irenæus, saith: *Quemadmodum ibi in plurimis eorum qui peccaverunt non bene sensit Deus; sic et hic multi* [*sunt*] *vocati, pauci vero electi*[11]: "As, in the old testament, in many of them that offended God was not pleased; even so now, in the new testament, many are called, and few are chosen." Iren. Lib. iv. cap. xlvi. In consideration whereof St Hierome crieth out in an agony within himself: *Tanta erit sanctorum paucitas*[12]: "So small shall be the number of holy men." Hieron. in Isai. Lib. viii. cap. xxiv. One of your own doctors saith, as it is alleged once before: *Licet... in hoc bello dæmonum cadant religiosi principes, et milites, et prælati ecclesiastici, et subditi,... semper tamen manent aliqui, in quibus servatur veritas fidei et justificatio bonæ conscientiæ. Et si non nisi duo viri fideles remanerent in mundo, tamen in illis salvaretur ecclesia, quæ est unitas fidelium*[13]: "Notwithstanding, in this war of devils, both the godly princes, and soldiers, and ecclesiastical prelates, and subjects be overthrown, yet evermore there remain some in whom the truth of faith and the righteousness of good conscience is preserved. And notwithstanding there were but two faithful men remaining in the world, yet even in them the church of God, which is the unity of the faithful, should be saved." Fortal. Fid. Lib. v.

But, for that we say we were brought up among you in darkness and ignorance, ye enter out of season into a needless discourse of comparison of learning. In the liberal sciences (ye say) we are not comparable to the learned men of your side. It was not our meaning, M. Harding, to call the bright beams of your liberal learning into question. It appeareth ye would fain have it blazed and magnified to the uttermost, and no way to be disgraced. We meant only the knowledge of God, and the open profession of his holy word; in comparison of which knowledge all other knowledge whatsoever is mere darkness.

Howbeit, touching any kind of the liberal and learned sciences, there was no great cause why ye should either so highly rouse yourself in your own opinion, or so greatly disdain others. Ye may remember that your provincial Constitutions begin with these words, *Ignorantia sacerdotum*[14]. De Summ. Trin. Linwood.

It were no great mastery to charge the chief doctors of your side with some want of learning. Ludovicus Vives saith: *Ut quidque his superioribus seculis minus tritum fuit studentium manibus, ita purius ad nos pervenit*[15]: "For the space of certain hundred years past, the less any book came into (your Lud. Viv. de Caus. Corr. Art. Lib. v.

[10] Few in number, 1567, 1570, 1609.]

[11] Iren. Op. Par. 1710. Contr. Hær. Lib. iv. cap. xxvii. 4. p. 265; where *in pluribus*, and *hic vocati multi*.]

[12] Hieron. Op. Par. 1693-1706. Comm. Lib. viii. in Isai. Proph. cap. xxiv. Tom. III. col. 210.]

[13] Fortal. Fid. Nurm. 1494. Lib. v. Consid. iv. fol. 281. See before, page 724, note 7.]

[14] Lyndw. Provinc. Oxon. 1679. Lib. i. Tit. i. p. 1.]

[15] J. Lod. Viv. Op. Basil. 1555. De Caus. Corrupt. Art. Lib. v. Tom. I. p. 417.]

Comparison of Learning.

learned) students' hands, the purer and better it came to us:"—meaning thereby that every thing was the worse for your learned handling. Of Thomas, Scotus, Hugo, and others, of whom ye seem to make so great account, your own friend Catharinus saith: *Scholastici multa inerudite comminiscuntur*[1]: "These school-doctors imagine many matters unlearnedly." Erasmus saith: *Portenta quæ nunc passim legimus in commentariis recentium interpretum tam impudentia et insulsa sunt, ut videantur suibus* [*ea*] *scripsisse, non hominibus*[3]: "The monstrous follies that we commonly read in the commentaries of the late interpreters" (whereby he meaneth the very crop and the worthiest of all your scholastical learned doctors) "are so far without shame and so peevish, as if they had been written for swine, and not for men." One of your doctors saith: *Apostolus... dicitur ab apos, quod est argumentum vel præeminentia, et stolon, quod est missio; quasi præeminenter missus*[4]. Another saith: *Apocrisarii dicuntur nuntii Domini papæ... Nam crisis... dicitur secretum,* [*et apos dicitur nuntius*][5]. Another saith: *Cathedra est nomen Græcum, et componitur a cathos, quod est fides, et edra, quod est sponda.* Another saith: *Eleemosyna... dicitur ab eleis, quod est misereri, et mois, quod est aqua*[6]. Peter Crab, in his late scholies upon the councils, saith thus: [*Mulieres*] *συνεισάκτους, id est, cohabitantes sacculos*[7]; and so by his high learning, like a clerk, he turneth women into sacks[8]. Likewise again he saith: *Phrygium factum* [*est*] *ex pennis pavonum*[9]. Of your liberal learned clergy one saith thus: *Nec verba canonis intelligunt, nec quæ sint verba consecrationis sciunt*[10]: "They understand not the words of their canon[11]; neither know they which be the words of consecration." And therefore he that forged the rule of monks, under the name of St Hierome, chargeth them in anywise to pronounce every word distinctly and warily, lest by their foolish utterance they should make the angels to fall a-laughing[12].

Catharinus adversus Dominicum[2] a Soto.

Erasm. in Schol. in Hieron. ad Marcel.

Erasm. ad Arch. Tolet.

Extr. de Elect. et Elect. Pot. Signif. in Gloss.

Manip. Curat. p. 101.

Inter Decr. Felic. Pp. Conc. Tom. I. p. 168.

In Donat. Const.

Herm. Ridd.

Hieron. in Reg. Monach. Ne ad risum provocentur angelici spiritus.

These few may serve you for a taste. Hereby, M. Harding, it may appear your clergy hath no great cause to make such triumph of their learning. Howbeit, we upbraid you not herewith; nor was this the cause of our[13] departure. Ye hold both faith, and learning, and church, and religion, by inheritance. Christ hath once prayed for Peter; therefore your faith and learning can never fail. Yet, notwithstanding, your late books, freight with so many uncivil and vain speeches (for of your often untruths I will say nothing), savour more of choler and stomach[14] than of learning. St Hierome saith: *Doctrina viri per patientiam noscitur; quia tanto quisque minus ostenditur doctus, quanto convincitur minus patiens*[15]: "A man's learning is known by his patience. For, the less patient a man sheweth himself to be[16], the less he sheweth to be his learning." Therefore, M. Harding, your impatient demeanour and unkindly heats may call your learning into question[17].

Hieron. in Prov. Lib. ii. cap. xix.

Would God ye would humble your knowledge, and make it obedient to the knowledge of God! Otherwise that Peter said unto Simon Magus of his money, may likewise be said unto you of your knowledge: "Thy knowledge be with thee to thy destruction." Our learning is the cross of Christ: of other learning we make no vaunts. God is called the God of truth, and not of learning.

Acts viii.

1 Cor. ii.

1 Esdr. iv.

[1 Denique, cum me corripis, quod dixerim scholasticos plura inerudite, quoad voces, esse commentos, sicut vox ipsa, eruditio, sonat.—Ambros. Cath. Expurg. adv. Apolog. Dom. Soto, Lugd. 1551. p. 78.]

[2 Petrum, 1567.]

[3 Quid si legisset Hieronymus portenta &c. recentium theologorum, tam impudenter insulsa, ut videantur &c.—Hieron. Op. Basil. 1516. Erasm. Schol. in Epist. ad Marcell. Tom. IV. fol. 33. 2.]

[4 ...apostolos &c. quod notat argumentum, vel præeminentiam, et scolon quod &c.—Erasm. Epist. ad Arch. Tolet. præf. August. Op. Basil. 1543. Tom. I. fol. A 5.]

[5 Corp. Jur. Canon. Lugd. 1624. Decretal. Gregor. IX. Lib. I. Tit. vi. Gloss. in cap. 4. col. 110; where *apocrisiarii*.]

[6 Manip. Curat. Pars II. Tractat. iv. cap. ii. 3. fol. 116; where *elyos quod est miseria et moy*.]

[7 Concil. Antioch. ad Dionys. Pap. Epist. in Crabb. Concil. Col. Agrip. 1551. Tom. I. p. 168.]

[8 The clause from *sacculos* is not in 1567.]

[9 Edict. Constant. in eod. Tom. I. p. 227.]

[10 Herm. Ryd Tractat. de Vit. et Honest. Cler. cap. vii. in Fasc. Rer. Expet. et Fug. Lond. 1690. Tom. II. p. 142; where *intelligant nec quæ sunt*.]

[11 Canons, 1611.]

[12 Sic distincte alternatim psalmi lectionesque sacræ proferantur: ut...ad risum non provocentur &c.—Hieron. Op. Par. 1693-1706. Reg. Monachar. cap. xxxiii. Tom. V. col. 440. This is spurious.]

[13 Cause our, 1570.]

[14 1567 has not *and stomach*.]

[15 Id. Comm. Lib. II. in cap. xix. Proverb. Tom. V. col. 564. This commentary is also spurious.]

[16 These two words are not in 1567.]

[17 1567 has not this sentence.]

St Paul saith: "All kind of learning shall be abolished, and consumed to nothing[18]." God make us all "learned to the kingdom of heaven." 1 Cor. xiii. Matt. xiii.

THE APOLOGY, Chap. xiii. Division 1.

But wherefore, I pray you, have they themselves[19], the citizens and dwellers of Rome, removed and come down from those seven hills whereupon Rome sometime stood, to dwell rather in the plain called the field of Mars[20]? They will say, peradventure, because the conduits[21] of water, wherewithout men cannot commodiously live, have now failed, and are dried up in those hills. Well then, let them give us like leave in seeking the water of eternal life, that they[22] give themselves in seeking the water of the well. For that[23] water verily failed amongst them. "The elders of the Jews," saith Jeremy, "sent their little ones to the waterings; and they, finding no water, being in miserable[25] case, and utterly lost[26] for thirst, brought home again their vessels empty." "The needy and poor folk," saith Esay, "sought about for water, but nowhere found they any: their tongue was even withered for[27] thirst." Even so these men have broken in pieces all the pipes and conduits: they have stopped up all the springs, and choked up the fountain of living water with dirt and mire. And, as Caligula, many years past, locked up fast all the garners and[28] storehouses[29] of corn in Rome, and thereby brought a general dearth and famine amongst the people; even so these men, by damming up all the fountains of God's word, have brought the people into a pitiful thirst. They have brought into the world, as saith the prophet Amos, "a hunger and a thirst; not the hunger of bread, nor the thirst of water, but of hearing the word of God." With great distress went they scattering about, seeking some spark of heavenly light to refresh their consciences withal; but that light was already thoroughly quenched out, so that they could find none. This was a rueful state: this was a lamentable form of God's church. It was a misery to live therein, without the gospel, without light, and without all comfort.

Jer. xiv.[24] Isai. xli.[24] Amos viii.[24]

M. HARDING.

*Well and wittily reasoned forsooth.... No, no, sirs, if it were that wholesome water of eternal life which ye thirst after, *ye would never have departed from the high hill, the catholic church, and come down into the valleys, where ye find the dirty puddles of fleshly pleasures, where the devil Behemoth, as Job saith,* dormit in locis humentibus, *"sleepeth in moist places."... All were not starved for hunger and thirst of that water of God's word. Therefore ye speak both slanderously and ignorantly for divines, where ye say that we had broken in pieces all the pipes and conduits[30], that we had stopped up all the springs, and choked and dammed up all the fountains of living water with dirt and mire.*

*Untruth. For we are not departed from the catholic church.

Job xl.

... Yet unwares or ignorantly they call that faithless and pagan state "a lamentable form of God's church;" whereas they should have accounted it no church at all. For, where is no word of God, no light, no gospel at all, how can there be any church? Without these, any multitude is no more a church, than without Christ a

[18] These four words are not in 1567.]
[19] Themself, Conf.]
[20] Called Mars his field, Conf.]
[21] Conducts, Conf. and Def. 1567.]
[22] Then, 1611.]
[23] The, Conf.]
[24] These marginal references are not in Conf.]
[25] In a miserable, Conf.]
[26] Marred, Conf.]
[27] With, Conf. and Def. 1567.]
[28] Def. 1567 has not these two words.]
[29] Locked fast up all the storehouses, Conf.]
[30] Conducts, Conf.]

Departing from the Church of Rome.

man is a Christian, than a dead man is a man. And thus with malicious slandering, not with learned reasons, with their own affirmations, not with apt allegations, have they gone about to prove that these many hundred years the church hath erred. But, thanks be to God, all this wind shaketh no corn. When all these hasty blasts be blown over, the church of God shall stand still unmoved upon the rock Christ builded it on, and appear glorious in her stedfastness and truth, maugre the gainsaying of all heretics, and shall appear to them terrible as a strong army set in battle array[1]. Cant. vi.

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

Here, M. Harding, ye begin out of season to play with your allegories and mystical fantasies. Your catholic church of Rome, you say, is[2] the mount: worldly pleasure is the vale. By which comparison we must believe that the pope and his cardinals, sitting on high upon the mount, pass their time there only in fasting and prayer, and in all manner poverty, and penury, and straitness of life, and have utterly abandoned all worldly pleasures. Notwithstanding some have said: *In cardinalibus... superbia, avaritia, luxuria validissime dominantur*[3]: "In the cardinals of Rome pride, avarice, and lechery, are in their greatest courage." Howbeit, touching as well this, as other your like follies concerning the church, I will not say, ye keep your wont; but I must needs say, ye do but trifle.

Paralip. Ursperg. in Clem. V.

The Apology, Chap. xiii. Division 2.

Wherefore, though our departing were a trouble to them, yet ought they to consider withal how just cause we had of our departure.

M. HARDING.

Indeed our charity is such, as we confess it to be a grief unto us to see you play the part of rebellious children, to use presumption for submission, contempt for obedience, spite for love; yet, sith that ye are desperate and incorrigible, as by your departing from us the church felt some anguish and trouble, so now that ye are gone, it is relieved, as the body is eased when after a purgation it hath avoided evil humours[4]*... Now say your best.*

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

We are not gone from the church of God, M. Harding: we are gone only from you that have so unreverently abused the church. But ye feel good ease, ye say, and are well relieved by our departure, as (to use your homely comparisons) a sick body is relieved by a purgation. God of his mercy grant that ye may likewise be purged of all the rest of our brethren in other countries[5]. So shall ye feel more ease, and be better relieved.

Hieron. ad Fab. de 42 Mans. Mans. 1.

St Hierome saith: *Hebræi dicunt quod, [ea] nocte qua egressus est Israel ex Ægypto, omnia in Ægypto templa destructa sunt, sive terræ motu, sive ictu fulminum. Spiritualiter autem dicimus quod, egredientibus nobis ex Ægypto, errorum idola corruant, et omnis perversarum doctrinarum cultura quatiatur*[6]: "The rabbins or Hebrew doctors say that, the same night that Israel departed out of Egypt, all the idolatrous temples in Egypt were destroyed, either by earthquake or by lightning. But hereof we learn in a spiritual sense that, when we depart out of Egypt (that is to say, from the company of idolaters), the idols of error fall to the ground, and all the honour of false doctrine is shaken down." Such relief, M. Harding, we trust ye shall find by our departure.

[1 Raye, Conf. and Def. 1567, 1570.]

[2 Rome is, 1567.]

[3 Rer. Mem. Paraleip. ad calc. Chronic. Abbat. Ursperg. Argent. 1537. fol. 367.]

[4 Harding adds that there can be no just cause for leaving the catholic church.]

[5 These six words are not in 1567.]

[6 ...Hebræi autumant, quod &c. egressus est populus, omnia &c. sint, sive motu terræ, sive &c. autem discimus, quod &c. de Ægypto &c.—Hieron. Op. Par. 1693-1706. Ad Fabiol. Epist. de xlii. Mans. Prim. Mans. Tom. II. col. 588.]

Beda, expounding these words of the Apocalypse, "Come forth from her, my people, and be not partakers of her sins," saith thus: *Inducit discessionem, quæ est ruina Babylonis: cum enim Loth discesserit a Sodomis, [Sodomæ] funditus tollentur*[7]: "St John speaketh of the departure, which is the ruin and fall of Babylon. For, when Loth shall depart out of Sodom, then shall Sodom utterly be overthrown." Bed. in Apoc. Lib. iii. cap. xviii.

Again he saith: *Post hæc audivi... vocem,... Alleluia: laus, et gloria, et virtus Deo nostro. Hæc nunc ex parte dicit ecclesia. Tunc autem perfecte [dicet], cum discessio facta fuerit*[8]: "After this I heard a voice, Alleluia: praise, and glory, and power be to our God. This song the church in part singeth already: but then shall she in deed and perfectly[9] sing it, when departure shall be made" (from antichrist, or Babylon). Bed. in Apoc. Lib. iii. cap. xix.

The Apology, Chap. xiv. Division 1.

For if they say[10], it is in nowise lawful for one to leave the fellowship wherein he hath been brought up, they may as well in our names, and[11] upon our heads, likewise condemn the prophets[12], the apostles, and Christ himself. For why complain they not also of this, that Loth went quite his way out of Sodom, Abraham out of Chaldee, the Israelites out of Egypt, Christ from the Jews, and Paul from the Pharisees? For, except it be possible there may be a lawful cause of departing, we see no reason why Loth, Abraham, the Israelites, Christ, and Paul, may not be accused of sects and seditions[13] as well as others.

M. HARDING.

Yet bring ye nothing to the purpose. Your proofs be so weak, and hang so evil together, that we may well tell you (which Irenæus objected to heretics) that ye make a rope of sand. We say not, it is in nowise lawful for one to leave the fellowship wherein he hath been brought up; but, contrariwise, [a]*if the fellowship be naught and wicked, every one is bound to eschew it. "Depart from Babylon, my people, and be not ye partakers of her sins," saith the heavenly voice to St John.* [b]*Therefore the examples ye bring help nothing your cause.*

Rev. xviii.

[a] Thus much confessed is sufficient.

[b] A sudden conclusion.

Loth went out of Sodom, Abraham of Chaldea, the Israelites of Egypt, Paul from the Pharisees, by God's special warning. Where ye say, Christ went from the Jews, unless ye refer it to his stepping aside from them for a while, ye should rather have said, the Jews went from Christ. But whereto pertaineth this? Though ye were so malicious as to compare the catholic church to Sodom, to Chaldea, to Egypt, to the Jews and Pharisees; yet, I ween, ye are not so proud as [c]*to compare yourselves to Loth, to Abraham, to God's peculiar people, to Paul, to Christ himself. These departings we allow, and God required them: yours we blame, and God detesteth.*

[c] A vain folly. For a good man may follow Christ without presumptuous comparison.

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

We compare not ourselves, M. Harding, neither with Loth, nor with Abraham, nor with Paul; least of all with Christ himself. But we humbly submit ourselves, both in life and in doctrine, to be guided by their examples. And thus, I trust, we may lawfully do, without just note of presumption. St Chrysostom saith: *Data est tibi potestas divinitus imitandi Christum, ut possis illi similis fieri. Noli expavescere hoc audiens. Timendum enim tibi potius est, si similis illi fieri negligas*[14]: Chrysost. in Matt. Hom. 79.

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[7] Ven. Bed. Op. Col. Agrip. 1612. In Apoc. Lib. III. cap. xviii. Tom. V. col. 802; where *Babylonis ruina*, and *discesserit Loth*.]

[8] Id. ibid. cap. xix. col. 803.]

[9] Perfitely, 1567, 1570.]

[10] If they will say, Conf.]

[11] Or, Conf.]

[12] Heads condemn both the prophets, Conf.]

[13] Sedition, Conf.]

[14] Chrysost. Op. Par. 1718-38. In Matt. Hom. lxxviii. Tom. VII. p. 756.]

Example of Christ.

"Thou hast power given thee from God to follow Christ, that thou mayest be like unto him. Be thou not afraid to hear this thing. Thou hast more cause to fear, if thou refuse to be like unto him." Likewise saith the ancient father Origen: *Si quem imitari volumus, propositus est nobis Christus ad imitandum*[1]: "If we desire to follow any man, Christ is set before us, that we should follow him."

Orig. in Ezech. Hom. 7.

But, if it be so proud a part as you say[2], in religion and life to follow Christ, what is he then that claimeth to himself Christ's authority, and calleth himself even by the name of Christ?[3] Ye know who is well content to hear himself thus saluted: "Touching primacy, thou art Abel; touching government, thou art Noe; touching the[4] patriarchship, thou art Abraham; touching order, thou art Melchisedech; touching dignity, thou art Aaron; touching authority, thou art Moses; touching judgment, thou art Samuel; touching power, thou art Peter; touching anointing, thou art Christ[5]." These words, I trow, M. Harding, may somewhat seem to savour of pride. Your pope is well contented to take the name, not only of Peter, but also of Christ[6].

Bernard. de Consid. Lib. ii.

THE APOLOGY, Chap. xiv. Division 2.

And, if these men will needs condemn us for heretics, because we do not all things at their commandment, whom (in God's name) or what kind of men ought they themselves to be taken for, which despise the commandment of Christ, and of the apostles?

M. HARDING.

*Our frailty concerning life we accuse and lament, and commend ourselves to God's infinite mercy. Touching belief and necessary doctrine of faith, rail ye at us never so much, we neither despise the *commandments of Christ, nor the *traditions of the apostles.....*

* Untruths, notorious and manifest unto the world.

THE APOLOGY, Chap. xiv. Division 3.

If we be schismatics because we have left them, by what name then shall[7] they be called themselves, which have forsaken the Greeks, from whom they first received their faith, forsaken the primitive church, forsaken Christ himself, and the apostles, even as if children[8] should forsake their[9] parents?

M. HARDING.

*Whosoever depart from the catholic church, they be schismatics: ye have departed from the catholic church of *these nine hundred years;* ergo, *ye be schismatics. The first proposition ye will not deny; the second yourselves confess: the conclusion then must needs be true. If we say the same, blame us not. Neither say we that only, but also that ye are heretics: whereby the measure of your iniquity is increased. The same crime ye would impute unto us, if ye wist how. If ye have no more to lay to our charge, but that we have forsaken the Greeks, ye shall not be offended with the world, if it give us the title, name,*

* Here M. Harding freely yieldeth us the first six hundred and three-score years, that is to say, the whole time of the apostles and holy fathers of the church.

[1 ...si volumus imitari quempiam, propositus est nobis ad imitandum Christus Jesus.—Orig. Op. Par. 1733-59. In Ezech. Hom. vii. 3. Tom. III. p. 382.]

[2 These three words are not in 1567.]

[3 Here 1567 introduces the following sentences: *You know of whom it is written,* Papa potest quicquid Christus ipse potest. *The pope can do whatsoever Christ himself can do*—with the marginal reference: Extra de Translat. Episcopi, Quanto Hostien.]

[4 *The* is not in 1567.]

[5 Bernard. Op. Par. 1690. De Consid. Lib. II. cap. viii. 15. Vol. I. Tom. II. col. 422. See before, page 745, note 21.]

[6 This sentence is not in 1567.]

[7 Name shall, Conf.]

[8 As children, Conf.]

[9 The, Conf.]

and estimation of catholics, as heretofore. For (remember yourselves) we have not forsaken the Greeks; but the Greeks in some points have forsaken us. By the name of "us" always I understand the catholic church, even the holy Roman church, whose faith we profess, and with whom we communicate.

The Faith brought to Rome out of Græcia.

[b]*And how standeth it with your learning, that we received the faith first from the Greeks? For, where ye say we have forsaken the primitive church, yea, Christ himself, and the apostles, ye have told us this so often, that now we take them to be but words of course, and a common blast of your railing spirit. The Roman church received the faith from Jerusalem,* [c]*and not from Greece, as the rest of the world did, according to the prophecy,* De Sion exibit lex, &c.... *As for the land of Britain, our native country, if the faith were first brought hither by Joseph of Arimathæa and his fellows, as by old tradition we are told,* [d]*then was the church here first planted by faithful Jews, and not by Greeks.... This being true, we marvel what ye mean to charge us with forsaking the Greeks, specially where ye say, we first received the faith from them: which is no truer than that we received our English language from them.*

Isai. ii.

[b] Read the answer.

[c] Untruth, as shall soon appear.

[d] Certainly we received not our faith first from the church of Rome.

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

It were no shame for you, M. Harding, to confess that the church of Rome first received her faith from the churches of Græcia. Neither are they so utterly void of learning that have said the same. Rather I marvel what learning can lead you so unlearnedly to say[10] the contrary. St Augustine saith: *Terra Græcorum, unde ubique destinata est fides*[11]: "The land of Græcia, from whence the faith into all places was sent abroad." Again he saith: *Radix orientalium ecclesiarum,... unde evangelium in Africam venit*[12]: "The root of the east churches, from whence the gospel came into Africa." St Chrysostom saith unto the people of Antioch: *Christianorum nomen, velut ex quodam fonte hinc incipiens, omnem mundum inundavit*[13]: "The name of Christians beginning first from this city of Antioch, as from a spring, hath flowed over the whole world." The bishops of the east wrote thus unto Julius the bishop of Rome: *Ad ecclesiam Romanam ab oriente prædicatores dogmatis advenerunt*[14]: "The preachers of christian doctrine came from the east to the church of Rome." Likewise St Basil saith: "The gospel of the kingdom, springing up first in the church of Græcia, was from thence published abroad into all the world[15]." Eusebius saith: *Lucis virtus et sacræ religionis lex, beneficio Dei, quasi e sinu orientis profecta, cunctum simul orbem sacro jubare illustravit*[16]: "The power of the light and the law of holy religion, by God's benefit, springing out as it were from the bosom of the east, hath shined over the whole world together with a blessed beam." The emperor Justinian saith: [*Constantinopolis*] *religionis et fidei mater perpetua*[17]: "Constantinople is the everlasting mother of faith and religion." And likewise again: *Sacrosancta Constantinopolitanæ civitatis ecclesia, mater pietatis nostræ, et Christianorum orthodoxæ religionis omnium*[18]: "The most holy church of the city of Constantinople, the mother of our holiness, and the mother of all Christians of the catholic faith."

August. Epist. 178.

August. Epist. 170.

Chrysost. ad Pop. Ant. Hom. 14.

Tripart Hist. Lib. iv. cap. xvi. Sozom. Lib. iii. cap. viii. εἰ καὶ ἐκ τῆς ἕω ἐνε- δήμησαν αὐτὸ οἱ τοῦ δόγ- ματος εἰσ- ηγηταί.

Basil. in Epist. ad Episc. per Ital. et Gal.

Euseb. de Vit. Const. Orat. 2.

Cod. de Sac. Eccles. L. Jubem. §. Scient.

Cod. in eod. Tit. L. Decern.

In like sort, the church of Constantinople, even until this day, intituleth itself, Ἡ ... Κωνσταντινουπόλεως ἐκκλησία, ἡ μήτηρ πάντων τῶν ὀρθοδόξων καὶ διδάσκαλος[19]: "The church of Constantinople, the mother and mistress of all that be catholic."

Epist. Eccles. Constant. ad Eccles. Prag.

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[10] Lead you to say, 1567.]

[11] August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. Altercum Pascent. seu Epist. xx. 15. Tom. II. Append. col. 44. This is spurious.]

[12] Id. ad Sever. Epist. lii. Tom. II. col. 119; where *radice*.]

[13] Chrysost. Op. Par. 1718-38. Ad Pop. Ant. Hom. xiv. Tom. II. p. 151.]

[14] Hist. Tripart. Par. Lib. iv. cap. xvi. fol. F. 6, Conf. Soz. in Hist. Eccles. Script. Amst. 1695-1700. Lib. iii. cap. viii. p. 414; where αὐτῇ οἱ.]

[15 ...ἐπειδὴ τὸ εὐαγγέλιον τῆς βασιλείας ἀπὸ τῶν ἡμετέρων τόπων ἀρξάμενον εἰς πᾶσαν ἐξῆλθε τὴν οἰκουμένην.—Basil. Op. Par. 1721-30. Ad Episc. Ital. et Gall. Epist. ccxliii. 3. Tom. III. p. 374.]

[16 Euseb. De Vit. Constant. in Hist. Eccles. Script. Lib. ii. cap. lxvii. p. 390.]

[17 Leo et Anthem. in Corp. Jur. Civil. Amst. 1663. Cod. Lib. i. Tit. ii. 14. Tom. II. p. 7.]

[18 Sacrosanctam quoque hujus religiosissimæ civitatis ecclesiam, et matrem nostræ pietatis, et Christianorum &c.—Ibid. 16. p. 8.]

[19 Constant. Eccles. ad Bohem. Epist. in S. Le Moyne Var. Sacr. Lugd. Bat. 1685. Tom. I. p. 294.]

The Greek Church.

To be short, if ye will not believe any of these, yet at least ye may believe your own fellows. The bishop of Bitonto, in your late chapter at Trident, uttered these words, as it may well appear, with lusty courage: *Eja igitur Græcia mater nostra, cui id totum debet quod habet Latina ecclesia*[1]: "O therefore our mother Græcia, unto whom the Latin church, or the church of Rome, is beholden for all that ever she hath."

Concil. Trid. Orat. Episc. Bitont.

These things, M. Harding, being true, we marvel what should move you to deny that ye first received the faith from the church of Græcia. Touching the matter itself, it is written thus in your own councils: *Si Græci per quandam scissuram dividuntur a Latinis, ita Latini a Græcis. Et ideo videtur quod, si Græci debent dici schismatici propter hujusmodi divisionem, eadem ratione et Latini: præterea, Græci magis servant antiquas consuetudines apostolorum et discipulorum Christi in barbis, &c.*[2]: "If the Greeks by a certain division be sundered from the Latins, even so be the Latins sundered from the Greeks. And therefore it seemeth, if the Greeks in respect of this division ought to be called schismatics, that then the Latins also ought so to be called in like case. Furthermore, the Greeks do more duly keep the old customs of the apostles, and of Christ's disciples, touching beards, &c. than do the Latins."

In Op. Trip. Lib. ii. cap. i. in II. Tom. Concil.

THE APOLOGY, Chap. xv. Division 1.

For though those Greeks, who this[3] day profess religion and the name of Christ[4], have many things corrupted amongst them, yet hold they still a great number of those things which they received from the apostles. They have neither private masses, nor[5] mangled sacraments, nor purgatories, nor pardons. And as for the titles of high bishops, and those glorious names, they esteem them so as, whosoever he were that would take upon him the same, and would be called either universal bishop, or the head of the universal church, they make no doubt to call such a one both a passing proud man, and[6] a man that worketh despite against all the other bishops his brethren, and a plain heretic.

M. HARDING.

[a] Untruth, as it shall plainly appear.

[b] Untruth, as large as manifest.

[c] Untruth. For the Grecians never received these fantasies of purgatory.

O so merrily this man playeth with his fancy!

As ye have oftentimes belied us, [a]so now ye belie the poor Greeks. So little are ye able to say somewhat, and therein to say truth. For they have mass commonly without company to communicate with the priest, which ye call private mass. So [b]it is[7] all Greece over, so is it in Asia, in Syria, in Assyria, in Armenia, and wheresoever the religion of Christ is professed; as among the Greeks in Venice I myself, and divers of our countrymen, have seen it commonly practised. Likewise pray they all for the dead, and think them to be relieved by the prayers, oblations, alms[8]*, and deeds of charity done for them by the living: which mind and opinion implieth the*[9] *faith [c]which the church holdeth of purgatory.*

"But though (say ye) those Greeks have many things corrupted, yet hold they still a great number of those things which they received of the apostles." And wilt thou know, reader, what they be? Forsooth, "they have neither private masses, nor mangled sacraments, nor purgatories, nor pardons." Is not the wit of this defender to be commended, that maketh a man to hold that which he hath not? Those Greeks "hold still," saith he. What hold they? Marry they have not this and that. This is a new kind of holding, for a man to hold that he

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[1 Orat. Episc. Bitont. ad Gen. Trident. Synod. in Crabb. Concil. Col. Agrip. 1551. Tom. III. p. 982.]

[2 Opusc. Tripart. Lib. II. cap. x. in eod. Tom. II. p. 992; where *sicut autem Græci.*]

[3 Who at this, Conf.]

[4 And Christ's name, Conf.]

[5 No, Conf.]

[6 *And* is not in Conf.]

[7 Is it, Conf. and Def. 1567, 1570.]

[8 Almose, Conf. and Def. 1567, 1570.]

[9 That, Conf. and Def. 1567, 1570, 1609.]

hath not. If they hold still, then have they still. But they have not, saith he. Then how hold they? A man may by the rules of this new logic thus reason: The Turks, Saracens, Jews, infidels, idolaters, yea, the sheep of Cotswold[10] *also, if ye will, have neither private masses, nor communion under one kind, nor purgatories, nor pardons;* ergo, *they hold a number of things which they received from the apostles. The antecedent is true. Whosoever denieth the consequent must count this defender's logic very simple. What if one should make this argument: This defender hath neither good logic, nor very fine rhetoric, nor profound philosophy, nor the right knowledge of divinity;* ergo, *he holdeth many heresies? Though both the antecedent and consequent be true, yet is the argument naught: for by like reason one*[11] *might conclude an honest unlearned catholic man to be an heretic; which were false and injurious. Such is the logic, such are the topics of this new negative and ablative divinity: for so may we worthily call it negative, in respect of their blasphemous tongues, denying sundry weighty points of our faith; ablative, in respect of their wicked hands, casting away, throwing down, and taking away many good things pertaining to the maintenance of christian religion and God's honour. Put them from their negatives and from their ablatives; then in what case shall they stand?*

The Greek Church.

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

I am ashamed the world should be cumbered with so childish follies. "The[12] defender's wit (ye say) is to be commended: he maketh a man to hold that he never had. And what hold they? (say you). Marry they have not this and that. This is a new kind of holding, for a man to hold that he hath not. If they hold still, then have they still. But they have not: then how hold they?" Now surely, M. Harding, I trow we shall have and hold a merry man. So pretty sport ye can make yourself with having and holding. It were great pity ye should ever be otherwise occupied. Annibal of Carthage, when he had heard Phormio the orator talk pleasantly a long while together, being afterward demanded what he thought of his eloquence, made answer in this[13] homely sort: *Multos se vidisse deliros senes; sed qui magis quam Phormio deliraret vidisse neminem*[14]. Cic. de Orat. II.

But, somewhat to yield unto your pleasance, why may not a man hold that he never had, as well as lose that he never had? In the learned glosses upon your decrees ye may find this note amongst others: *Nota, quod aliquis dicitur perdere quod nunquam habuit*[15]: "Mark well this: A man may be said to lose that he never had." Dist. 17. Concil. in Gloss. And yet ye say commonly in the schools: *Privatio semper præsupponit habitum:* "The losing of a thing always presupposeth the having of the same." Or, to answer you in plainer wise, why may not a man as well hold nothing, as you may talk so much, and yet say[16] nothing? Galen said sometime to one that spake then in such substantial manner as you speak now, *Accipe nihil, et tene fideliter*[17]: "Take nothing, and keep it safely, and hold it fast[18]." Galenus.

But to leave your follies and silly toys, M. Harding, with your Turks and Saracens, and sheep of Cotswold[19]; we say not, the Greeks hold still that they never had; but we say, they hold still that they ever had. Your private masses, and your dimi-communions, they hold not; for they had them never. The holy and whole communion in both kinds they hold still; and sithence the apostles' time they have had them ever.

"They pray also for the dead;" and therein (ye say) is implied your faith of purgatory. I will not here touch the simplicity of your rhetoric or logic, M. Harding, but only wish you to have better regard to your divinity. For ought

[10] Cotteshold, Conf. and Def. 1567, 1570.]
[11] On, 1611.]
[12] This, 1567, 1570, 1609.]
[13] His, 1567, 1570.]
[14] Cic. De Orat. II. cap. xviii.; where *deliros senes sæpe vidisse.*]
[15] Corp. Jur. Canon. Lugd. 1624. Decret. Gratian. Decr. Prim. Pars, Dist. xvii. Gloss. in can. 6. col. 71.]
[16] Said, 1609, 1611.]
[17] Nihil cape, serva bene...Janus Cornarus ait hoc a Galeno fuisse usurpatum.—Epit. Adag. Erasm. &c. 1593. Append. p. 909.]
[18] Take nothing and hold it fast, 1567.]
[19] Coteshold, 1567, 1570.]

The Greek Church.

that I can see, prayer for the dead, and your fantasy of purgatory, were never so straitly coupled together, but that they might well and easily go asunder. The Grecians, as they pray for the dead, so do they pray for the apostles, for the patriarchs, for the prophets, and for the blessed virgin our lady; as you may soon perceive by St Basil's and by St Chrysostom's liturgy[1]. Yet I think ye would not have your reader believe, as an article of your faith, that the apostles of Christ, the patriarchs, the prophets, and the blessed virgin Christ's mother, are still in purgatory. Whatsoever other opinion the Grecians have of the dead, certain it is they could never yet be brought to believe your purgatory.

Liturg. Basil. Liturg. Chrysost.

Roffensis, one of your greatest doctors, as I have said before, saith thus: *Purgatorium Græcis usque ad hunc diem non est creditum*[2]: "The Grecians until this day believe not purgatory." Thus, M. Harding, I know not whether by your logic or by your divinity (for both are marvellous) ye would fain force your poor Greeks to hold that thing that they never had.

Polyd. de Invent. Lib. viii. cap. i.

Another proper pastime ye make yourself with your negatives and ablatives. And wherefore, it were hard to tell, saving that I see ye were well disposed, and well it became you to be merry. The ancient learned fathers, having to deal with impudent heretics, that in defence of their errors avouched the judgment of all the old bishops and doctors that had been before them, and the general consent of the primitive and whole universal church, and that with as good regard of truth, and as faithfully, as you do now, the better to discover the shameless boldness and nakedness of their doctrine, were oftentimes likewise forced to use the negative, and so to drive the same heretics, as we do you, to prove their affirmatives; which thing to do it was never possible. The ancient father Irenæus thus stayed himself, as we do, by the negative: *Hoc neque prophetæ prædicaverunt, neque Dominus docuit, neque apostoli tradiderunt*[3]: "This thing neither did the prophets publish, nor our Lord teach, nor the apostles deliver." By a like negative Chrysostom saith: *Hanc arborem non Paulus plantavit, non Apollo rigavit, non Deus auxit*[4]: "This tree (of error) neither Paul planted, nor Apollo watered, nor God increased." In like sort Leo saith: *Quid... opus est in cor admittere quod lex non docuit, quod prophetia non cecinit, quod evangelii veritas non prædicavit, quod apostolica doctrina non tradidit*[5]? "What needeth it to believe that thing that neither the law hath taught, nor the prophets have spoken, nor the gospel hath preached, nor the apostles have delivered?" And again: *Quomodo... nova inducuntur, quæ nunquam nostri censere majores*[6]? "How are these new devices brought in that our fathers never knew?"

Iren. Lib. I. cap. i.

Chrysost. de Incomp. Dei Nat. Hom. 3.

Leo. Epist. 93. cap. 12.

Leo. Epist. 97. cap. 3.7

St Augustine, having reckoned up a great number of the bishops of Rome, by a general negative saith thus: *In hoc ordine successionis nullus Donatista episcopus invenitur*[8]: "In all this order of succession of bishops there is not one bishop found that was a Donatist." St Gregory, being himself a bishop of Rome, and writing against the title of universal bishop, saith thus: *Nemo... decessorum meorum hoc tam prophano vocabulo uti consensit*[9]: *Nullus* [*Romanorum pontificum*] *... hoc singularitatis nomen assumpsit*[10]: "None of all my predecessors ever consented to use this ungodly title: No bishop of Rome ever took upon him this name of singularity." By such negatives, M. Harding, we reprove the vanity and novelty of your religion. We tell you, none of the ancient catholic learned fathers, either Greek or Latin, ever used either your private mass, or your half com-

August. Epist. 165.

Gregor. Lib. iv. Epist. 76. & 80.

[1 Chrysost. Miss. in Biblioth. Gr.-Lat. Vet. Patr. Par. 1624. Tom. II. p. 80. Conf. Basil. Miss. ibid. pp. 52, 3.]

[2 Polyd. Verg. De Rer. Invent. Amst. 1671. Lib. VIII. cap. i. p. 476. See Vol. III. page 568, note 10.]

[3 Iren. Op. Par. 1710. Contr. Hær. Lib. i. cap. viii. pp. 35, 6.]

[4 Chrysost. Op. Par. 1718-38. De Incompr. Dei Nat. Hom. iii. Tom. I. p. 463.]

[5 Leon. Magni Op. Lut. 1623. Ad Turrib. Episc. Epist. xciii. cap. xii. col. 487.]

[6 Id. ad Leon. August. Epist. xcvii. cap. v. col. 505. But this is a quotation from Ambrose. Conf. Ambros. Op. Par. 1686-90. Lib. de Incarn. Dom. Sacram. cap. vi. 52. Tom. II. col. 715.]

[7 The latter part of this reference is added from 1567, 1570.]

[8 August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. Ad Generos. et Fort. Epist. liii. cap. i. 2. Tom. II. col. 121.]

[9 Gregor. Magni Papæ I. Op. Par. 1705. Epist. Lib. v. Indict. XIII. Ad Eulog. et Anastas. Episc. Epist. xliii. Tom. II. col. 771. See Vol. I. page 346, note 2.]

[10 Id. ibid. Ad Mauric. August. Epist. xx. col. 749. See Vol. I. page 346, note 1.]

munion, or your barbarous unknown prayers. Paul never planted them: Apollo never watered them: God never increased them. They are of yourselves; they are not of God[11]. Private Mass in the Greek Church.

These and other like negatives the holy fathers in old times might safely use without controlment; for that there was no doctor of Louvain as yet upstart to carp and quarrel at their divinity. Leave this childish and unsavoury sporting and trifling with your negatives, M. Harding. It were a great deal more seemly for a man of learning and gravity, and more to your purpose, to prove your affirmatives.

They have private mass (ye say) "in all Græcia, Asia, Syria, Assyria, Armenia, and wheresoever the religion of Christ is professed." All this we must needs believe upon your word; for other proof ye offer to make none. Notwithstanding, if they have such private masses in all those countries, tell us, I beseech you, who were the authors and makers of these masses? Ye will say, St James, St Chrysostom, or St Basil: for of these[12] names and masses ye have told us many a tale. Yet, if ye consider the matter well, ye shall find that these self-same masses were our communions, and nothing like to your masses; and that the holy sacraments at the same, contrary to your new devices, were delivered generally in both kinds to all the people.

St James in his mass saith thus: *Diaconi tollunt discos et calices ad impertiendum populo*[13]: "The deacons take up the dishes and the cups, to minister the sacrament unto the people." Liturg. Jacob.

St Chrysostom in his mass saith thus: *Post mysteria feruntur ad locum, ubi populus debet communicare*[14]: "Afterward the holy mysteries or sacraments be brought unto the place where the people must receive together." Liturg. Chrysost.

St Basil in his mass saith thus: *Nos omnes de uno pane et de uno calice participantes, &c. Cantores cantant communionem; et sic communicant omnes*[15]: "All we receiving of one bread, and one cup, &c. The quire singeth the communion; and so they communicate all together." Therefore, M. Harding, ye must needs confess, either that the Grecians this day use none of these masses, or that their masses are not your masses, but our communions; which both are contrary to yourself. Liturg. Basil.

In the Armenians' liturgy it is written thus: *Qui non sunt digni communicare hanc oblationem Dei, exeant foras ante fores ecclesiæ, et ibi orent*[16]: "They that are not worthy to receive this oblation of God, let them go forth before the church-door, and there let them pray." Georg Cass. in Liturg.

Of the Grecians' order in this behalf your great and special doctor, cardinal Bessarion, being himself a Greek born, saith thus: *Hoc...ipse ordo rerum poscebat; primum, consecrare; deinde, frangere; postea, distribuere; quod nos in præsenti facimus*[17]: "This the very order of the things required: first, that we should consecrate or bless the bread; next, that we should break it; last of all, that we should divide it (or deliver it to the people): which thing we (Grecians) do at this present day." Thus you see, M. Harding, that the Grecians this day consecrate, break, and divide the sacrament unto the people as we do. They receive it not privately to themselves alone, the people standing by, and gazing on them, as you do[18]. Therefore it is untrue that you say, they have this day your private mass. Bessar. de Sacram. Euch. Circ. Ann. Dom. 1450.

Touching the Grecians that live now in Venice, what order they use there, I cannot tell. Notwithstanding, as I have heard say, private mass they have not. But if they have, living under the pope's jurisdiction, it is no marvel. Certain it is that Venice is no part of Græcia.

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[11] The sentences from *singularity* are not in 1567.—The whole of the passage commencing line 18 of the preceding page, *The ancient learned fathers*, to this point, is quoted and remarked on by Hooker, Eccles. Pol. Book II. 6; where he also cites a passage from the "Reply," Art. I. Div. xxix. See Vol. I. page 175].

[12] For these, 1570.]

[13] S. Jacob. Div. Miss. in Biblioth. Gr.-Lat. Vet. Patr. Tom. II. p. 21.]

[14] Chrysost. Miss. ibid. pp. 85, 6. Conf. Vol. I. page 116, note 3.]

[15] Basil. Miss. ibid. pp. 52, 7, 8. Conf. Vol. I. page 194, note 8.]

[16] Cassand. Op. Par. 1616. Liturg. cap. xxvi. p. 57.]

[17] Bessar. De Sacram. Euchar. in Biblioth. Patr. per M. De la Bigne, Par. 1624. Tom. VI. col. 484. See Vol. I. page 126, note 1.]

[18] This sentence is not in 1567.]

Matt. Illyr. in Test. Verit. p. 5.

Matthias Illyricus, being himself born in Dalmatia, not far from the confines or borders of Græcia, and therefore, as it may be thought, the better acquainted with their orders, saith thus: *Ecclesia Græca, eique conjunctæ, Asiatica, Macedonica, Mysica, Valachica, Rutenica, ... Moschovitica, ... et Africana, id est, totus mundus, vel certe ... ejus maxima pars, nunquam primatum papæ communi consensu concesserunt, nunquam purgatorium probaverunt, nunquam privatas missas, ... nunquam communionem sub una specie*[1]: "The church of Græcia, and the churches of Asia, Macedonia, Mysia, Valachia, Russia, Moschovia, and Africa, joined thereunto, that is to say, in a manner the whole world, or at least the greatest part thereof, never granted the pope his supremacy; never allowed either purgatory, or private masses, or the communion under one kind."

Concil. Ferrar. in Procem.

In the proeme or entry of the council of Ferraria it is written thus: *Proxima ... Dominica quindecim Græci sacerdotes domi imperatoris jussu ejus missam solenniter celebrarunt; ubi etiam marchio cum suis civibus adfuit, et panem benedictum per patriarchæ dextram, more Græcorum, accepit atque libavit*[2]: "The next Sunday fifteen Greek priests, within the emperor's palace, by his commandment, said a solemn mass (or communion), where as the marquis was present with his citizens, and, as the manner of the Grecians is, received and tasted the bread consecrate at the hand of the patriarch." Here it is to be noted by the way, that these fifteen priests said not fifteen several masses, as the manner is in the church of Rome[3], but all together one only mass; and that the same one mass was no private ministration, but a communion. Wherefore[4] Petrus Urbevetanus saith thus: *Tum ad instar Græcorum non cantabatur in una ecclesia, nisi forsan una missa*[5]: "Then there was sung in one church no more saving perchance one only mass, as the manner of the Grecians is."

Pet. Urb. in Vit. Deusdedit Pap.

Durand. in Rat. Lib. iv.

Likewise saith Durandus: *Offerebant ... magnum panem et omnibus sufficientem; quod adhuc Græci servare dicuntur*[6]: "They offered up one great loaf that might suffice all the church; which order they say the Grecians keep until this day."

By these few, I trust, M. Harding, it may soon appear whether of us have belied your poor Grecians.

THE APOLOGY, Chap. xv. Division 2.

Now then, since it is manifest, and out of all peradventure, that these men are fallen from the Greeks, of whom they received the gospel, of whom they received the faith, the true religion, and their church itself; what[7] is the matter why they will not now be called home again to the same men, as it were to their originals and first founders? And why be they afraid to take a pattern of the apostles' and old fathers' times, as though they all had been void of understanding? Do these men, ween ye, see more, or set more by the church of God, than they did who first delivered us these things?

M. HARDING.

Soft and fair, Sir Defender; you have not yet proved that you say "is manifest and out of all peradventure." Remember you not the old homely verse of your sophistry: Neque negativis recte concludere sivis: ... *Speak to the purpose, or else I would you would make an end of your filly-follies*[8]. *For indeed you trifle and say nothing worth to be answered. And here little cause do you*

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[1] Catalog. Test. Franc. 1672. N. 4. pp. 7, 8; where *Mœsica, maxima ejus, papæ primatum,* and *probarunt.*]

[2] Concil. Ferrar. in Crabb. Concil. Col. Agrip. 1551. Tom. III. p. 374.]

[3] The preceding nine words are not in 1567.]

[4] Whereof, 1567, 1570.]

[5] Bonæ Op. Venet. 1764. Rer. Liturg. Lib. I. cap. xiv. 4. p. 206. See Vol. II. page 635, note 9.]

[6] Durand. Rat. Div. Offic. Venet. 1568. Lib. IV. cap. liii. 3. fol. 132. 2.]

[7] And the church what, Conf.]

[8] Silly follies, 1611.]

minister unto me to utter substantial stuff: which I desire the discreet reader to consider, for mine excuse, that with a trifler I do also but trifle....

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

Here, M. Harding, by your own confession, ye do but trifle with your "filly-follies;" for that, I trow, your substantial and better stuff was not ready[9].

THE APOLOGY, Chap. xv. Division 3.

Indeed, we have[10] renounced that church, wherein we could neither have the word of God sincerely taught, nor the sacraments rightly administered, nor the name of God duly called upon: which church also themselves confess to be faulty in many points; and wherein was nothing able to stay any wise man, or one that hath consideration of his own safety.

M. HARDING.

...And why have ye renounced this church, but for that ye might not be suffered to set forth, to the loss of christian souls, the detestable heresies of Wicliffe, Luther, Zuinglius, Calvin, and other your false masters, which ye call your sincere word of God,... after your schismatical and heretical manner?... That ye say, there was nothing in the catholic church "able to stay any wise man, or any that hath consideration of his safety," it is one of your impudent lies.

There were both wise men in the church, and great multitudes of such as had good regard of their souls'[11] *health, always before the devil had such a hand upon Luther, and the rest of your new apostles and apostates.*

THE APOLOGY, Chap. xv. Division 4.

To conclude, we have forsaken the church as it is now, not as it was in old times past, and[12] have so gone from it, as Daniel went out of the lions' den, and the three children out of the furnace; and, to say the truth[13], we have been cast out by these men (being cursed of them, as they use to say, with book, bell, and candle), rather than have gone away from them of ourselves.

M. HARDING.

*The church that now is and the church that was in old time is one church; as a man in his old age is the same man he was in his youth: *from the which church no faults or imperfections can excuse you for your departing....* Dan. vi. & iii.[14] *Neither have ye gone from it as Daniel was delivered out of the lions' den, nor as the three children out of the furnace; but ye have departed wilfully from the house of God, where touching faith all be of one accord, unto the synagogue of antichrist, unto Babylon of sects, where is no order, but confusion, unto the kingdom of Satan, and there ye remain as it were in a den of* 1 Pet. v.[14] *lions, where that roaring lion with his fellows lieth in wait seeking whom he may devour. Ye have stepped*[15] *from the place of spiritual refrigery into the frying-pan of schisms and heresies; and from thence, after that ye have now boiled and fried in malice and rancour against the church, except ye repent, ye are like to leap into the furnace of hell, that for ever shall*

* Untruth. For God himself saith: "Come forth from the midst of them, O my people." Rev. xviii.

A hot kind of divinity.

[9 Not yet ready, 1567.]
[10 We truly have, Conf.]
[11 Soul, Conf. and Def. 1567, 1570.]
[12 Old time and, Conf.]
[13 Say truth, Conf.]
[14 These references are inserted from Conf. and Def. 1567, 1570.]
[15 Stopped, 1611.]

torment you and never consume you. Complain not of your casting out of the church. To be excommunicate ye have deserved. And that kind of punishment is, by a merciful discipline, extended upon you, partly for your amendment, partly to conserve the rest of the body whole from your pestiferous contagion...

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

Now ye begin[1] to keep hot schools, M. Harding. Your frying-pans and furnaces, with your[2] like kitchen implements of frying and boiling, are hot and dangerous to deal withal.

The causes of our departure from you are answered before.

"The church (ye say) that now is, and the church that was in old times, is one church." Even so, as I shewed you before, the moon being full, and the same moon eclipsed, is one moon: even so a man well advised, and the same man stark mad, is one man: even so the house of God and a cave of thieves is one house.

Matt. xxi. John ix. xii. xvi. John, Epist. 3. Qui amat primatum gerere. Rev. xiii.

Ye have excommunicate us and put us from you. So did certain of your predecessors and fathers excommunicate Christ and his apostles. So did Diotrephes, that first claimed your papal primacy, excommunicate the faithful of Christ, that were the first planters of the gospel. So it is written in the Apocalypse, that antichrist shall excommunicate all them that will not adore the image of the beast.

xxiv. Quæst. 1. Ait.

But[3] the pope himself saith: *Excommunicatus non potest excommunicare*[4]: "He that is excommunicate himself hath no right or power to excommunicate others."

xxiv. Quæst. 3. Comp. Rub.

And in your own law it is written thus: *Qui illicite alium excommunicat, seipsum, non illum, condemnat*[5]: "He, that unlawfully excommunicateth another, condemneth not him, but himself."

August. ad Cler. Hipp. Citat. xi. Quæst. 3. Quid obest.

St Augustine saith: *Quid obest homini, si eum de illa tabula delere velit humana ignorantia, quem de libro viventium non delet iniqua conscientia*[6]*?* "What is a man the worse if the ignorance of a man strike him out of the book of the church, if ill conscience strike him not out of the book of life?"

August. in Johan. Tract 45.

In this case St Augustine saith it cometh sometimes to pass, *Ut plurimæ sint foris oves, et plurimi sint intus lupi*[7]: "That there be many sheep without the church, and many wolves within the church."

THE APOLOGY, Chap. xv. Division 5.

And we are come to that church, wherein they themselves cannot deny (if they will say truly, and as they think in their own conscience) but all things be governed purely and reverently, and, as much as we possibly could, very near to the order used in old times[8].

M. HARDING.

...Ye are come unto the malignant church, to the congregation of reprobates, whither, as into a sink in manner, all the heresies that Satan ever raised up from the beginning be avoided...

[1 Be in, 1609, 1611.]

[2 With other your, 1567, 1570.]

[3 *But* is not in 1567.]

[4 ...non poterat quenquam ejus removere sententia, qui se jam præbuerat ipse removendum.—Nicol. Papa in Corp. Jur. Canon. Lugd. 1624. Decret. Gratian. Decr. Sec. Pars, Caus. XXIV. Quæst. i. can. 35. col. 1404. Conf. Gloss. ibid.]

[5 Ibid. Quæst. iii. can. 2. Rubr. col. 1418; where *aliquem excommunicat semetipsum.*]

[6 Quid obest homini, quod ex illa tabula non vult eum recitari humana ignorantia, si de libro vivorum non eum delet iniqua conscientia?—August. ibid. Caus. XI. Quæst. iii. can. 50. col. 939. Op. Par. 1679-1700. Ad Cler. Eccles. Hipp. Epist. lxxviii. 4. Tom. II. col. 184.]

[7 ...quam multæ oves intus, et quam multi lupi foris.—Id. in Johan. Evang. cap. x. Tractat. xlv. 12. Tom. III. Pars II. col. 600.]

[8 In the old time, Conf. and Def. 1567.]

THE APOLOGY, Chap. xvi. Division 1.

Let them compare our churches and theirs together, and they shall see that themselves have most shamefully gone from the apostles, and we most justly have gone from them. For we, following the example of Christ, of the apostles, and the holy fathers, give the people the holy communion whole and perfect[9]; but these men, contrary to all the fathers, to all the apostles, and contrary to Christ himself, do sever the sacraments and pluck away the one part from the people, and that with most notorious sacrilege, as Gelasius termeth it[10].

We have brought again the Lord's supper unto Christ's institution, and have made it a[11] communion in very deed, common and indifferent to a great number, according to the name: for of that it is called a communion[12]. But these men have changed all things, contrary to Christ's institution, and have made a private mass of the holy communion: and so it cometh to pass, that we give the Lord's supper unto the people, and they give them a vain pageant to gaze upon[13].

We affirm, together with the ancient fathers, that the body of Christ is not eaten but of the good and faithful, and of those that are endued with the Spirit of Christ. Their doctrine is, that Christ's very body effectually, and as they speak, really and substantially, may not only be eaten of the wicked and unfaithful men, but also (which is monstrous and horrible[14] to be spoken) of mice and dogs.

We use to pray in our churches[15] after that fashion, as, according to Paul's lesson, the people may know what we pray, and may answer Amen with a general consent. These men, like sounding metal, yell out in the churches unknown and strange words, without understanding, without knowledge, and without devotion; yea, and do it of purpose, because the people should understand nothing at all. 1 Cor. xiv.

M. HARDING.

[a] *As comparison cannot duly be made between light and darkness, between truth and lying, between Christ and Belial, so neither between the catholic church and starting-holes of heretics. You say much and prove nothing.... The most ye have to crack of, which ye have never done withal, is your ministering of both kinds unto the people, your new-found holy-day, the English communion, your service in the vulgar tongue, and your vile objection of mice and dogs. This is the store-box of M. Jewel's high divinity, which he maketh no great store of, but shaketh it abroad every where. To every point I have said so much as is* [b] *enough to stay the hearts of those that fear God, in mine answer to M. Jewel's Challenge: to the matter of both kinds, and the objection made out of Gelasius, in the second article; to that of private mass, in the first article; to all that is said for the church-service in the vulgar tongue, in the third article; to the objection of mice, dogs, and worms, in the twenty-third article*[16]*: the same here to rehearse again, I think it needless.*

But, where ye affirm the body of Christ not to be eaten but of the good and faithful only, if ye mean the sacramental eating, so as it is eaten under the sacrament, in the visible form of bread and wine, and not of the [c] *spiritual eating*

[a] Untruth. For there is no better comparison than between contraries: *Contraria juxta se posita magis elucescunt.*

[b] Enough, no doubt, and sufficient. For in the self-same four articles M. Harding hath uttered four-score and fourteen great untruths.

[c] Unfruitful or vain distinctions. Read the answer.

[9] Perfite, Conf. and Def. 1567, 1570.]

[10] Gelas. in Corp. Jur. Canon. Decret. Gratian. Decr. Tert. Pars, De Consecr. Dist. ii. can. 12. col. 1918.]

[11] And will have it to be a, Conf.]

[12] This sentence is not in Conf. and Def. 1567.]

[13] On, Conf.]

[14] These two words are not in Conf.]

[15] In churches, Conf.]

[16] See Vol. I. pages 104, &c. 204, &c. 263, &c. Vol. II. pages 782, &c.]

[17] And, 1567, 1570, 1609.]

only, that is false. In that ye say the fathers be on your side, meaning the [c]*sacramental eating, ye belie them. And so likewise reporting our doctrine to be, that wicked and unfaithful men may eat the body of* [c]*Christ effectually, ye belie us. We teach that the evil may eat the body of Christ really, that is, indeed, but not effectually. They only eat*[1] *effectually, who eating it worthily obtain the effect of Christ's body, which is the unity of the mystical body of Christ, and increase of grace.* [d]*There is verily (saith St Gregory) in sinners, and in them which receive unworthily, the true flesh of Christ and his true blood,* sed essentia, non salubri efficientia, "*but in substance, not in wholesome effect.*"...

[d] This book is full of fables and vanities, and therefore not thought to be St Gregory's.

Greg. Dial. Lib. iv.

That evil men receive the true body of Christ sacramentally, no less than good, where I might allege in manner all the old fathers, [e]*St Augustine only may suffice, who affirmeth the same, speaking thus of Judas:* Tolerat ipse Dominus Judam, diabolum, furem, et venditorem suum sinit accipere inter innocentes discipulos, quod norunt fideles, pretium nostrum[2]: "*Our Lord himself doth tolerate Judas, and suffereth a devil, a thief, and him that sold him, to receive amongst his innocent disciples* [f]*our price, which the faithful do know.*"... *But what need any man to require the testimonies of fathers, sith Paul*[3] *teacheth us so to believe? "Whosoever (saith he) eateth this bread, and drinketh of the cup of our Lord, unworthily, he shall be guilty of the body and blood of our Lord."*

[e] St Augustine is directly to the contrary. See the answer.

Aug. Epist. 162.

[f] "Our price," he meaneth the sacrament of our price.

1 Cor. xi.

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

There is no better comparison to be made, M. Harding, than between light and darkness, truth and falsehood[4], Christ and Belial: for one of these contraries doth evermore bewray the other. And therefore Christ saith: "He that doth ill hateth the light, and cometh not to it, lest his evil doings should be espied." And this is it, M. Harding, that you so carefully keep the people from the light of God's word, lest by comparison thereof they should begin to loathe your darkness. Pliny saith: *Tritico reperto, continuo damnatum est hordeum, et quadrupedum refectibus traditum:* "As soon as wheat was once found, (by comparison thereof) straightway barley was refused, and given to cattle to feed upon."

John iii.

Plin. Lib. xviii.

St Cyprian saith: *Hæc est, frater, vera dementia, non cogitare... quod mendacia non diu fallant; noctem tamdiu esse, donec illucescat dies*[5]: "This is very mere madness, my brother, not to consider, that lies cannot long deceive the world: (remember) it is night no longer but until the day spring." And therefore Chrysostom saith, as it is alleged before: *Hæretici... claudunt januas veritatis*[6]: "Heretics shut up the gates of the truth." For they know right well, if the truth may appear, their falsehood[4] will soon be espied, and the churches shall be none of theirs. Tertullian saith: *Ipsa doctrina hæreticorum cum apostolica comparata, ex diversitate et contrarietate sua pronuntiabit, neque apostoli alicujus auctoris esse, neque apostolici [viri]*[8]: "The very doctrine of heretics compared together with the apostles' doctrine, even by the diversity and contrariety that is in it beareth witness of itself that it never came, neither from any apostle of Christ, nor from any apostolic man."

Cypr. ad Corn. Lib. i. Epist. 3.

Chrysost. in Matt. cap. xxiii. Hom. 44. in Op. Imperf.[7]

Tertull. de Præscr.

When the emperor Adrianus had yielded to grant the Christians one church within the city of Rome, certain of his privy council advised him in any wise not so to do; for that, they said, "if the Christians might have but one church within the city, the whole people would all become[9] Christians; and,

Æl. Lampr.

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[1] Eaten, Conf.]

[2] August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. Ad Glor. et cet. Epist. xliii. cap. viii. 23. Tom. II. col. 99; where *quod fideles noverunt.*]

[3] St Paul, Conf. and Def. 1567, 1570.]

[4] Falshead, 1567, 1570.]

[5] Cypr. Op. Oxon. 1682. Ad Cornel. Epist. lix. p. 133; where *quamdiu* for *donec.*]

[6] ...hæretici &c. januam veritatis. Sciunt enim quoniam si manifestata fuerit veritas, eorum ecclesia est relinquenda.—Chrysost. Op. Par. 1718-38. Op. Imperf. in Matt. Hom. xliv. ex cap. xxiii. Tom. VI. p. clxxxvi.]

[7] The latter part of this reference is not in 1567, 1570.]

[8] Ipsa enim doctrina eorum cum &c.—Tertull. Op. Lut. 1641. De Præscr. Hær. 32. p. 243.]

[9] Would become, 1567.]

by comparison thereof, their idols' churches should be forsaken[10]." Restore you the holy communion, M. Harding, and ye shall see your masses and mockeries soon fall to ground, as did the idol Dagon at the presence of the ark of God. St Hierome saith: *Mendacium antichristi Christi veritas devorabit*[11]: "The truth of Christ shall devour and consume the lying of antichrist[12]." Infidels, dogs, mice. 1 Sam. v. Hieron. ad Algas. Quæst. 11.

Touching the shaking out of store-boxes, ye had no great cause to complain. For there is not one of all these matters, one[13] only of private mass excepted, that hitherto throughout this Apology hath, to my remembrance, been touched or mentioned more than once. But it is a small matter, M. Harding, that may suffice you to make a quarrel.

That mice and dogs may eat the very natural body of Christ, and that really, substantially, and indeed, it is your doctrine, it is not ours. For we utterly abhor it and defy it, as most detestable and loathsome villany.

I marvel not to hear you say that wicked creatures and faithless infidels may eat Christ's body, seeing ye doubt not to avouch the same of brute beasts and dumb cattle. Yet St Augustine saith: *Hoc est... manducare illam escam, et illum potum bibere, in Christo manere, et illum manentem in se habere*[14]: "This is the eating of that meat, and the drinking of that drink, for a man to dwell in Christ, and to have Christ dwelling within him." Even so saith Christ himself: "He that eateth my flesh and drinketh my blood (is neither wicked creature, nor faithless infidel, nor dog, nor mouse, but) dwelleth in me, and I in him." August. in Johan. Tract. 26. John vi.

But St Augustine saith: *Judas accepit pretium nostrum*[15]: "Judas received our price;" which, by your exposition, can be none other but the body of Christ. O M. Harding, ye should not thus have mocked the world with this authority of St Augustine[16]. You yourself know ye deal not plainly: you yourself know that St Augustine by these words, "our price," meant only the sacrament of our price. So Chrysostom saith: *Baptisma Christi sanguis Christi est*[17]: "The baptism of Christ is the blood of Christ." Not for that it is so indeed, but for that it is a sacrament of the blood of Christ. Even so is it[18] noted in your own decrees: *Ipsa immolatio carnis* [*Christi*], *quæ sacerdotis manibus fit*, [*vocatur*] *Christi passio, mors, crucifixio; non rei veritate, sed significante mysterio*[19]: "The oblation of the flesh of Christ, that is wrought with the priest's hands, is called the passion, the death, and the crucifying of Christ; not in truth of matter, but in a mystery signifying." This exposition ye may not well refuse: it is St Augustine's, it is your own. Hereof we have spoken otherwheres more at large. But to put the matter out of doubt, that it may appear in what sense Judas received the price of Christ's death, St Augustine himself thereof saith thus: [*Christus*] *adhibuit* [*Judam*] *ad convivium, in quo corporis et sanguinis sui figuram discipulis* [*suis*] *commendavit et tradidit*[20]: "Christ received Judas unto his banquet, whereat he gave to his disciples the figure of his body and blood." August. Epist. 162. Chrysost. ad Hebr. Hom. xvi. De Consecr. Dist. 2. Hoc est. August. in Psal. iii.

The book, that ye allege in the name of St Gregory, is vain and childish, as you know[16], and full of fables, and not St Gregory's.

But St Paul saith: "Whosoever eateth of this bread, and drinketh of the cup of our Lord, unworthily, he shall be guilty of the body and blood of our Lord." And what will you conclude hereof, M. Harding[21]? Even so St Augustine writeth of the water of baptism: *Baptismus valet aliis ad regnum, aliis ad judicium*[22]: "Baptism is available to some unto the kingdom of God; to some unto judgment." Again he saith: [*Baptismum*] *multi habent, non ad* 1 Cor. xi. August. contr. Cresc. Lib. i. cap. xxiii. August. contr. Cresc. Lib. ii. cap. xiii.

[10 Æl. Lampr. Alex. Sev. cap. xliii. in Hist. August. Script. Hanov. 1611. p. 350.]

[11 Hieron. Op. Par. 1693-1706. Ad Algas. Quæst. xi. Tom. IV. Pars I. col. 210.]

[12 Lying antichrist, 1570.]

[13 Not, 1609, 1611.]

[14 August. Op. In Johan. cap. vi. Tractat. xxvi. 18. Tom. III. Pars II. col. 501; where *bibere potum*.]

[15 Id. ad Glor. et cet. Epist. xliii. cap. viii. 23. Tom. II. col. 99. See last page, note 3.]

[16 These three words are not in 1567.]

[17 Chrysost. Op. In Epist. ad Hebr. cap. ix. Hom. xvi. Tom. xii. p. 159. See Vol. I. page 518, note 4.]

[18 It is, 1567, 1570.]

[19 ...vocaturque ipsa &c.—August. in Corp. Jur. Canon. Lugd. 1624. Decret. Gratian. Decr. Tert. Pars, De Consecr. Dist. ii. can. 48. col. 1937.]

[20 August. Op. In Psalm. iii. Enarr. 1. Tom. IV. col. 7.]

[21 This sentence is not in 1567.]

[22 Id contr. Cresc. Donatist. Lib. I. cap. xxiii. 28. Tom. IX. col. 402; where *aliis valet*.]

vitam æternam, sed ad pœnam æternam, non bene utentes tanto bono[1]: "Some have baptism, not to life everlasting, but to pain everlasting, not well using so good a thing."

Guilty of the Body and Blood, &c.

Likewise saith Tertullian: *Si qui pondus intelligant baptismi, magis timebunt consecutionem quam dilationem*[2]: "They that understand the weight of baptism will fear more the getting of it than the delaying[3]."

Tertull. de Baptism.

Yet ye express[4] the matter further. St Paul saith: "Whoso eateth unworthily of this bread, is guilty of the body and blood of Christ;" *ergo* (say you), "Christ's body and blood must needs be really present." Here, M. Harding, it were a worthy matter to see by what engines ye would prove these hasty conclusions, or how ye would force this guilt and this presence to go together. For think you that no man can be guilty of the body and blood of Christ, but he that hath Christ's body and blood really present in his hand? Verily, St Augustine saith: *Reus... erit, non parvi pretii, sed sanguinis Christi, qui violat et commaculat animam, Christi sanguine et passione mundatam*[5]: "He is guilty of no small price, but even of the blood of Christ, that (by fornication or advoutery) defileth his own soul that was made clean by the passion and blood of Christ." Yet hath he not therefore "Christ's blood really present."

August. de Temp. Serm. 20.

Athanas. de Pass. et Cruc. Dom.

Athanasius saith: *Adorantes Dominum, neque ita ut dignum est eo viventes, non sentiunt se reos fieri Dominicæ mortis*[6]: "Worshipping our Lord, and not living so as is meet for our Lord, they feel not that thereby they are made guilty of our Lord's death." So saith God by the prophet Ezekiel: "I will require the blood of the people at thy hand."

Ezek. xxxiii.

Luke xi.

Christ saith: "God shall require of you the blood of the prophets that hath been shed from the beginning of the world."

This guilt, M. Harding, may well stand without any real presence of the blood either of Christ, or of the prophets. Ye may well be guilty of Christ's and the prophets' blood, notwithstanding ye have neither the one or[7] the other really present in your hand[8].

This therefore is St Paul's meaning, that the wicked, resorting unworthily to the holy mysteries, and having no regard what is meant thereby, despise the death and cross of Christ, and therefore are guilty of the Lord's body and blood, that are represented in the sacrament.

Concil. Nic. II. Act. 6.

Chrysostom saith, as he is alleged in the second council of Nice: *Is qui imaginem imperatoris violat in prototypum dignitatis injustus est*[9]: "He that defileth the emperor's image is injurious to the majesty of the emperor's person, that is pourtrayed in the image."

Cypr. de Ablut. Ped.

St Cyprian saith: *Impiis in morte Christi nullus superest quæstus; sed justissime eos beneficia neglecta condemnant*[10]: "The wicked have no gain by the death of Christ; but the benefits that they have despised do most justly condemn them."

August. ad Bonif. Epist. 50.

To come near to the purpose, St Augustine saith: *Habent foris sacramentum* [*corporis Christi*]; *sed rem ipsam non tenent intus, cujus est illud sacramentum. Et ideo sibi judicium manducant et bibunt*[11]: "Outwardly they have the sacrament of Christ's body; but the thing itself (which is Christ's body represented by the sacrament) inwardly in their hearts they have not. And therefore they eat and drink their own judgment." Here[12] St Augustine saith, they are guilty, not because they receive, but because they receive not, the body of Christ. Mark well these words, M. Harding: they are effectual. The

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[1] Id. ibid. Lib. II. cap. xiii. 16. col. 417.]

[2] Tertull. Op. Lut. 1641. De Baptism. 18. p. 264.]

[3] Delay, 1567.]

[4] Press, 1567, 1570.]

[5] August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. Serm. cliv. De Pass. Dom. v. 8. Tom. V. Append. col. 271. This sermon is not genuine.]

[6] Athanas. Op. Par. 1698. De Pass. et Cruc. Dom. Hom. 34. Tom. II. p. 109. This homily is in all probability spurious.]

[7] Nor, 1570, 1609.]

[8] This sentence is not in 1567.]

[9] Refut. &c. Tom. v. in Concil. Nic. II. Act. VI. in Concil. Stud. Labb. et Cossart. Lut. Par. 1671-2. Tom. VII. cols. 505, 8.]

[10] ...nec in morte Christi aliquis eis superest quæstus, &c. contempta condemnant.—Cypr. Op. Oxon. 1682. De Ablut. Ped. (Arnold.) p. 45.]

[11] August. Op. Ad Bonifac. Epist. clxxxv. cap. xi. 50. Tom. II. col. 663.]

[12] 1567 omits *here*.]

wicked, by St Augustine's judgment, are guilty, not because they receive, but because they receive not, the body of Christ[13].

Again he saith: *Qui non manet in Christo, et in quo non manet Christus, proculdubio non manducat spiritualiter carnem ejus, nec bibit ejus sanguinem; licet carnaliter et visibiliter premat dentibus sacramentum corporis et sanguinis Christi; sed magis tantæ rei sacramentum ad judicium sibi manducat et bibit*[14]: "Whoso abideth[15] not in Christ, nor Christ in him, out of doubt he eateth not spiritually his flesh, nor drinketh his blood; notwithstanding carnally (that is to say, with the[16] bodily mouth) and visibly he do press with his teeth the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ; and rather eateth and drinketh (not Christ's very body and blood, but) the sacrament of so great a thing, unto his judgment." These words, M. Harding, be so plain, that I cannot imagine what ye should more desire. They are guilty of the blood of Christ, for that they despise the price wherewith they were saved, not for that they receive it really into their mouths. August. in Johan. Tract. 26.

So St Augustine saith again: *Reus erit æternæ mortis, quia vilem in se habuit sanguinem Redemptoris*[17]: "The advouterer is guilty of everlasting death, because he despised in himself the blood of our Saviour." August. de Temp. Serm. 120.

The distinction that you imagine between real receiving in the wicked, and effectual receiving in the godly, as it is only of yourself, without the authority of any doctor, Greek or Latin, so is it nothing else but a very "effectual" and "real" folly. For the very body of Christ, if it be not effectually received, is not received. Christ himself saith: "He that eateth me shall live by me." St Ambrose saith: *Hic panis est remissio peccatorum. Qui accipit non moritur morte peccatoris*[18]: "This bread is the remission of sins. He that receiveth it shall not die the death of a sinner." Ambros. de Bened. Patr. cap. vi.

St Augustine saith: *Qui non sumit hanc escam non habet vitam; et qui eam sumit habet vitam, et hanc utique æternam*[19]: "He that receiveth not this meat hath no life; and he that receiveth the same hath life, and that everlasting." August. in Johan. Tract. 26.

Likewise again he saith: *Hujus rei sacramentum....in mensa Dominica præparatur, et de mensa Dominica sumitur; quibusdam ad vitam, quibusdam ad exitium: res vero ipsa, cujus est sacramentum, omni homini ad vitam, nulli ad exitium, quicunque ejus particeps fuerit*[20]: "The sacrament hereof is prepared upon the Lord's table, and from the Lord's table is received; to some unto life, to some unto destruction. But the thing itself (that is, the body of Christ), whereof it is a sacrament, is received of all men to life, and of no man to destruction, whosoever shall be partaker of it." You may not negligently pass over these words, M. Harding: St Augustine saith plainly: "The thing itself that is represented[21] by the sacrament (that is to say, the very body of Christ) is received of all men to life, and of no man to destruction, whosoever shall be partaker of it." Hereof you must needs conclude against yourself, that the wicked receive not the body of Christ[13]. August. eod. loc.

The Apology, Chap. xvi. Division 2.

But, not to tarry about rehearsing all points, wherein we and they differ, (for they have well-nigh no end,) we turn the scriptures into all tongues; they scant suffer them to be had abroad in any tongue.

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[13] The last two sentences are not in 1567.]

[14] Id. in Johan. Evang. cap. vi. Tractat. xxvi. 18. Tom. III. Pars II. col. 501; where *nec manducat spiritaliter.* Conf. not. in loc.]

[15] He that abideth, 1567.]

[16] His, 1567, 1570, 1609.]

[17] Id. Serm. cliv. De Pass. Dom. v. 8. Tom. V. Append. col. 271.]

[18] ...qui autem accipit, non morietur peccatoris morte, quia panis hic remissio peccatorum est.—Ambros. Op. Par. 1686-90. Lib. de Benedict. Patriarch. cap. ix. 39. Tom. I. col. 525.]

[19] Nam et qui eam non sumit, non &c.—August. Op. In Johan. Evang. cap. vi. Tractat. xxvi. 15. Tom. IV. col. 500.]

[20] Id. ibid.; where *in Dominica mensa,* and *cujus sacramentum est.*]

[21] Presented, 1609, 1611.]

The Scriptures in the vulgar tongues.

M. HARDING.

... *We* [a]*gladly suffer them to be had in every place of Christendom in the learned tongues, Hebrew, Greek, and Latin* (to be read of the vulgar unlearned people). *Neither were they altogether forbidden to be had in some vulgar tongues, before the saucy malapertness of heretics forced the governors of the church, for safeguard of the people,* [b]*to take other orders*[1].

[a] This is nothing but open mockery.

[b] Untruth, too fond for a child. For there was never such order taken by the governors of the church.

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

Ye can vouchsafe to allow the[2] scriptures in the three learned tongues, Greek, Hebrew, and Latin; that is to say, in such sort as the simple people may in no wise touch them. But where did God ever sanctify these three tongues, and call them learned? Or where were they ever so specially canonized and allowed, above all other tongues, to the custody of the scriptures?

August. Epist. 48.

St Augustine saith: *Scriptura canonica tot linguarum literis, et ordine et successione celebrationis ecclesiasticæ custoditur*[3]*:* "The canonical scripture[4] is kept in the letters of so many tongues, and by the order and succession of ecclesiastical publishing." Again he saith: *Scriptura divina ... ab una lingua profecta, ... per varias interpretum linguas longe lateque diffusa, innotuit gentibus ad salutem*[5]*:* "The holy scriptures, passing from one tongue, and being published abroad, far and wide, (not only by three learned tongues, but also) by sundry tongues of interpreters, have come to the knowledge of nations and people to their salvation!" Again he saith: *Habemus Dei beneficium, qui scripturas suas in multis linguis esse voluit*[6]*:* "We have the benefit of God, that would have his scriptures to be (not only in three, but) in many tongues." St Chrysostom saith: *Syri, Ægyptii, Indi, Persæ, Æthiopes, et innumeræ aliæ gentes, dogmata ab hoc introducta in suam transferentes linguam, homines barbari philosophari didicerunt*[7]*:* "The Syrians, the Ægyptians, the Indians, the Persians, the Æthiopians, and other nations innumerable, translating into their own tongues the doctrine that they had received of St John, being barbarous people, endeavoured themselves to learn wisdom." St Hierome saith: *Scriptura [sancta] populis*[8] *omnibus legitur, ... ut omnes intelligant*[9]*:* "The holy scripture is read to all nations, that all may understand it." It were hard to say that all the nations of the world read or heard the scriptures in Greek, Hebrew, or Latin, to the intent they might the better understand it[10]. If these authorities seem not plain and sufficient, Theodoretus saith further: *Hebraici libri non modo in Græcum idioma conversi sunt, sed in Romanam quoque linguam, Ægyptiam, Persicam, Indicam, Armenicam, et Scythicam, atque adeo Sauromaticam; semelque ut dicam, in linguas omnes, quibus ad hanc diem nationes utuntur*[11]*:* "The Hebrew books of the scriptures are translated, not only into the Greek or Latin tongue, but also into the tongues of Ægypt, Persia, India, Armenia, Scythia, and Sarmatia; and, to be short, into all the tongues that until this day are used in the world." This, I trow, is somewhat more than Greek, Hebrew, and Latin[12].

August. de Doct. Christ. Lib. ii. cap. 5.

August. in Psal. cv.

Chrysost. in Johan. Hom. i.

Hieron. in Psal. lxxxvi.

Theod. de Cor. Græc. Affect. Lib. v.

THE APOLOGY, Chap. xvi. Division 3.

We allure the people to read and to hear God's word; they drive the people from it.

[1 Order, Conf. and Def. 1567.]

[2 Allow us the, 1567, 1570.]

[3 August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. ad Vincent. Rogat. Epist. xciii. cap. x. 38. Tom. II. col. 246.]

[4 Scriptures, 1611.]

[5 Id. de Doctr. Christ. Lib. II. cap. v. 6. Tom. III. Pars I. col. 21; where *innotesceret.*]

[6 Id. in Psalm. cv. Enarr. 31. Tom. IV. col. 1200; where *nisi haberemus beneficium Dei.*]

[7 Chrysost. Op. Par. 1718-38. In Joan. Hom. ii. Tom. VIII. p. 10.]

[8 Populus, 1570.]

[9 Hieron. Op. Par. 1693-1706. Breviar. in Psalt. Psalm. lxxxvi. Tom. II. Append. col. 350.]

[10 Them, 1567.]

[11 Theodor. Op. Lut. Par. 1642-84. Græc. Affect. Cur. Serm. v. Tom. IV. p. 554.]

[12 In 1567 the following sentence is here added: "This whole matter in my former reply to M. Harding is further answered;" and a reference is given, *Artic.* 15.]

M. HARDING.

Ye allure the people busily to hear and read the scriptures for evil purpose. And thereby ye have filled their hearts, whom ye have deceived with pride, so as they think themselves able to judge of the highest questions that be in divinity. We keep the people, so far as we can for you, from heresies, and require them rather to be hearers than judges, and to learn necessary knowledge of God's word at wholesome and godly sermons.*

* A mockery. For many hear not one sermon in twenty years.

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

We teach not the people to presume of knowledge, as you teach them to presume of ignorance; but only we exhort them, for the better satisfaction of their consciences, to read the scriptures, and therein to learn the good will of God. And, notwithstanding ye may not allow them to be judges, that is to say, to discern between the light of God and your darkness, yet ye might suffer them to pick out[13] some small crumbs that fall from the Lord's table. Howbeit Socrates saith: "The simple unlearned people, in cases of truth, judgeth oftentimes more uprightly than the deepest philosophers." Likewise Christ saith: "I thank thee, O Father, for that thou hast hid these things from the wise and politic, and hast opened the same to little babes."

Apolog. Socrat.

Matt. xi.

But ye will say, The scriptures are hard, and above the reach of the people. Even so said the Pelagian heretic Julianus. And therefore St Augustine thus reproveth him for the same: *Exaggeras quam sit difficilis, paucisque conveniens eruditis, sanctarum cognitio literarum*[14]: "Ye enlarge and lay out with many words how hard a matter the knowledge of the scripture[15] is, and meet only for a few learned men." St Chrysostom saith: *Scripturæ et servo, et rustico, et viduæ, et puero, et illi qui valde imprudens esse videatur, faciles sunt ad intelligendum*[16]: "The scriptures are easy to the slave, to the husbandman, to the widow, to the child, and to him that may seem to be very simple of understanding." St Augustine saith: *Modus... ipse dicendi quo sacra scriptura contexitur, &c. quasi amicus familiaris, sine fuco ad cor loquitur indoctorum atque doctorum*[17]: "The phrase or manner of speech, wherein the scriptures are written, &c. speaketh without colour, as a familiar friend, unto the heart as well of the unlearned as of the learned." St Cyril saith: *Scripturæ, ut omnibus essent notæ, parvis et magnis utiliter familiari sermone commendatæ sunt, ita ut nullius captum transcendant*[18]: "The scriptures, that they might be easy to all men, as well small as great, are profitably set abroad in familiar speech, so that they overreach no man's capacity." St Augustine saith: *Sunt quidam homines, qui cum audierint, quod debent esse humiles,... nihil volunt discere; putantes, quod si aliquid didicerint, superbi erunt, &c. Hos reprehendit scriptura*[19]: "Some men, when they hear say they must be lowly, will learn nothing; thinking that if they learn anything, they shall be proud. But these are reproved by the scriptures." Likewise again St Augustine saith: *Ipsa ignorantia in illis qui intelligere noluerunt sine dubitatione peccatum est; in eis autem qui non potuerunt, [est] pœna peccati. Ergo in utrisque non est excusatio, sed justa damnatio*[20]: "Ignorance in them that would not understand without doubt is sin; but in them that could not understand it is the punishment of sin. Therefore neither of them both hath good excuse; but either of them hath just damnation."

August. contr. Julian. Lib. v. cap. i.

Chrysost. in Matt. Hom. i.

August. Epist. 3.

Cyril. contr. Julian. Lib. vii.

August. in Psal. cxxxi.

August. in Sent. except. ex August. p. 1607.

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[13] Up, 1567, 1570.]

[14] August. Op. Contr. Julian. Pelag. Lib. v. cap. i. 2. Tom. X. col. 627.]

[15] Scriptures, 1567, 1570.]

[16] Chrysost. Op. Par. 1718-38. In Matt. Procem. Hom. i. Tom. VII. p. 11. Conf. De Laz. Conc. iii. Tom. I. p. 739.]

[17] August. Op. Ad Volus. Epist. cxxxvii. cap. v. 18. Tom. II. col. 409; where *sancta scriptura.*]

[18] Cyril. Alex. Op. Lut. 1638. Contr. Julian. Lib. VII. Tom. VI. p. 232. Cyril is speaking particularly of the writings of Moses.]

[19] August. Op. In Psalm. cxxx. Enarr. 12. Tom. IV. col. 1468; where *quia humiles esse debent, putantes quia si,* and *quos reprehendit.*]

[20] Id. Lib. Sentent. Prosp. cccix. Tom. X. Append. col. 244; where *ignorantia in eis.* Conf. ad Sixt. Epist. cxciv. 27. Tom. II. col. 723.]

The Apology, Chap. xvi. Division 4.

We desire to have our cause known to all the world: they flee[1] to come to any trial.

M. HARDING.

* A worthy council of forty bishops, such as they were, in the time of Paulus the third.

Then why came ye not to the chief and most lawful consistory of the world, the late general council at Trent?... What trial should we come unto? Our doctrine hath had too high a teacher to be tried by men now. It hath been approved too long to be put in daying in these days, at the latter[2] end of the world.*

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

That we made not our appearance at your late chapter at Trident, ye have already made our excuse. The journey was too long to be taken in vain. Ye say, your doctrine, be it right, be it wrong, may not now be tried, nor put in daying. So said sometime[3] the old Donatian heretics unto St Augustine: *Disputare nolumus; et baptizare volumus*[4]: "Dispute we will not; but (continue in our error, and) baptize we will."

August. Epist. 169.

The Apology, Chap. xvi. Division 5.

We lean unto knowledge, they unto ignorance; we trust unto light, they unto darkness.

M. HARDING.

Ye lean to the favour of secular princes, whom by flattery and heresy ye may deceive.... Crack not of your great knowledge, nor of your light. "Woe[5] *be to them," crieth our Lord in Esay, "that say good is evil, and evil is good; that put light for darkness, and darkness for light." ... Your demeanour is so evil, your doctrine so false, your tongue so railing, that we take your word for no slander.*

Isai. v.[6]

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

We flatter our princes, M. Harding, as Nathan flattered king David; as John Baptist flattered Herod; as St Ambrose flattered Theodosius; and as salt flattereth the green sore. Indeed we despise not the minister of God, as sundry of your fellows have used to do; of whom one doubteth not to say, "The pope is the head, and kings and emperors are the feet[7]." Another saith, "The priest is so far above the king as a man is above a beast[8]." Such words of contempt and villany we have not used. They agree well with you, and with your religion[9]. We yield to the king that is due to the king; we yield to God that is due to God. We say to the prince as St Ambrose sometime said to the emperor Valentinian: *Noli te gravare, imperator, ut putes te in ea quæ divina sunt imperiale aliquod jus habere*[10]: "Trouble not yourself, my lord, to think that you have any princely power over those things that pertain to God."

Dorman, p. 15. Stan Orich. in Chim.

Ambros. Lib. v. Epist. 33.

But, if they be flatterers that humbly advertise and direct their liege princes by the word of God, what are they then that say as you say, *Totus mundus non potest accusare papam*[11]: *Nemo potest dicere papæ, Domine, cur ita facis*[12]?

Petr. de Palud. de Pot. Pp. Dist. 40. Non nos, in Gloss.

[1 Fly, Conf.]

[2 Later, Conf. and Def. 1567, 1570.]

[3 Sometimes, 1567, 1570.]

[4 August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. Ad Euseb. Epist. xxxv. 4. Tom. II. col. 67; where *rebaptizare*.]

[5 O, Conf. and Def. 1567, 1570.]

[6 This reference is inserted from Conf. and Def. 1567, 1570.]

[7 Dorman, Provfe of Certeyne Articles denied by M. Juell, Ant. 1564. fol. 15. 2. See Vol. III. page 117, note 4.]

[8 ... qui regem anteponit sacerdoti, is anteponit creaturam Creatori.—Stan. Orichov. Chimær. Col. 1563. fol. 99. Conf. Vol. III. page 117, note 5.]

[9 This sentence is not in 1567.]

[10 Ambros. Op. Par. 1686-90. Ad Soror. Epist. xx. 19. Tom. II. col. 857.]

[11 Petr. de Palud. De Caus. Immed. Eccles. Potest. Par. 1506. De Potest. Pap. Art. Quart. Prim. Concl. fol. c. vi. See before, page 833, note 18.]

[12 ...nec est qui audeat dicere, Domine, &c.—Corp. Jur. Canon. Lugd. 1624. Extrav. Joan. XXII. De Concess. Præbend. Tit. iv. Gloss. in cap. 2. col. 56.]

Sacrilegii instar esset disputare de facto papæ[13]*: Dominus Deus noster papa*[14]*: Papa potest quasi omnia facere quæ potest*[15] *Deus*[16]*?* "The whole world may not accuse the pope:" "No man may say to the pope, Sir, why do ye thus?" "It were a sin as bad as sacrilege to dispute of any the pope's doings:" "Our Lord God the pope:" "The pope may do in a manner whatsoever God may do[17]?" These, these, M. Harding, and a thousand other your like speeches, may seem somewhat to smell of flattery.

Extr. Johan. XXII. Cum inter. In Gloss. Hostien. de Transl. Præl. Quant.

THE APOLOGY, Chap. xvi. Division 6 and 7.

We reverence, as it becometh us, the writings of the apostles and prophets; and they burnt[18] them[19].

Finally, we in God's cause desire to stand to God's only judgment: they will stand only to their own.

M. HARDING.

Whatsoever ye pretend, the cause ye have taken in hand to defend is not God's cause, neither is this stir which ye make in the world for Christ's sake. Luther himself, when at a disputation with Doctor Eckius, inflamed with anger, and passing the bounds of modesty, was admonished of certain, forasmuch as it was God's cause that was treated, to handle the matter more soberly, and with the spirit of softness, he brake out into these words: Non propter Deum hæc res cœpta est, nec propter Deum finietur[20]: *"This matter is not begun for God's sake, neither for God's sake shall it be ended." Therefore speak no more to us of God's cause. There be other causes that move you to do as ye do ...*

Hosius contra Brentium, Lib. i.

Untruth, standing in open and wilful corruption.

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

Luther (ye say) in disputation was inflamed with anger, and passed the bounds of modesty. No doubt, M. Harding, if he had had some part of your sobriety and modesty, he might have done a great deal better. Touching the matter, being zealously moved with the iniquity and wicked wilfulness of his adversaries, he uttered these words, not of himself but of Eckius[21], that disputed against him: "Eckius and his fellows never began this matter for God's sake, nor for God's sake will they end it[22]." For he saw they had begun, and were bent to end it against God, as being inflamed with ambition and malice, and procured and hired by the pope. These words Luther spake of Eckius his adversary, and not of himself[23]. Even so, M. Harding, may we also truly say, You and your fellows have not begun these your contentious vanities for God's sake; nor for God's sake will you end them.

Jacob. Andr. contr. Hos. p. 352.

THE APOLOGY, Chap xvi. Division 8.

Wherefore, if they will weigh all these things with a quiet mind, and fully bent to hear and to learn, they will not only allow this determination of ours, who have forsaken errors, and followed Christ and his apostles, but themselves also will forsake their own selves, and join of their own accord to our side, to go with [24]us[25].

Here endeth the Fifth Part.

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[13] Ibid. Decret. Gratian. Decr. Prim. Pars, Dist. xl. Gloss. in can. 1. col. 194. See before, page 833.]

[14] Extrav. Joan. XXII. ad calc. Sext. Decretal. Par. 1585. Tit. xiv. Gloss. in cap. 4. col. 153. See Vol. I. page 96, note 4.]

[15] Potest quicquid Deus ipse potest, 1567.]

[16] Hostiens. Op. Par. 1512. Sup. Prim. Decretal. Tit. vii. De Transl. Episc. cap. 3. fol. 75. 2. See before, pages 830, 1.]

[17] Do whatsoever God himself may do, 1567.]

[18] Burn, Conf. and Def. 1567.]

[19] Harding's reply to this sentence is omitted. He retorts that the reformed contemn "the most high sacrament of the altar," and declares that the Romanists burn only "false and corrupt translations" of the scripture.]

[20] Hos.Op.Col.1584.Contr.Brent.Lib.I. De Hær. Nostr. Temp. Tom. I. p. 425; where *neque* for *nec*.]

[21] Of frere Eckius, 1567.]

[22] See before, page 855, note 14.]

[23] This sentence is not in 1567.]

[24] The last four words are not in Conf.]

[25] The reply of Harding to this sentence is omitted as containing nothing worthy of remark.]

THE SIXTH PART.

The Apology, Chap i. Division 1.

To take Counsel of men.

But peradventure they will say it was treason to attempt these matters without a sacred general council; for that therein consisteth[1] the whole force of the church; there Christ hath promised he will ever be a present assistant. Yet they themselves, without tarrying for any general council, have broken the commandments of God and the decrees of the apostles, and, as we said a little above, they have spoiled and disannulled almost all, not only the ordinances[2], but even the doctrine of the primitive church. And, where they say it is not lawful to make a change without a council, what was he that gave[3] us these laws, or from whence had they this injunction?

M. HARDING.

...If general councils continue in that estimation and authority they have ever had, their private conspiracies and false conveyances in corners be like to be dashed....Now pricketh forth their secretary, who thinketh himself a fresh soldier in rhetoric, and giveth the onset upon us with a blind peradventure. But, sir, whatsoever you imagine us to say touching a general council, we are not so simple as to grant (which you[4] peradventure seem[5] to surmise of us) that your heretical and most ungodly matters, which you speak of, might without blame be attempted by licence of any council....Such wicked changes in religion as ye have made neither is it lawful to make with a council nor without a council....

The Apology, Chap. i. Division 2.

Indeed king Agesilaus did but fondly in this behalf[6], who[7], when he had a determinate answer made him of the opinion and will of mighty Jupiter, would afterward bring the whole matter before Apollo, to know whether he would allow[8] thereof, as his father Jupiter had done, or[9] no. But yet should we do much more fondly, when we hear[10] God himself plainly speak to us in his[11] most holy scriptures, and may understand by them his will and meaning, if we would afterward (as though this were of none effect) bring our whole cause to be tried by a council; which were nothing else but to ask whether men would allow as God did, and whether men would confirm God's commandment by their authority.

M. HARDING.

...Forasmuch as the scriptures, wherein God speaketh unto us, be in sundry places not most open and plain to [a]human senses, and many by mistaking them be deceived; were it not well done of you, for the more surety and better

[a] Vain folly. For what have human or natural senses to do with the sense of God?

[1] For in that consisteth, Conf.]
[2] Only ordinances, Conf.]
[3] Made, Conf.]
[4] Your, Conf. and Def. 1567, 1570.]
[5] Seemeth, Conf. and Def. 1567, 1570.]
[6] These three words are not in Def. 1567.]
[7] King Agesilaus truly did but fondly who, Conf.]
[8] He allowed, Conf.]
[9] Jupiter did or, Conf.]
[10] We may hear, Conf.]
[11] The, Conf.]

understanding of that ye go about, I mean in matters concerning religion, to follow the judgment of the catholic church represented in general councils? Yea, we say boldly, that surer it is in points of faith to lean to the [b]*exposition of the fathers agreeing together, and to follow the tradition of the church, than to trust yourselves, or to the letter of the scriptures, scanned only by our*[12] *own wits. For the church is promised to be led into all truth by the Holy Ghost. Ye cannot say any such promise hath been made to your particular company. Therefore it were not fondly done, as ye say, but wisely, say we, if ye tried and examined your doctrine, which ye pretend to be according unto the scriptures, by the* [c]*rule of ecclesiastical tradition, which is the chief rule to try every doctrine by....*

[b] The expositions of the fathers very seldom agree together: yet are they for the most part contrary to the church of Rome.

[c] The traditions now used in the Roman church are commonly contrary to the traditions of the ancient learned fathers. Therefore this rule is deceitful.

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

We never despised the judgment of the learned and holy fathers, but rather take them and embrace them as the witnesses of God's truth. And therein we find you the more blame-worthy, M. Harding, for that, having without cause renounced the judgment and orders of the primitive church and ancient fathers, as to the wise and learned it may soon appear, yet nevertheless ye evermore make vaunt of your antiquity, and fray the world with a vizard of the church and a shew of old fathers; as if a poor summoner, that had lost his commission, would serve citations by the virtue of his empty box. And thus have ye set all your vain fantasies in place of God's church, and your church in place of God; as by the words and witness of your own fellows I have before shewed more at large[13]. For example, Cardinal Cusanus saith: *Nulla sunt Christi præcepta, nisi quæ per ecclesiam pro talibus accepta [sunt]*[14]: "The commandments of Christ are no commandments, unless they be so allowed by the church."

Part v. cap. x. Div. 2. Nic. Cusan. ad Bohem. Epist. 2.[15]

Thus ye leave Jupiter, and run to Apollo; or rather, ye forsake God, and seek to man; and, as it is written in the prophet Jeremy, "Ye leave the fountain of the water of life, and rip up broken and filthy cisterns, that can hold no water." Tertullian thus upbraideth the heathens: *Apud vos de humano arbitratu divinitas pensitatur*[16]: "Among you the right of God is weighed by the judgment of men."

Jer. ii.

Tertull. in Apol.

But Clemens Alexandrinus saith: *Quoniam ipsum Verbum ad nos venit de cœlo, non est nobis amplius eundum ad humanam doctrinam*[17]: "Forsomuch as the Word itself (that is, Christ) is come to us from heaven, we may not now any more seek unto the doctrine of man." Likewise St Chrysostom saith: *Fuisset extremæ absurditatis eum, qui edoctus fuerat a Deo, postea cum hominibus communicare*[18]: "It had been great folly for St Paul, having received his doctrine from God himself, afterward to confer thereof with men, that is to say, with Peter, or James, or with any others."

Clement. Alex. in Orat. ad Gent.

Chrysost. in Epist. ad Gal. cap. i.

THE APOLOGY, Chap. i. Division 3.

Why, I beseech you, except a council will and command, shall not truth be truth, or God be God? If Christ had meant to do so from the beginning, as that he would preach or teach nothing without the bishops' consent, but refer all his[19] doctrine over to Annas and Caiaphas, where should now have been the christian faith? Or who at any time should have heard the gospel taught? Peter, verily, whom the pope hath oftener in his mouth, and more reverently useth to speak of, than he doth

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[12] Your, Conf. and Def. 1567, 1570, 1609.]

[13] See before, pages 862, &c.]

[14] Dico nulla esse Christi præcepta, quam per &c.—Nic. de Cusa Op. Basil. 1565. Ad Bohem. Epist. ii. Tom. II. p. 834.]

[15] Nic. Cusanus de Authoritate Ecclesiæ &c., 1567.]

[16] Tertull. Op. Lut. 1641. Apolog. 5. p. 6.]

[17] Clement. Alex. Op. Oxon. 1715. Cohort. ad Gent. 11. Tom. I. p. 86.]

[18] Chrysost. Op. Par. 1718-38. In cap. i. Epist. ad Galat. Comm. Tom. X. p. 675.]

[19] This, Def. 1567, 1570.]

of Jesus[1] Christ, did boldly stand against the holy council, saying, "It is better to obey God than men." And, after that Paul[2] had once entirely embraced the gospel, and had received it "not from men, nor by man, but by the only will of God, he did not take advice therein of flesh and blood," nor brought his case before his kinsmen and brethren, but went forthwith into Arabia, to preach God's divine mysteries by God's only authority.

M. HARDING.

*If you occupy a flute no better, by my rede you shall give over your piping and flouting. Truth is truth, and God is God, whether any council will or nil. Marry as, for the truth and for God, every council lawfully assembled hath will, so, against the truth and against God, it hath no nil.... When ye prove unto us that ye are specially called, as Paul was, and have a special commission *to preach against the doctrine of the church, as he had against the wicked Jews; then a God's name take no advice of any man, but forthwith preach and cry out so loud as ye list, so that ye go into Arabia, as St Paul[3] did, or where else soever ye will: for every good man would be loth England should be troubled with you.*

* We preach against your follies and fantasies, and not against the doctrine of the church.

THE APOLOGY, Chap. ii. Division 1:

Parliament.

Yet truly we do not despise councils, assemblies, and conferences of bishops and learned men; neither have we done that we have done altogether without bishops, or without a council. The matter hath been treated in open parliament, with long consultation, and before a notable synod and convocation.

M. HARDING.

Either your tongue agreeth not with your heart, or else I will prove the contrary by your own arguments, which in the next paragraph before this ye have huddled up. For, whereas your matters are (as ye ordinarily say) evident by plain scripture, and the word of God is readen of every man (without distinction and limitation), therefore ye do first of all play as fond a part as king Agesilaus did, who, receiving an answer of mighty Jupiter, would afterward bring the matter before Apollo: yea, furthermore, ye do much more fondly than he, if, when ye may hear God himself speak plainly to you in the most holy scriptures, ye would bring the whole cause to be tried by a council...

*How say ye then now, are not these your own proper reasons, &c., your foresaid worshipful reasons, &c.... If ye mean (as by reason ye must) the parliaments of these latter[4] days, the first of all did make most of[5] you; and yet how open was it for you? Had ye any place at all in it? Were ye admitted within the doors? Or had ye anything to do in that assembly? Consider then with what consultation your purposes were concluded. Did they tarry many months about it? Had they bishops? *Had they divines and the most learned, to reason to and fro with all liberty? Was the authority of the universal church of Christ and the doctrine of the ancient fathers considered? Ye say in Latin* Plenis comitiis, *that is, "in the full and whole assembly," as though none at all had there resisted, but every man had yielded to your matters. What say ye then of the spiritual lords, a great part of the parliament, and without all doubt the part which must be chiefly and only regarded, when the question is of religion? How many of them gave you[6] their voice to your gospel? Yea, which of them all did not resist it? One alone, I must confess, was afterward made to break unity, of whom a right good and catholic bishop said to a nobleman, "We had*

* Untruth, inclosed. For they had divines, and a solemn disputation was appointed at Westminster, in the presence of the states of the realm. But your fellows fled from it.

[1] Jesu, Conf.]
[2] After Paul, Conf.]
[3] As Paul, Conf. and Def. 1567.]
[4] Later, Conf. and Def. 1567, 1570.]
[5] For, Conf. and Def. 1567.]
[6] *You* is not in Conf.]

but one fool among us; and him ye have gotten unto you." But, as of the spiritual lords ye had none at all (except that one, little worthy of the name of a bishop and lord, whose learning was small, and honour thereby much stained[7]*) so of the temporal ye had not all; and so had ye also in the lower house very many, and well-learned, that spake*[8] *against you....* Parliament.

But let us consider the notable convocation in which your matter hath been treated. If ye mean the clergy coming together at that first parliament time, of which we speak, it was of catholics, not of sacramentaries, and it put up a bill against your proceedings; so far it was off from confirming them. If ye mean any since that time, in which your superintendentships met together, for what cause was it a notable synod and a notable convocation?...

*... Ye be desperate in your lying, and crack of a full parliament and a notable synod, not regarding by what means ye promote your cause to the multitude, and save yourselves from reproach of extreme folly. For otherwise ye which can so amplify the small and obscure meetings of a few Calvinists of one little island, what would ye not say of the last general council, to which more nations were assembled together than are shires in England; more years were bestowed in consultation, than weeks in your full parliament; *more bishops defined and subscribed, than were ministers of all sorts in your notable synod, by many parts*[9]*?...*

* A notable great company. There were only forty poor bishops, and yet some of the same were no bishops at all[10].

Lastly, if they will needs have their matters seem to depend of their parliament, let us not be blamed if we call it parliament-religion, parliament-gospel, parliament-faith....

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

We will not discuss the right and interest of the parliaments of England. As much as concerneth God's everlasting truth, we hold not by parliament, but by God. Parliaments are uncertain, and often contrary, as we have seen; but God's truth is one, and certain, and never changeth. The things, that were so suddenly and so violently shaken down in the late time of queen Mary, are now, of God's great mercy, by our most noble and gracious lady queen Elizabeth advisedly and soberly reared up again, that they may the more firmly continue, and stand the better. Whatsoever want ye imagine was in that parliament, forasmuch as we were no part thereof, I trust we may the more easily be excused. Howbeit, so scornfully disdaining the whole state of so noble a realm, ye shall hardly win the opinion either of sobriety or of great wisdom. The parliament was summoned by royal authority, and was continued and concluded in order, as heretofore it hath been used[11].

But your bishops (ye say) withstood us; and your brethren in the convocation promoted a bill against our doctrine. I know, M. Harding, they subscribed then against us with the very same hands with which, not long before, they had openly protested and solemnly sworn against the pope; and with which they have sithence received and embraced our whole religion, to the utter condemnation of all your follies. These were they that promoted bills against us, and withstood our doctrine[11].

"Only one fool" (ye say) ye had amongst all your bishops; and he was soon gotten to come to us. Happy were they, M. Harding, that had but one fool in so great a company. If some of your Lovanian clergy had then been bishops, I think they might have been somewhat better stored. Notwithstanding, it was not well done of your part so uncivilly to call your brother fool. All the rest of your brethren, very few excepted, have done the like. Yet fools, I trow, ye will not call them, lest happily your own wits be called in question.

Where ye would seem to say that the parliament holden in the first year of the queen's majesty's reign was no parliament, for that your bishops refused wilfully to agree unto the godly laws there concluded, ye seem therein to be-

[7] Anthony Kitchen, bishop of Llandaff, is the person meant.]

[8] Speake, 1567, 1570.]

[9] Harding here asserts that the children of the clergy were not up to that time allowed to be legitimate.]

[10] The last two words are not in 1567.]

[11] This sentence is not in 1567.]

Parliament.

wray in yourself some want of skill. The wise and learned could soon have told you, that in the parliaments of England matters have evermore used to pass, not of necessity, by the special consent of the archbishops and bishops, as if without them no statute might lawfully be enacted; but only by the more part of the voices, yea, although all the archbishops and bishops were never so earnestly bent against it. And statutes so passing in parliament, only by the voices of the lords temporal, without the consent and agreement of the lords spiritual, have nevertheless always been confirmed and ratified by the real assent of the prince, and have been enacted and published under the names of the lords spiritual and temporal.

Read the statutes of king Edward the First. There shall ye find, that in a parliament solemnly holden by him at St Edmund's Bury the archbishops and bishops were quite shut forth. And yet the parliament held on; and good and wholesome laws were there enacted, the departing, or absence, or malice of the lords spiritual notwithstanding. In the records thereof it is written thus: *Habito rex cum suis baronibus parliamento, et clero excluso*[1], *statutum est, &c.*[2]: "The king keeping the parliament with his barons, the clergy (that is to say, the archbishops and bishops) being shut forth, it was enacted," &c.

Ann. Dom. 1296.

Likewise, *In provisione de Martona*, in the time of king Henry the Third, whereas matter was moved of bastardy, touching the legitimation of bastards born before marriage, the statute passed wholly with the lords temporal, whether the lords spiritual would or no[3]; yea, and that contrary to the express decrees and canons of the church of Rome[5]. The like hereof, as I am informed, may be found, *Richardi II. Ann.* 11. *cap.* 3. Howbeit in these cases, I must confess, I walk somewhat without my compass. Touching the judgment hereof, I refer myself[6] wholly unto the learned.

Anno. 1273. In Provisione Marton.[4] cap. ix.

Extr. Qui filii sunt legitimi.

Further, whereas ye call the doctrine of Christ, that now by God's great mercy, and to your great grief, is universally and freely preached, "a parliament-religion, and a parliament-gospel" (for such sobriety becometh you well, and may stand you in stead when learning faileth), ye might have remembered that Christ himself at the beginning was universally received and honoured through this realm by assent of parliament; and further, that without parliament your pope himself was never received, no, not in the late time of queen Mary. Yea, and even then his holiness was clogged with parliament-conditions, that whatsoever had been determined in parliament, and was not repealed, were it never so contrary to his will and canons, should remain still inviolable, and stand in force: otherwise his holiness had gone home again. Such, M. Harding, is the authority of a parliament. Verily, if parliaments of realms be no parliaments, then will your pope be no pope. Therefore as you now call the truth of God, that we profess, "a parliament-religion, and a parliament-gospel," even so[7] with like sobriety and gravity of speech ye might have said, Our fathers in old times had a parliament-Christ; and your late fathers and brethren had of late, in the time of queen Mary[8], a parliament-faith, a parliament-mass, and a parliament-pope.

Neither is it so strange a matter to see ecclesiastical causes debated in parliament. Read the laws of king Inas, king Elfrede, king Edward, king Ethelstane, king Edmund, king Edgar, king Canute; and ye shall find that our godly forefathers, the princes and peers of this realm, never vouchsafed to entreat of matters of peace or war, or otherwise touching the common state, before all controversies of religion and causes ecclesiastical had been

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[1 Excuso, 1567.]

[2 It appears that the clergy were summoned to this parliament, and that a fifth was demanded of them, which they refused under a constitution of pope Boniface to grant. At this the king was offended, and adjourned the business to another parliament. See Palgrave's Parliamentary Writs, London, 1827. Chron. Abstr. p. 26, note 2. Conf. ibid. pp. 47, 8. At this adjourned meeting the clergy were absent.—Parl. Hist. of England, Lond. 1806, &c. Vol. I. cols. 43, 4. Conf. ibid. col. 208, for an account of what is referred to under Richard II.]

[3 Stat. at Large, Lond. 1763, &c. Provis. de Merton, A. D. 1235. cap. ix. Vol. I. p. 19.]

[4 In provisione de Martona, 1567, 1570.]

[5 Corp. Jur. Canon. Lugd. 1624. Decretal. Gregor. IX. Lib. IV. Tit. xvii. can. 1. col. 1530.]

[6 Meself, 1567, 1570.]

[7 The words from *therefore* are not in 1567.]

[8 The last eight words are not in 1567.]

concluded. King Canute, in his parliament holden at Winchester upon Christmas day, after sundry laws and orders made, touching the faith, the keeping of holy days, public prayers, learning of the Lord's prayer, receiving of the communion thrice in the year, the manner and form of baptism, fasting, and other like matters of religion, in the end thereof saith thus: *Jam sequitur institutio legum secularium*[9]: "Now followeth an order for temporal laws." Leg. Canuti.

Thus we see that the godly catholic princes in old times thought it their duty, before all other affairs of the common weal, first to determine matters of religion, and that even by the parliaments of this realm.

In a parliament holden by king William the Conqueror it is written thus: *Rex, quia vicarius summi Regis est, ad hoc constituitur, ut regnum et populum Domini, et supra*[10] *omnia sanctam ecclesiam, regat et defendat, &c.*[11] "The king, forasmuch as he is the vicar of the highest King, is therefore appointed to this purpose, that he should rule and defend the kingdom and people of the Lord, and above all things the holy church, &c." Hereby it appeareth that kings and princes are specially and of purpose appointed by God, not only to defend, but also to govern and rule the holy church.

Howbeit, if any imperfection shall appear in the former parliaments[12], we give God thanks for the same that is, and trust that for his own name's sake he will confirm that he hath begun. The hearts of princes and determinations of parliaments are in his hand. If anything want, the arm of the Lord is not shortened: he is able to supply the same.

Ye magnify much your late chapter of Trident, which you would so fain have to be called[13] a general council, with so many nations, so many bishops, and[14] so many years of consultation. Yet notwithstanding, of all these so many, and so many nations and countries, if it may please you to sit down and to take the account, ye shall find there were only poor forty bishops, and certain of the same (as Richard[15] Pates, the bishop of Worcester[16], and blind sir Robert, the archbishop of Armach[17]) that only had the bare titles of bishopricks, and indeed were no bishops at all[18]. Two others of your said so many and so notable learned and holy bishops, being at your said worthy council, were even there killed in advoutery; the one stricken down with a club, the other taken in the manner by the husband, and hanged by the neck, out of a great lucane[19] window into the street[20]. For these and other causes Henry, the French king, openly by his ambassador protested against the same council in the presence of all your so many, and so many bishops there, and said it was "not a council general, but a private convent[21] or assembly of a few certain people summoned together for gain's sake[22]." Conc. Trid. sub Carol. Quint. Rob. Cæcus. Vid. Concil. Trid. sub Paul. III. Matth. Flac. Illyr. in Protest. contr. Concil. Trid. p. 79. Joh. Sleid. Lib. xxiii. An. 1551. Conventus quorundam privatus utilitatis gratia institutus.

[9 Hoc est seculare consilium, quod ex consultatione cum sapientibus meis volo ut observetur &c.—Wilkins' Leges Anglo-Saxon. Lond. 1721. Leges Cnuti, p. 133.]

[10 Super, 1567, 1570.]

[11 Quam justissime decet christianum regem patris loco esse christianæ genti, et in cautione ac custodia Christi vicarius, uti etiam vocatur. Decet ipsum etiam ut tota sua anima christianismum diligat, ...et ut Dei ecclesiam ubique diligenter veneretur et muniat, et omnem christianum populum pacificet et componat vera doctrina, &c.—Lib. Const. ibid. p. 147. This book is said in a note to be printed from a MS. about the time of the conquest; but it appears uncertain by what king it was sanctioned.]

[12 The preceding nine words are not in 1567.]

[13 Have called, 1567.]

[14 *And* is not in 1567.]

[15 Richards, 1611.]

[16 Pates was originally nominated by the pope, but was not in possession of the see till the reign of queen Mary. Conf. Wood, Athen. Oxon. Lond. 1813-17. Vol. II. col. 794.]

[17 Robert Wauchop is the person intended. He was appointed archbishop of Armagh by pope Paul III.; but the appointment never took effect. See Mant, Hist. of Church of Ireland, Lond. 1840. Vol. I. p. 181. According to some he was not blind, but merely short-sighted. Conf. Burnet, Hist. of Ref. Part II. Book I. At the opening of the council of Trent there were, it is said, but twenty-two bishops present. The numbers were subsequently greater.]

[18 The last two words are not in 1567.]

[19 Lucane: possibly from the French *lucarne*, a dormer-window, or window in the roof.]

[20 Notissimum enim est, etiam non ita dudum duos episcopos ob adulteria ibi interfectos esse: alterum quidem venabulo confossum; alterum (ut fertur) mira industria mariti, posito in fenestra, qua ille spiritualis pater noctu ad ejus uxorem irrepere solitus fuerat, laqueo feræ bestiæ instar captum, ac statim suspensus, ita ut mane eum in platea de fenestra dependentem omnes spectarint.—Protest. Concion. August. Confess. adv. Convent. Trident. 1563, p. 79.]

[21 Covent, 1567.]

[22 ...non habere se concilium hoc pro publico seu generali, sed magis pro conventu quodam privato, qui sit non reipublicæ, sed paucorum aliquot compendii et utilitatis causa institutus.—J. Sleid. Comm. Argent. 1572. Lib. XXII. fol. 279.]

Now, whereas it hath pleased you, as well here as elsewhere, to sport yourself with superintendents and superintendentships, and to refresh your wits with so vain a fantasy[1] of your own; if ye had been so deeply travailed in the doctors, new or old, as ye bear us in hand, ye might easily have known that a superintendent is an ancient name, and signifieth none other but a bishop. St Augustine saith: *Vocabulum episcopatus inde ductum est, quod ille, qui præficitur, eis, quibus præficitur, superintendit.... Ergo* ἐπισκοπεῖν... *Latine dicere possumus superintendere*[2]. Again he saith: *Quod Græce dicitur episcopus, hoc Latine superintentor interpretatur*[3]. Chrysostom saith: *Episcopus, ex eo dictus*[4], *quod omnes inspiciat*[5]. St Hierome saith: ἐπισκοποῦντες, *id est, superintendentes*[6]. Anselmus saith: *Episcopus... [Latine] superintendens dicitur*[7]. Beda likewise saith: *Episcopus... Latine superintendens dicitur*[8]. Petrus de Palude saith: *Episcopus dicitur superintendens; et Petrus fuit superintendens toti mundo*[9]: "Peter was the superintendent of the whole world." Your own Thomas of Aquine saith: *Episcopi dicuntur ex eo, quod superintendunt*[10]. Therefore, M. Harding, if modesty move you not, yet at least for your gravity's sake leave playing with these vain and childish follies. The bishops of England have this day not only the same name, but also the same room and authority and jurisdiction, that other bishops have ever had before.

August. de Civit. Lib. xix. cap. xix.
August. in Psal. cxxvi.
Chrysost. I ad Tim. Hom. 10.
Hieron. ad Evagr.
Anselm. ad Philip. cap. i.
Bed. 1 Pet. ii.
Petr. de Palud. de Potest. Coll. Apost. Art. 1.
Thom. ii. 2. Quæst. 184. Art. 6.

The Apology, Chap. iii. Division 1.

But touching this council, which is now summoned by pope[11] Pius, wherein men so lightly are condemned, being neither called, nor heard[12], nor seen, it is easy to guess what we may look for or hope of it.

M. HARDING.

*The general council of Trent is now at length by God's special favour concluded and ended. What have ye to say to it? Forbear your accustomed lying; what have ye to say to it? For *matters of faith, what is not sound and true? For *manners, what sore lacketh due salve? For *discipline, what disorder hath not wholesome restraints and punishments? What defects be not providently considered, how to be supplied? What abuses be not required to be taken away, as far as man's wit could devise, and the weakness of the present age can bear?*

* Untruths, open and without shame. For example, your stews, your courteghians, and fornications, and concubines[13] were never touched.

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

All this matter is fully answered by "what," and by "what." What matter of faith? What manners? What disorder? What defects? What abuses? But all these "whats" notwithstanding, what if your pope, your cardinals, and your clergy, with the whole disorder of your Roman church, with so many priests keeping concubines, with so many non-residents, with so many dumb bishops, and with so many thousands of common harlots, be in case now even as they were before? Will ye tell us, nevertheless, that all your sores be sufficiently salved? Or must we believe that your keeping of concubines, your open stews, and fornications, &c. be no sores? Verily St Bernard saith, as it is alleged before: *Intestina et insanabilis est plaga ecclesiæ*[14]: "The wound of

Bernard. in Cant. Serm. 33.
Holcot. in Sapient. Lect. 23.

[1] Fancy, 1567, 1570.]

[2] ... atque inde ductum vocabulum, quod &c. Latine superintendere possumus dicere.—August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. De Civ. Dei, Lib. XIX. cap. xix. Tom. VII. col. 563.]

[3] Id. in Psalm. cxxvi. Enarr. 3. Tom. IV. col. 1429; where *Græce quod.*]

[4] Dicitur, 1567, 1570, 1609.]

[5] Ἐπισκοπὴ γὰρ εἴρηται παρὰ τὸ ἐπισκοπεῖν ἅπαντας.—Chrysost. Op. Par. 1718-38. In I. Epist. ad Tim. cap. iii. Hom. x. Tom. XI. p. 598.]

[6] Hieron. Op. Par. 1693-1706. Ad Evang. Epist. ci. Tom. IV. Pars II. cols. 802, 3.]

[7] Anselm. Op. Col. Agrip. 1612. In Epist. ad Philip. cap. i. Tom. II. p. 295.]

[8] Ven. Bed. Op. Col. Agrip. 1612. In I. Epist. Petr. cap. ii. Tom. V. col. 704.]

[9] Sed episcopo qui dicitur super intendens &c. ...fuit [Petrus] major episcopus... super intendens toti mundo.—Petr. de Palud. De Caus. Immed. Eccles. Potest. Par. 1506. Art. Sec. Sept. Concl. fol. bi. 2.]

[10] Aquinat. Op. Venet. 1595. Sec. Secund. Quæst. clxxxiv. Art. 6. Tom. XI. fol. 444.]

[11] By the pope, Conf.]

[12] Condemned which have been neither called heard, Conf.]

[13] These two words are not in 1567.]

[14] Bernard. Op. Par. 1690. In Cant. Serm. xxxiii. 16. Vol. I. Tom. IV. col. 1393. Conf. Holkoth. in Lib. Sapient. Præl. 1586. cap. ii. Lect. xxiv. fol. 87.]

the church bleedeth inwardly, and is past cure." And again: *A planta pedis usque ad verticem [capitis] non est [in ea] sanitas*[15]: "There is no whole part in the church from the sole of the foot to the top of the head." Baptista Mantuanus saith: *Ægrotatque fides jam proxima morti*[16]: "The faith of the Roman church is sick, and almost dead." Bernard. in Conv. Paul. Serm. 1. Bapt. Mant. Fast. Lib. iv. ad Leon. X.

In your old Latin translation of the bible there be sundry errors, so open and so gross, that a very babe may soon espy them; as it may more plainly appear by Budæus, Erasmus, Valla, Faber, Lindanus, and others. Yet, that notwithstanding, your council saith precisely thus: *Ne quis veterem vulgatam editionem rejicere quovis prætextu audeat vel præsumat*[17]: "Let no man dare or presume by any manner of colour to refuse the old common translation of the bible." As if your councils were purposely summoned to maintain errors. If ye will so wilfully deceive us in sensible matters, how may we then trust you in matters of faith? Concil. Trid.

THE APOLOGY, Chap. iii. Division 2.

In times past, when Nazianzene saw in his days how men in such assemblies were so blind and wilful, that they were carried with affections, and laboured more to get the victory than the truth, he pronounced openly, that he never had seen any[19] good end of any council[20]. What would he say now, if he were alive at this day, and understood the heaving and shoving of these men? For at that time, though the matter were laboured on all sides, yet the controversies were well heard, and open errors were put clean away by the general voice of all parts. But these men will neither have the case to be freely disputed, nor yet, how many errors soever there be, suffer they any to be changed. For it is a common custom of theirs, often and shamelessly to boast that their church cannot err, that in it there is no fault, and that they must give place to us in nothing: or, if there be any fault, yet must it be tried by their bishops[21] and abbats only, because they be the directors and rulers of matters; for that they[22] be the church of God. Aristotle saith that "a city cannot consist of bastards." Now[23] whether the church of God may consist of these men, let themselves[24] consider. For doubtless, neither be their abbats abbats indeed, nor their bishops such natural right bishops as they ought to be[25]. Nazian. ad Procop.[18]

M. HARDING.

Gregory Nazianzene in his epistle to Procopius saith thus: "I refuse to come to whatsoever council of bishops; because I could never yet to this day see the end of any council endued with any profit, and after which things amiss were not rather made more grievous than healed[26]*." Nazianzene in that epistle spake of* [a]*provincial councils, specially those that were holden in his troublesome times, where most commonly heretics through favour of their deceived princes bare the sway: which in matters of faith could hardly then obtain any credit among the catholics, unless they had been confirmed by the authority of the bishop of Rome; of which sort at that age were few. Those other Nazianzene had experience of,*

[a] Untruth. For he speaketh of all manner of councils, as well general as provincial. His words be: *Prorsus decrevi fugere* omnem conventum episcoporum.

[15] Id. in Convers. S. Paul. Serm. i. 3. Vol. I. Tom. III. col. 956.]

[16] Bapt. Mant. Libr. de Sacr. Dieb. Argent. 1518. Lib. IV. De Sanct. Leon. v. 174. fol. i. ii. 2.]

[17] Concil. Trident. Sess. IV. in Concil. Stud. Labb. et Cossart. Lut. Par. 1671-2. Tom. XIV. col. 747; where *ut nemo illam rejicere.*]

[18] This reference is not in Conf.]

[19] A, Conf. and Def. 1567.]

[20] See below, page 908, note 2.]

[21] By bishops, Conf.]

[22] Matters and they, Conf.]

[23] But, Conf. and Def. 1567.]

[24] Let their own selves, Conf.]

[25] Be the abbots legitimate abbots, nor the bishops natural right bishops, Conf.; nor their bishops natural right bishops, Def. 1567.]

[26] See below, page 908, note 2.]

of these he had not. Albeit indeed the utility of the Nicene council in his time, that is to say, within so few years after the same was holden, was not yet thoroughly espied and fully known abroad. Neither would he, if he were alive at this day, reprove the holy general council of Trent, as ye do. For why should he?....

* This is a lusty kind of divinity.

**And how shameless be ye to require us to yield and give place unto you! Who made you judges over us? Who gave you commission? Where is your warrant?...*

What need ye to shew your malice so much at bishops and abbats? Which of them hurteth you? Have ye not in prison or in custody [b]*at your appointment all the bishops of England, one apostata yet living excepted, which, after sundry flights and changing of coats, is fled from the tents of the church to your scattered troops? The abbats, have ye not driven them away? Be ye yet afraid of their shadows? As by Aristotle "a city cannot consist of bastards," no more can the church of England consist of such bastard bishops as ye be: what number of abbats ye have left in cloisters, such number*[1] *of true bishops have ye left in churches. One must I still except, who is a true bishop by consecration (as I understand), though a false man by apostasy, and going from his faith, and from his religion.*

[b] Untruth. For they are committed only by the appointment of the prince.

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

Touching the unlucky success of councils, the ancient father Nazianzene saith thus: *Equidem, ut vere quod res est scribam, prorsus decrevi fugere omnem conventum episcoporum. Nullius enim concilii bonum excitum unquam vidi. Concilia enim non minuunt mala, sed augent potius*[2]*:* "To say the truth, I am utterly determined never to come to any council of bishops. For I never yet saw good end of any council. For councils abate not ill things, but rather increase them." These words thus uttered, whether they be universally true or otherwise, I will not reason. It may seem hereby, this learned father for his time by experience found them true. And for ought that may appear to the contrary, notwithstanding anything contained in your gloss, he seemeth to utter the same, as well of general councils as of provincial.

Gregor. Naz. ad Procop. Ὅτι μηδεμιᾶς συνόδου τέλος εἶδον ἀρεστὸν, μηδὲ λύσιν κακῶν μᾶλλον ἐσχηκυίας, ἢ προσθήκην.

Certainly after the great general council of Nice the Arian heretics waxed more and more mighty than ever they had been before. The emperors Constantius and Valens, with their wives and courts, became Arians. Constantinus the Great himself was also doubted to be an Arian. Liberius the bishop of Rome, and Hosius, that famous learned bishop of Spain, gave their hands unto the Arians[3]. Ten several sundry provincial councils gave their voices with the Arians. St Hierome saith: *Ingemuit totus orbis, et Arianum se esse miratus est*[4]*:* "The whole world began to groan, and marvelled that it had taken part with the Arians." Therefore Nazianzene saith he never saw council, nor provincial nor general, that ended well; for that, as one saith: "The greater side oftentimes overweigheth the better." Even so said the French king's ambassador, in the behalf of his prince, in your late chapter[5] at Trident: *Nostra patrumque nostrorum et avorum memoria, synodos indictas fuisse, episcopos convenisse, maximos in Germania atque....Italia conventus peractos esse scimus. Vix tamen ullus, aut perexiguus inde fructus Christianitati constitit*[6]*:* "We know that both in our grandfathers' and fathers' days, and in our[7] own time, councils have been summoned, bishops have met together, great and solemn assemblies have been kept, as well in Germany as in Italy; yet scarcely any good at all, or very little good, came thereof to the state of Christendom."

Sozom.

Hieron. adv. Lucifer.

Tit. Livius. Major pars vincit meiorem. Orat. Synod. Legat. Reg. Franc. An. 1562.

Concerning abbats and monasteries we have said before. We have as many abbats in England this day as either Christ ever had or his apostles. Not-

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[1] Numbers, Def. 1570.]

[2] Gregor. Naz. Op. Par. 1778-1840. Ad Procop. Epist. cxxx. Tom. II. p. 110; where εἶδον χρηστὸν, and μᾶλλον ἐσχηκυῖαν ἢ προσθήκην.]

[3] Soz. in Hist. Eccles. Script. Amst. 1695-1700. Lib. IV. capp. xii. xv. pp. 450,1,3,4.]

[4] Hieron. Op. Par. 1693-1706. Adv. Lucifer. Tom. IV. Pars II. col. 300.]

[5] Your chapter, 1567.]

[6] Orat. Guid. Fabr. in Concil. Trident. in Concil. Stud. Labb. et Cossart. Lut. Par. 1671-2. Tom. XIV. col. 1177.]

[7] Fathers and our, 1567.]

withstanding one of your learned fellows of Lovaine, for the good-will he beareth to that religion, telleth us that the apostles were monks, and Christ himself was the abbat[8]. The abbats and monks that were in old times were men given to study and learning; and out of monasteries learned men were then taken, as out of schools and universities, to the rule and government of the church[10]: but your abbats now are as much like those abbats as your church is like the primitive church of Christ.

The success of councils. Monks and Abbats[9].

Erasmus saith: *Haud scio, an nunc... magis expediret ecclesiæ christianæ, si pauciora essent monasteria,... essetque omnium idem cultus, eædem[que][11] preces, eademque vitæ ratio[12]:* "I know not whether it were better for the church of Christ that there were fewer monasteries, and that all men had one service of God, one kind of prayer, and one order of life."

Cop. f. 284. August. Epist. 81. August. Epist. 76. Erasm. in Schol. in Epist. ad Rust. Mon.

The Apology, Chap. iii. Division 3.

But grant they be the church; let them be heard speak in councils; let them alone have authority to give consent: yet in old time, when the church of God (if ye will compare it with their church) was very well governed, both elders and deacons, as saith Cyprian, and certain also of the common people, were called thereunto, and made acquainted with ecclesiastical matters[13].

M. HARDING.

Ah, sirs, would ye have the common people come to the general council? Whom mean you[14]*, I pray you? Tinkers and tapsters, fiddlers and pipers, such as your ministers be? Alas, poor souls! what should they do there? For there is no tinking, nor tippling, no fiddling, nor piping. There may they shut up both budgets and mouths: for neither can they speak in such an audience to be understanded, nor can they understand what is spoken. Look in your books better, and you shall find Cyprian to make little for your purpose.*

Had your matter been good, it might have been defended without lies. Being as it is altogether beside truth and reason, for some colour of the maintenance[15] *of the same ye pass all measure in lying. Where saith St Cyprian that certain of the common people were called to ecclesiastical councils? Yea, specially where saith he* [a]*that the common people were made judges of ecclesiastical matters? for so hath your Latin, which not without guile your lady interpreter commonly turneth, "were made acquainted with ecclesiastical matters." If you had meant true dealing, defender, you would have quoted the place; but you knew thereby your falsehood*[17] *should have been espied.* [b]*The place which you mean doubtless is in*[18] *the second tome of St Cyprian's works, where we find the sentences of the bishops of Afric,* De Hæreticis baptizandis; *which proveth your strange saying, by you fathered upon that holy martyr, nothing at all. The words be these:* Cum in unum Carthagini convenissent, &c.[19] *"When many bishops, in the first day of September, were assembled together at Carthage, out of the province of Afric, Numidia, Mauritania, with their priests and deacons, the most part of the people also being present, &c."...*

[a] St Cyprian's words be plain: *Nihil...sine consensu plebis, etc.* Lib. iii. Epist. 10.[16]
[b] Your guess deceiveth you; it is not there.

Now what can you gather out of them for your purpose more, but that a great number of the people were present only in the church or other place where the bishops were assembled? That certain of the common people were called to this council,

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[8] Copi Dialog. Sex, Antv. 1566. Dial. II. cap. xxv. p. 284. Conf. ibid. cap. iv. p. 194. See Vol. III. page 235, notes 13, 14.]

[9] Abbot, 1611.]

[10] August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. Ad Eudox. Epist. lxxxi.; ad Aurel. Epist. lx. Tom. II. cols. 113, 4, 47, 8.]

[11] Eademque, 1611.]

[12] Hieron. Op. Basil. 1516. Erasm. Schol. in Epist. ad Rust. Monach. Tom. I. fol. 20; where *pauciora forent.*]

[13] See below, page 912, note 15.]

[14] Ye, Conf. and Def. 1567, 1570.]

[15] Of maintenance, Conf. and Def. 1567, 1570.]

[16] Cypr. Op. Oxon. 1682. Ad Presb. et Diac. Epist. xiv. p. 33. See below, page 912, note 15.]

[17] Falshead, Conf. and Def. 1567, 1570.]

[18] Doubtless in, Conf.]

[19] Ibid. Concil. Carthag. De Bapt. Hæret. p. 229.]

Priests unlearned.

*there is no such word mentioned, nor by Cyprian, nor by any else. *Neither were the priests themselves (which this youthful gentlewoman interpreteth elders) and deacons *called thither, but they attended upon the bishops, as in such case it hath been accustomed; for sentence none might give in any council*[1] *but *only bishops. Then how much less were the common people called to that council, specially to sit as judges in ecclesiastical matters!*[2] *... Marry, that you would so have it, I think well; for such confusion might best serve you to procure the overthrow of good order, in which the church is governed, which if it be maintained duly, your disordered and rebellious state will soon be confounded*[3] *...*

* Untruths, boldly avouched. Read the answer.

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

Your tinkers and tapsters, M. Harding, are ashamed in your behalf to see your folly. A poor silly jester to win his dinner would be loth to scoff so coldly. Certain of our clergy want the knowledge of rhetoric, logic, philosophy, the Hebrew, the Greek, and the Latin tongues. Therefore ye call them tinkers and tapsters. Such is the sobriety and modesty of your talk. Of what school or tongue then are your priests, M. Harding, that for the more part can neither speak Latin, nor read English, nor understand the articles of their faith, nor any portion of the scriptures? Clouds without rain; lanterns without light; salt without savour; blind guides; dumb dogs; that, as one saith, seem to have their souls given them instead of salt, to keep them from stinking. Of what art or occupation was he that baptized a child in Latin in this sort: *In nomine Patria et Filia, et Spirita Sancta*[4]*?* What a skilful clerk was your pope Julius II. that, assigning a warrant, instead of *fiat*, wrote *fiatur!* Your own doctor Alphonsus de Castro saith: *Constat plures papas adeo illiteratos esse, ut grammaticam penitus ignorent*[5]*:* "It is most certain that many popes be so unlearned that they be utterly ignorant of their grammar." And, being utterly ignorant of their grammar rules, I beseech you for what other profound science of logic or philosophy can ye praise them? Another of your doctors saith: *Papa propter defectum literaturæ non potest deponi*[6]*:* "The pope may not be deposed for lack of learning." That is to say, the pope, though he be never so ignorant or void of knowledge, yet is as good a pope as the best.

De Consecr. Dist. 4. Retulerunt. Jul. Pp. II.

Alphons. Lib. i. cap. iv.

Felin. de Rescript. Si quando.

Another of your doctors saith: *Venalitate curiæ Romanæ inaniter præficiuntur lenones, coqui, stabularii equorum, et pueri*[7]*:* "Through the bribery of the court of Rome, bawds, cooks, hostlers, and children, be placed in offices to govern the church." Shall we therefore say, as you say, that all your priests be "fiddlers and pipers, tinkers and tapsters?"

Aur. Spec. in Antilogia.

Some certain of our clergy be ignorant in the tongues, as yours be; but not ignorant in knowledge, as yours be. The worst of them seeth and lamenteth your wilful ignorance. St Augustine saith: *Multo minus malum est indoctum esse quam indocilem*[8]*:* "Less hurt is it to be unlearned, than to be wilful and unapt to learn." Irenæus saith: *Melius est et utilius idiotas et parum scientes existere, et per caritatem proximos Deo fieri, quam putare se multum scire, et multa expertos in suum Deum blasphemos inveniri*[9]*:* "Better it is[10] a great deal for men to be ignorant, and to know but little, and by love to draw near to God, than to

2 Cor. xi.

August. contr. Acad. Lib. iii. cap. vii.

Iren. Lib. ii. cap. xiv.

[1 A, Conf.]

[2 In the part omitted Harding speaks of the people's being present, but merely as hearers not judges, at the first convocation in queen Mary's time, at the disputation with Cranmer, Latimer, and Ridley at Oxford, and at the disputation appointed to be held just after queen Elizabeth's accession.]

[3 Harding here says that queen Elizabeth was well inclined to send ambassadors to the council of Trent, but was prevented.]

[4 Zach. Papa in Corp. Jur. Canon. Lugd. 1624. Decret. Gratian. Decr. Tert. Pars, De Consecr. Dist. iv. can. 86. col. 2010; where *Spiritu.*]

[5 Alfons. de Castro adv. Hær. Col. 1539. Lib. i. cap. iv. fol. 8. See Vol. III. page 343, note 15.]

[6 ...quod speciale sit in papa, ut propter &c. possit &c.—Felin. Sand. Comm. sup. Decretal. Lugd. 1587. Lib. i. Tit. iii. cap. 5. fol. 80. 2.]

[7 Nonne totum hoc sua venalitate tota curia Romana propagavit, cum sic...inaniter præficiuntur, lenones, coci, &c.—Aur. Speeul. Papæ in Antilog. Papæ, Basil. 1555, p. 296. Conf. in Fasc. Rer. Expet. et. Fug. Lond. 1690. Tom. II. p. 71.]

[8 ...quanto minus malum sit indoctum &c.—August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. Contr. Academ. Lib. iii. cap. viii. 17. Tom. I. col. 281.]

[9 Iren. Op. Par. 1710. Contr. Hær. Lib. ii. cap. xxvi. p. 154.]

[10 Is it, 1567, 1570.]

think themselves to know much, and to have[11] great experience, and yet to be found blasphemous[12] against God.

St Ambrose saith: *Non in dialectica complacuit Deo salvum facere populum suum. Regnum enim Dei in simplicitate fidei est, non in contentione sermonis*[13]: "It pleased not God by logic to save his people. For the kingdom of God standeth not in contention of talk, but in simplicity of faith." Likewise he saith: *Verba philosophorum excludit simplex veritas piscatorum*[14]: "The simple plain faith of fishers confoundeth the words of the learned philosophers." The ancient father Origen saith: *Sapientes hujus seculi, videntes absque arte grammatica et peritia philosophica consurgere muros evangelii, velut cum irrisione quadam dicunt, perfacile hoc posse destrui calliditate sermonum, per astutas*[15] *fallacias et argumenta dialectica*[16]: "The wise men of this world, seeing the walls of the gospel to rise up without grammar and profound knowledge in philosophy, say scornfully amongst themselves, that all this, by subtlety of speech, and crafty shifts, and logical arguments, may full easily be shaken down."

Ambros. de Fid. Lib. i. cap. iii.

Ambros. de Incarn. Dom. cap. ix.

Orig. in Cant. Hom. 4.

It appeareth by the councils of Carthage and Hippo Regius, that in old times children under fourteen years of age were admitted to be readers in the church[17], and, notwithstanding either their age or want of learning, the people was well contented with silence and reverence to give ear unto them. St Chrysostom saith: *In humanis negotiis, quando rex diademate coronatus, &c.*[18]: "Even in worldly affairs, when the king sendeth forth his proclamations, the courier or pursuivant is oftentimes a man of small account, and sometime so base that he never knew his own father or grandfather. But they that receive the proclamation have no regard unto him that brought it; notwithstanding, in respect of the king's letters that he brought, they yield[19] him honour, and with silence and reverence give attendance to the proclamation."

Conc. Carth. III. can. 19. Et Concil. Hipp.

Chrysost. in Gen. Hom. 44.

These simple unlearned ones, whom you so disdainfully despise, shall rise up in the day of our Lord, and condemn you with all your knowledge. God is able to make the poor ass to speak, to control blind Balaam's wilful purposes. St Hierome saith: *Paulus,.... qui solœcismos facit in loquendo, Christi crucem portat, et quasi triumphans omnes capit; totum orbem subegit, ab oceano usque ad mare rubrum*[20]: "Paul, that is not able to utter his mind in congrue speech, beareth the cross of Christ, and taketh all men prisoners, as if it were in triumph: from the ocean unto the Red sea he subdued the whole world." Likewise St Ambrose saith: *Non quæro quid loquantur philosophi: requiro quid faciant. Soli in suis gymnasiis remanserunt. Vide, quam fides argumentis præponderet. Illi quotidie a suis consortibus deseruntur, qui copiose disputant; isti quotidie crescunt, qui simpliciter credunt. Non creditur philosophis: creditur piscatoribus*[21]: "I demand not what these great learned philosophers say, but what they do. They are forsaken and left alone in their schools. Behold how much more weight there is in faith than in arguments. They, with their profound reasons, are daily forsaken of their fellows: these, with their simple faith, go forward and increase daily. Men believe not the learned philosophers; they believe unlearned fishers."

Numb. xxii.

Hieron. in Psal. lxxxi.

Ambros. ad Grat. de Fid. Lib. i. cap. v.

"Priests," ye say, "this youthful gentlewoman interpreteth elders." O M. Harding, little needeth that godly-learned and virtuous lady to fear your so

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[11] And have, 1570.]

[12] Blasphemers, 1567, 1570, 1609.]

[13] Ambros. Op. Par. 1686-90. De Fid. Lib. i. cap. v. 42. Tom. II. col. 451.]

[14] Id. Lib. de Incarn. Dom. Sacram. cap. ix. 89. Tom. II. col. 723.]

[15] Astutias, 1611.]

[16] Orig. Op. Par. 1733-59. In Cant. Lib. iv. Tom. III. p. 93.]

[17] Concil. Carthag. iii. cap. 19, in Crabb. Concil. Col. Agrip. 1551. Tom. I. p. 428. Conf. Concil. Hippon. Abbrev. 20. ibid. p. 434.]

[18] Ἐπεὶ καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἀνθρωπίνοις πράγμασιν, ἐπειδὰν ὁ βασιλεὺς, ὁ τὸ διάδημα περικείμενος, γράμματα διαπέμψηται, ὁ μὲν ἐπιφερόμενος ταῦτα καθ' ἑαυτὸν μὲν οὐδενὸς λόγου ἄξιος τυγχάνει, ἀλλ' εὐτελής τίς ἐστι, καὶ πολλάκις οὐδὲ προγόνους ἀριθμεῖν ἔχων, ἀλλ' ἀνώνυμος καὶ ἐξ ἀνωνύμων· ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐκείνῳ προσέχουσιν οἱ ταῦτα δέχεσθαι μέλλοντες, ἀλλὰ διὰ τὰ τοῦ βασιλέως γράμματα πολλὴν κἀκείνῳ τιμὴν ἀπονέμουσι, καὶ τὰ γράμματα μετὰ πολλοῦ τοῦ φόβου καὶ πολλῆς τῆς ἡσυχίας δέχονται.—Chrysost. Op. Par. 1718-38. In cap. xix. Gen. Hom. xliv. Tom. IV. p. 447.]

[19] Give, 1567.]

[20] Hieron. Op. Par. 1693-1706. Breviar. in Psalt. Psalm. lxxxi. Tom. II. Append. col. 335; where *crucem Christi*, and *in mare*.]

[21] Ambros. Op. De Fid. Lib. i. cap. xiii. 84. Tom. II. cols. 460, 1.]

Priests, deacons, and laymen in Councils.

unmanly and childish toys. If ye had been either so sagely studied as ye pretend, and your friends have thought, ye might soon have learned that *presbyter*, a priest, is nothing else but *senior;* that is, an elder, and that a priest and an elder are both one thing[1]. And therefore, whereas St Paul saith, *Adversus presbyterum accusationem ne admiseris,* St Cyprian, translating the same, saith thus: *Adversus majorem natu accusationem ne receperis*[2]. Your own doctor Thomas Aquinas[3] saith: *Presbyteri... in Græco dicuntur, quasi seniores*[4]. Your own Gratian saith: *Presbyter Græce, Latine senior interpretatur*[5]. St Hierome saith: *Idem est ... presbyter qui episcopus*[6]. These two words, πρεσβύτερος, πρεσβύτατος, are expounded in Latin, *natu major, natu maximus.* So Plutarchus saith: πρεσβύτερα δένδρα[7], "old trees." So Nazianzene saith: πρεσβυτικῶς βακτηρεύοντες: "Going by a staff, as old men use to do." Therefore, M. Harding, it had been more for your gravity to have spared these your youthful[8] follies.

1 Tim. v. κατὰ πρεσβυτέρου. Cypr. ad Quir. Lib. iii. cap. lxxvi. Thom. Sec. Secund. Quæst. 184. Art. 6. Dist. 21. Cleros. Hieron. ad Tit. cap. i. Plut. in Public.

Ye say, "The priests and deacons waited only upon the bishops, but sentence in council they might give none." This tale were true, M. Harding, if every your word were a gospel. But St Luke would have told you far otherwise. For speaking of the first christian council holden in the apostles' time, he saith thus: *Convenerunt apostoli et seniores, ut dispicerent de hoc negotio:* "The apostles and elders met together to take order touching this matter." And again, in the conclusion: *Placuit apostolis et senioribus cum tota ecclesia:* "It seemed good to the apostles and elders, together with the whole church." Here you see the apostles and elders give their voices together[9]. Nicephorus saith: *Athanasius inter diaconos Alexandriæ primarius, non minima pars Nicenæ synodi*[10]*:* "Athanasius being (not a bishop, but) one of the chief deacons of Alexandria, was not the least part of the council of Nice." Tertullian saith: *Præsident probati quique seniores, honorem istum non pretio sed testimonio adepti*[11]*:* "The judges in such ecclesiastical assemblies be the best-allowed elders, having obtained that honour, not for money, but by the witness of their brethren." And in the second council of Nice, Petrus *protopresbyter* and Petrus *presbyter,* not being bishops, but only priests, sent thither by Adrianus, the bishop of Rome, gave their assents, and subscribed their names before all the bishops[12].

Acts xv. Niceph. Lib. viii. cap. xv. Tertull. in Apolog. Concil. Nic. ii. Act. 2. 4. & 6.

Touching St Cyprian, ye say, as your gravity and modesty best[13] leadeth you, we "lie without colour, and pass measure in lying." And here, as men do that go by guess, and answer long before they know, ye find out a place in St Cyprian that we thought not of, and, upon affiance thereof, ye blow up your trump, and call us liars. Howbeit, wise men think him a hasty judge, that pronounceth before he know the cause. St Cyprian saith: *A primordio episcopatus mei statui nihil sine consilio vestro, et sine consensu plebis, mea privatim sententia, gerere*[14]*:* "From my first entering into the bishoprick I have determined to do nothing by mine own authority, without your advice (being the priests and deacons), and without the consent of the people." For doing the contrary hereof the ancient father Origen rebuketh bishops of pride and stateliness. Thus he saith: *Quis... hodie eorum, qui populis præsunt, ... consilium dignatur inferioris saltem sacerdotis accipere? Ne ... dixerim laici vel gentilis*[15]*:* "What one now-a-days of all the bishops that have the oversight of the people vouchsafeth to take the counsel of any inferior priest? I will not say of a layman or of an heathen." Such, M. Harding, are your cardinals and bishops of Rome. They disdain the company

Cypr. Lib. iii. Epist. x. Orig. in Exod. Hom. 11.

[1 These eleven words are not in 1567.]

[2 Cypr. Op. Oxon. 1682. Testim. Lib. III. cap. 76. p. 86.]

[3 Aquina, 1609, 1611.]

[4 Aquinat. Op. Venet. 1595. Sec. Secund. Quæst. clxxxiv. Art. 6. Tom. XI. fol. 444.]

[5 Corp. Jur. Canon. Lugd. 1624. Decret. Gratian. Decr. Prim. Pars, Dist. xxi. can. 1. col. 93.]

[6 Hieron. Op. Par. 1693-1706. Comm. in Epist. ad Tit. cap. i. Tom. IV. Pars I. col. 413.]

[7 The expression has not been found in Plutarch; but see Theophrast. Op. Ludg. Bat. 1613. Hist. Plant. Lib. I. cap. xv. p. 17; where ... καὶ τὰ πρεσβύτερα δὲ [δένδρα] τῶν νέων.]

[8 These youthful, 1567.]

[9 This sentence is not in 1567.]

[10 Niceph. Call. Hist. Eccles. Lut. Par. 1630. Lib. VIII. cap. xv. Tom. I. p. 562.]

[11 Tertull. Op. Lut. 1641. Apolog. 39. p. 34.]

[12 Concil. Nic. II. in Concil. Stud. Labb. et Cossart. Lut. Par. 1671-2. Actt. II. IV. VI. VII. Tom. VII. cols. 96, 321, 4, 89, 92, 557.]

[13 *Best* is not in 1567.]

[14 Cypr. Op. Ad Presb. et Diac. Epist. xiv. p. 33; where *statuerim.*]

[15 Orig. Op. Par. 1733-59. In Exod. Hom. xi. 6. Tom. II. p. 171.]

and counsel of their inferiors[16]. St Ambrose, touching a case of faith against the Arians, saith thus: *Veniant, ... si qui sunt, ad ecclesiam. Audiant cum populo; non ut quisquam judex resideat, sed ut unusquisque de suo affectu habeat examen*[17]: "If there be any of them, let them come to the church; let them give ear and hearken with the people: not that any man there shall sit as judge; but that every man may have the examination of his own mind." St Ambrose alloweth no one man to sit as pope, and to overrule all the rest, whatsoever he say[18]. Ambros. Lib. v. Epist. 32.

To conclude, your own pope Nicolas, writing unto Michael the Greek emperor, saith thus: *Ubinam legistis, imperatores, antecessores vestros, ... synodalibus conventionibus interfuisse? Nisi forte in quibus[dam, ubi] de fide tractatum est; quæ universalis est; quæ omnium communis est; quæ non solum ad clericos, verum etiam ad laicos, et ad omnes omnino pertinet Christianos*[19]: "Where did your majesty ever read that your predecessors, being emperors, were ever present at the assemblies of councils? Unless it were when question was moved concerning the faith. For faith is universal and common to all men, and belongeth not only to the priests, but also to the laymen, and generally to all Christians." But hereof we shall have occasion to speak more hereafter. Epist. Nicol. Pp. ad Imp. Mich.

The Apology, Chap. iii. Division 4.

But, I put case, these abbats and bishops have no knowledge: what if they understand nothing what religion is, nor how we ought to think of God? I put case, the pronouncing and ministering of the law be decayed in priests, and good counsel fail in the elders, and, as the prophet Micheas saith, "the night be unto them instead of a vision, and darkness instead of prophesying;" or, as Esaias saith, what if all "the watchmen of the city be[21] become blind?" What "if the salt have lost his proper strength and savouriness," and, as Christ saith, "be good for no use, scant worth the casting on the dunghill?" Mich. iii.[20] Isai. lvi.[20] Matt. v.[20]

M. HARDING.

... The world knoweth so well (yea, heaven also) the great worthiness of those fathers in every respect, that I should do them wrong here to praise them, for that by your fond surmises you seek their dispraise...

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

Heaven and earth knoweth, M. Harding, that two of your reverend worthy fathers, notwithstanding their virtues and all their great worthiness, were taken and slain in advoutery, even there present at your council[22]. Therefore ye do yourself some wrong, in respect of your credit, so wastefully to bestow your praises. Matt. Flac. Illyric. in Prot. contr. Concil. Trid. p. 76.

The Apology, Chap. iv. Division 1.

Well, yet then they will bring all matters before the pope, who cannot err. To this I say, first, it is a madness to think that the Holy Ghost taketh his flight from a general council to run to Rome, to the end, if he doubt or stick in any matter, and cannot expound it of himself, he may take counsel of some other spirit, I wot not what, that is better

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[16] The two preceding sentences are not in 1567.]

[17] Ambros. Op. Par. 1686-90. Epist. Class. I. Ad Valent. Imp. Epist. xxi. 6. Tom. II. col. 861.]

[18] This sentence is not in 1567.]

[19] Nicol. Papæ I. ad Michael. Imp. Epist. in Crabb. Concil. Col. Agrip. 1551. Tom. II. p. 755; where *legis* in the text, and *conventibus interfuisse nisi forsitan in.*]

[20] These references are not in Conf.: 1611 has only *Matt.*]

[21] Are, Conf.]

[22] Protest. Concion. August. Confess. adv. Convent. Trident. 1563. p. 79. See before, page 905, note 20.]

learned than himself. For, if this be true, what needed so many bishops, with so great charges, and so far journeys, to[1] have assembled their convocation at this present at Trident? It had been more wisdom and better, at least it had been a much nearer and handsomer way[2], to have brought all things rather before the pope, and to have come straight forth, and have asked counsel at his divine breast. Secondly, it is also an unlawful dealing to toss our matter from so many bishops and abbats, and to bring it at last to the trial of one only man, specially of him who himself is appeached by us of heinous and foul enormities, and hath not yet put in his answer; who hath also aforehand condemned us without judgment by order pronounced, and ere[3] ever we were called to be judged.

M. HARDING.

*We may less wonder at your jesting in other things, sith now we see you scoff and jest in things touching God himself. Sir, set you so light by the Holy Ghost, *as thus unreverently to talk of his flight and running to Rome, of his doubting and sticking, of his unableness to declare doubtful cases, of asking counsel of another spirit? Who ever uttered such vile talk of the Holy Ghost but some vile caitiff, quite void of his grace? Cannot you conceive that reasonably the determinations of councils be referred to the pope, Christ's vicar in earth, unless ye utter such unreverent and profane scoffs? It had become a wicked Celsus, a Porphyrius, a Julian, thus to talk, rather than any christian hickscorner. You should at least have looked on your square cap and your white rochet, if you have any: if nothing else, they would have told you that such profane lightness became not your person ...*

* We honour and adore the Holy Ghost as very God; but you shamefully abuse the name of God.

*Concerning the point itself you touch, *although the pope have that privilege which Christ *prayed to his Father for to be given unto Peter, as being Peter's successor, that his *faith fail not, and that he confirm his brethren, and therefore be an *assured judge in matters of faith, yet this notwithstanding councils be not assembled together in vain: ... for the fathers of the council do [b]help the faith and doctrine of the highest pastor. Wherefore in the first council at Jerusalem, when as a great question rose, and Peter had said his judgment, nor[4] propped with any testimony of the holy scriptures, James approved it, adding thereto the testimony[5] of the prophets. For God's providence so tendereth the church, that the *chief members, though they depend of the *head, yet defend and help the head. ...*

* Untruths, huddled together without shame.

Luke xxii.

* A sage kind of mockery. For then doth not the pope confirm his brethren, but rather is confirmed by his brethren.

Acts xv.

Wherefore Beda admonisheth discreetly, that Paul "conferred the gospel, which he had preached amongst the gentiles, with the other apostles, seeking warily[6] to be resolved, whether he preached rightly of the ceasing of the observances of the law. Not that he doubted ought thereof himself (saith he), but that the minds of them that were in doubt might be confirmed by the authority of that apostolic council[8]."

Lib. Retra. in Act. Apostol.

By this divinity James was a member of Peter[7].

To that you allege secondly, as a great inconvenience, we tell you that, forasmuch as the pope is at every general council, lawfully assembled, either in person, as sundry popes have been, or by his legates; [b]neither is it[9] an unlawful dealing, nor such tossing as you term it, matters maturely debated in the council to be referred to the pope, head of the council, not so much for a new trial, as for final confirmation. The fathers of the Nicene council besought St Sylvester that

[b] Wisely. The Holy Ghost that is present at the council for better advice taketh counsel of the pope.

[1] *To* is not in Conf.]
[2] Much nearer way and handsomer, Conf.]
[3] Or, Conf.]
[4] Not, Conf. and Def. 1567, 1570, 1609.]
[5] Testimonies, Conf. and Def. 1567, 1570.]
[6] Warely, Conf. and Def. 1567, 1570.]
[7] This marginal note is inserted from Def. 1567, 1570.]
[8] Contulit enim cum illis evangelium, quod prædicabat solerter in consilio apostolorum, disquirens an recte faceret prædicando, quod gentes per baptisma fidei sine circumcisione possent ad salutem pervenire: non quod ipse de hac re aliquid dubitaret, sed ut mentes dubitantium apostolicæ synodi auctoritate confirmarentur.—Ven. Bed. Op. Col. Agrip. 1612. Retract. in Act. Apost. cap. xvii. Tom. VI. col. 24.]
[9] It is, Conf. and Def. 1567.]

what they had ordained he would confirm and ratify. And Leo, what things the council of Chalcedon had decreed touching matters of faith, saith that he approveth them. And the council itself, speaking to Leo, saith thus: Decretis tuis nostrum honora judicium[10]: *"With thy decrees honour our judgment." Likewise the fathers of other councils required their constitutions*[11] *to be strengthened by confirmation of the pope's authority....*

And, sir, find you fault with the pope because he "hath not yet put in his answer?" I pray you, [c]*who accused him? Where, when, and whereof? In what lawful court? Before what lawful judge? O, you say, he "hath not yet put in his answer." Be it that Hick, Hob, and Hans, of your sects have impudently accused him. How would ye have him bring in his answer? To what seat of judgment, to what consistory can ye cite him, that is by Christ appointed* [d]*to be the supreme judge of all his church, the shepherd of all his flock? It is not for him, you know, to bring in his answer in Westminster Hall, nor in Star Chamber. Will ye have him appear before your high commissioners in the long chapel at Paul's, or in M. Grindal's chamber thereby, where ye have said and done your pleasure, and deprived many honest men of their benefices? Or will ye rather have him come to Geneva, to Zurich, to Frankford, to Strasburg, to Wittenberg, or to some other corner, where ye have your congregations, there to be judged by Jack and Gill? I pity you, poor souls, that ye talk thus so far out of square, and would the pope to bring in his answer, ye know not where, having neither just court or consistory to call him unto, nor lawful judge, nor law to pass upon him. For, through your schisms and heresies, as ye have made yourselves churchless, christless, and godless, so also courtless, judgeless, and lawless. I cannot compare you better than to the rebels of Northfolk under captain Kete, amongst whom Mount Surrey was their London, and an oak or an elm, commonly called the tree of reformation, was their Westminster Hall. Such prince, such dominion, such judge, such consistory.*

[c] The whole world accuseth him.

[d] A foul untruth. For Christ never gave the pope any such commission.

Ye complain, the pope hath condemned you without judgment by order pronounced, and before ye were ever called to be judged. This is as true as that the murderer or thief answereth the judge at the bar, saying, Not guilty, my lord. Ye have been sundry times called to lawful consistories, to synods, to councils. Always, either ye made not your appearance, or by right of safe-conduct conveyed yourselves away, without any shew of obedience; or upon promise of amendment you were dismissed[12]. *How many legates and nuncios have sundry popes sent into Germany, and other provinces, to convent you, to hear you, to move you to a better mind, and call you home, and with all merciful means to gather you again into the lap of the church? He may say, to your condemnation, that was said of the Jews: "What is that I ought to have done to* [e]*my vineyard which I have not done?" But all was in vain, such hath been your stubbornness....*

[e] Open blasphemy. The church is the pope's vineyard!

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

We jest not at God's Holy Spirit, M. Harding. We know it is the same Spirit of wisdom that hath renewed the face of the world, and discovered the multitude of your follies. But well may we jest at your unhandsome and open legerdemain, that so vainly seek to blind us with a painted shadow of the Spirit of God. Ye pretend long prayers, much fasting, great conference of doctors and scriptures, and the undoubted presence and assistance of God's Holy Spirit in all your doings; and yet openly strive against the manifest word and Spirit of God, and follow only your own spirit, which we may truly call the spirit of vanity. The spirit that you mean is nothing else but the spirit of Rome, which you say is the spirit of truth, and cannot err. In one of your late councils, holden in Rome, as ye were singing and roaring out[14], *Veni, Creator Spiritus,* a poor old owl, amazed with the noise, leaped out of the hole

The Spirit of Council[13].

Nic. de Claveng.

[10] Concil. Calched. in Concil. Stud. Labb. et Cossart. Lut. Par. 1671-2. Relat. Synod. ad Leon. Pars III. cap. ii. Tom. IV. col. 838.]

[11] Constitution, 1609, 1611.]

[12] Dimissed, Conf. and Def. 1567, 1570, 1609.]

[13] Councils, 1567, 1570.]

[14] These three words are not in 1567.]

The Spirit of Council.

where she sat, and pitched down in the midst, and sat amongst you[1]. Thus it pleased God to discover your hypocrisy and your folly, that the world[2] might know in what spirit ye were assembled.

1 Kings xviii.

Elias, the prophet of God, jested thus at the priests of Baal: "Cry out aloud: it is your God. Either he is occupied in some talk, or he is in his inn, or he is travelling upon the way, or else perhaps he is asleep." Yet neither was Elias an hickscorner, nor jested he at God's Holy Spirit, nor did he anything that was unseemly for his person.

Addition.

Addition. ☞ If this jesting so much offend your tender ears, M. Harding, ☜ beware ye offend not your dearest friends that have more liberally used the like jesting. For Nicolaus Cusanus, being himself a cardinal of the church of Rome, thus jesteth at pope Eugenius his lord and master: *Quomodo potest papa Eugenius dicere hoc verum esse, si ipse velit, et non aliter? Ac si inspiratio ipsius Sancti Spiritus foret in potestate Romani pontificis, ut tunc inspiret, quando ipse velit*[3]: "How can pope Eugenius say, this is true, if it please him to have it so, and none otherwise? As though the inspiration of the Holy Ghost were wholly at the pope's commandment, to breathe only when he will have him." Terasius, the patriarch of Constantinople, writeth thus to Adrianus the bishop of Rome: *Tolerabilior est... hæresis Macedonii, qui asserit Spiritum Sanctum esse servum Patris et Filii. Nam isti faciunt Spiritum Sanctum servum suum*[4]: "The heresy of Macedonius, that held that the Holy Ghost is a slave to the Father and to the Son, is more tolerable than the heresy of simonists. For they make the Holy Ghost their own slave." I will say nothing of Laurentius Valla, canon of the church of Rome, for that he so many years ago so sharply found fault with sundry errors in the church, and therefore was thought over partial in his speeches. Notwithstanding, his words be these: *Papa... etiam rem ecclesiasticam et Spiritum Sanctum quæstui habet, quod Simon ille Magus detestatur*[5]: "The pope maketh merchandise of church-goods, and raiseth gain of the Holy Ghost, and setteth him to sale." This jesting is broad and bitter, M. Harding, and yet nothing prejudicial to the Spirit of God. ☜

Nic. Cusan. de Concord. Lib. ii. cap. xx. p. 749.

i. Quæst. 1. Eos qui.

Laur. Vall. de Don. Const.

As for your councils, whether they be all and evermore summoned by the Spirit of God or no, it may well be doubted. The university of Paris thus protested by way of appeal against pope Leo X. and his council of Rome[6]: *Dominus Leo papa decimus... in quodam cœtu in civitate Romana,... nescimus qualiter, non tamen in Spiritu Domini, congregato*[7]: "Our lord pope Leo X. in a certain council gathered in the city of Rome, by what mean we know not, but surely not by the Spirit of God." And, touching your late chapter, or conventicle, which ye call the council of Trent, the French king's ambassador, being there in presence, said thus: *Minus legitima minusve libera fuisse dicuntur illa concilia. Qui aderant ad voluntatem alterius semper loquebantur*[8]: "The saying is, that these were neither lawful nor free councils. The bishops that were there spake (not always of the Spirit of God, but) evermore to please some other:" by which other he meant the pope.

Appell. Univ. Paris. Anno 1517.

Orat. Synod. Anno 1562.

Luke xxii. Gal. ii.

Christ saith unto Peter, "I have prayed for thee;" and Paul went up to

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[1 Convocaverat ante quatuor ferme annos Romæ concilium ecclesiæ, maxima quorundam compulsus instantia, Balthasar ille perfidissimus... Cumque ante primam concilii congressionem pro invocatione Sancti Spiritus solito fuisset de more missa celebrata, ubi concilium assedit, ipseque Balthasar in parata sibi cathedra sublimior præsedit, ecce dirus ac feralis bubo, funeris aut alterius (ut ferunt) calamitatis semper nuncius, e latebris suis erumpens, cum sua illa horrifica voce continuo advolat, super trabemque templi mediam oculis in Balthasarem directo intuitu conjectis astitit. &c.—Nic. de Clameng. Disp. sup. Mat. Concil. Gen. in Fasc. Rer. Expet. et Fug. Lond. 1690. Tom. I. p. 402.]

[2 *Spiritus*, God sent down an owl from the top of the church to sit amongst you that the world, 1567.]

[3 Nic. de Cusa Op. Basil. 1565. De Concord. Cathol. Lib. II. cap. xx. Tom. II. p. 749; where *pontificis quod tunc quando ipse velit inspiret.*]

[4 Ex Epist. Taras. Constant. Episc. in Corp. Jur. Canon. Lugd. 1624. Decret. Gratian. Decr. Sec. Pars, Caus. I. Quæst. i. can. 21. col. 501. See before, page 869, note 16.]

[5 Laur. Vall. Op. Basil. 1540. In Don. Const. Declam. p. 794.]

[6 1567 has not *of Rome.*]

[7 Appell. Univ. Paris. in Fasc. Rer. Expet. et Fug. Tom. I. p. 70; where *Romana civitate.*]

[8 Orat. Guid. Fabr. in Concil. Trident. in Concil. Stud. Labb. et Cossart. Lut. Par. 1671-2. Tom. XIV. col. 1177. These observations apply to various preceding synods, patrumque nostrorum et avorum memoria...in Germania atque in Italia.]

Hierusalem to visit Peter; *ergo* (ye say), The pope hath authority to confirm councils. O M. Harding, your logic of Lovaine is marvellous hasty. Ye force your conclusions to run in post. For what maketh either Christ's prayer for Peter, or Paul's journey from Arabia to Hierusalem, for the confirmation of your councils[9]? Verily here is no manner mention neither of confirmation, nor of council, nor of pope. You might as handsomely have concluded thus: Peter took his boat, and went a fishing; *ergo*, the pope hath full authority to confirm councils. And whether ye will make this same to serve you for an argument, or no, it were hard to tell[10].

Whereas Christ prayed namely for Peter, St Augustine saith, as he hath been alleged before: *[Nunquid] pro Petro rogabat,... pro Jacobo et Johanne non rogabat*[11]*?* "Did Christ pray only for Peter, and did he not pray for James and John?" August. de Quæst. Nov. Test. Quæst. 75.

Again he saith: *Hac nocte postulavit Satanas vexare vos, sicut triticum; sed ego rogavi [Patrem] pro vobis,... ne deficiat fides vestra*[12]*:* "This night hath Satan desired to thresh you as if ye were wheat. But I have prayed to my Father (not only for Peter, but) for you, that your faith may not fail." August. de Verb. Dom. in Evang. secund. Luc. Serm. 36.

Touching that Paul went up to Hierusalem of courtesy to see Peter, he sought not thereby the certainty of his own doctrine[13], as a man that otherwise stood in doubt whether he had so long, for the space of fourteen years, preached truth or falsehood[14]; but rather found fault with Peter's dissimulation in doctrine, and reproved him openly even unto the face. St Hierome saith: *Perrexit Hierusalem, non tam ut disceret aliquid ab apostolis, quam cum eis evangelium quod docuerat collaturus*[15]*:* "Paul went up to Hierusalem, not so much to learn anything of the apostles, as to confer with them touching the gospel that he had preached." Gal. ii. Hieron. in Epist. ad Gal. cap. i.

St Chrysostom saith further: *Paulus nihil opus habebat Petro, nec illius egebat voce, sed honore par erat illi: nihil enim hic dicam amplius*[16]*:* "Paul had no need of Peter, nor had any cause to crave his voice, but in honour and worthiness was his equal: as for more, I will not say." Chrysost. ad Gal. cap. i.

Concerning the confirmation of councils, we have spoken[17] otherwhere more at large. Councils were confirmed, not only by the bishop of Rome, but also by other bishops and patriarchs; and not only by other bishops, but also by kings and emperors[18]. The Emperor Martianus saith: *Sacro nostræ serenitatis edicto venerandam synodum confirmamus*[19]*:* "By the holy edict of our majesty we confirm this reverend council." Likewise the bishops in the council of Constantinople besought the Emperor Theodosius: *Rogamus clementiam tuam, ut per literas tuæ pietatis ratum esse jubeas confirmesque concilii decretum*[20]*:* "We beseech your favour, that by your majesty's letters ye will ratify and confirm the decree of the council[21]." In the former Reply, Art. IV. Div. 26. Concil. Chalced. Act. 3. Concil. Constant. I.

Touching the council of the apostles at Hierusalem, your own doctor saith, *Postquam Petrus dixisset, Jacobus auctoritate pontificali protulit definitivam sententiam*[22]*:* "When Peter had said his mind, James by his episcopal authority pronounced the definitive sentence;" that is to say, gave his confirmation to the whole. By which saying it may appear that James was in authority above Peter: for he that pronounceth definitive sentence in all assemblies is ever the greatest[10]. Johan. de Paris.[23] cap. xiv.

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[9] Of councils, 1567.]

[10] These two sentences are not in 1567.]

[11] August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. Quæst. ex Nov. Test. Quæst. lxxv. Tom. III. Append. col. 73.]

[12] Id. de Verb. Evang. Luc. xviii. Serm. cxv. 1. Tom. V. col. 575. See before, page 711, note 6.]

[13] The allowance of his doctrine, 1567.]

[14] Falshead, 1567, 1570.]

[15] ... pergit Jerosolymam ... non tam disciturus aliquid &c.—Hieron. Op. Par. 1693-1706. Comm. Lib. I. in Epist. ad Galat. cap. i. Tom. IV. Pars I. col. 235.]

[16] Chrysost. Op. Par. 1718-38. In cap. i. Epist. ad Galat. Comm. Tom. X. p. 677.]

[17] Said, 1567.]

[18] See Vol. I. pages 410, &c.]

[19] Concil. Calched. in Concil. Stud. Labb. et Cossart. Edict. Marcian. Pars III. cap. iv. Tom. IV. col. 842.]

[20] Concil. Constant. I. in eod. Tom. II. col. 946.]

[21] Of council, 1570.]

[22] ... postquam Petrus surgens ratione ostendit, jugum legis fidelibus non esse imponendum: Jacobus &c.—Johan. de Parrhis. de Potest. Reg. et Papal. cap. xv. in Goldast. Mon. Rom. Imp. Hanov. et Franc. 1612-14. Tom. II. p. 129.]

[23] Hervæus de potestate papæ, 1567.]

Confirmation[1] of Councils.

To conclude, councils have been allowed and holden for good, whether the bishop of Rome would or no. Liberatus saith, when Anatolius, by consent of the council of Chalcedon, had obtained the primacy, and the bishop of Rome's legates stood against it, their gainsaying of the judges and bishops there was not received. And, notwithstanding the apostolic see of Rome even hitherto stand against it, yet the decree of the council, by the authority and maintenance of the emperor, after a sort standeth still in force[2].

Liberat. cap. xiii.

Quodammodo.

Much pleasant sport ye make us, M. Harding, with[3] putting in the pope's answer. "Be it (say you) that Hick, Hob, and Hans, have accused the pope. Would ye have him appear in this court, or in that, to be judged by Jack and Gill?" The whole world, M. Harding, hath of long time charged the pope with ambition, bribery, simony, superstition, idolatry, and open corruption of the ordinances and will of God. If he disdain the judgment of so many, and call the whole world Hick and Hob, let him not marvel if the whole world disdain him. If he may be both judge and party, and may make answer only before himself, I doubt not but he shall have a good favourable hearing.

I beseech thee, good christian reader, for shortness' sake, consider that I have written before touching the accusing and judging of the pope[4]. There shalt thou see, as Ennodius saith, that the pope, together with the power of teaching, hath received free liberty to do ill without controlment[5]. Therefore he saith: *Neque... ab Augusto, neque ab omni clero, neque a regibus, neque a populo, judex judicabitur*[6]: "The pope, that is the judge, shall be judged neither by the emperor, nor by the whole clergy, nor by kings, nor by the people." Such a prerogative, saith Athanasius, was sometime claimed by the Arian heretics: *Cum ipsi sint rei ac judicio obnoxii, veluti Caiaphas judicandi munus invadunt*[7]: "Whereas they themselves be guilty, and in danger of judgment, they play the part of Caiaphas, and take upon them to be judges themselves." In like manner Chrysostom saith: *Figura ibi duntaxat judicii erat, re autem ipsa erat latronum impetus*[8]: "There was only a face of judgment; but indeed it was a brunt or violence of thieves."

Part v. cap. vi. Div. 7. Ennod.

ix. Quæst. 3. Nemo.

Athanas. contr. Arian. Orat. 1.

Chrysost. in Matt. Hom. 85.

Ye say further, "The pope may say, to our condemnation, that God saith unto the Jews: 'What is it that I ought to have done to my vineyard but I have done it?'" And thus ye give the pope power to challenge the church of God to be his own. Even so Nero, that wicked tyrant, when he had wasted and consumed the city of Rome, and burnt it with fire, he called the same nevertheless by his own name, *Neronopolis*, "Nero's town[9]." One of your doctors saith: *Hujus communitatis... non est dominus, nisi Christus, vel papa*[11]: "There is no lord of this common state (that is to say, of the church), but either Christ, or the pope;" as if Christ and the pope were joint purchasers.

Isai. v.

Sueton. in Neron.[10]

Herv. de Potest. Pap. in Prologo.[12]

But indeed Christ only is the prince of pastors. And the church is his only spouse, and not the pope's. St Augustine saith unto Christ: *Tu Petro non dixisti, Pasce oves tuas, sed, Pasce oves meas*[13]: "Thou saidst not unto Peter, Feed thy sheep, but, Feed mine. Peter belongeth unto the church; but the church belongeth not unto Peter."

1 Pet. v.

August. de Verb. Dom. in Evang. Secund. Johan. Serm. 50.

The church is not the pope's vine: it is "the vine of the Lord of Sabaoth." Therefore, M. Harding, advise yourself better. Your words are guilty of great blasphemy[14]. It shall be sufficient for the pope if he may be only a branch in this vine; if he be not withered; if he be not cut off, and thrown into the fire.

Isai. v.

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[1] Conservation, 1609, 1611.]

[2] ... imperatoris patrocinio permanet quodammodo.—Liberat. Breviar. cap. xiii. in Crabb. Concil. Col. Agrip. 1551. Tom. II. p. 112. See Vol. I. page 413, note 18.]

[3] Make us with, 1567.]

[4] See before, pages 833, 4.]

[5] Ennod. Op. Par. 1611. Lib. Apolog. pro Synod. p. 324. See before, page 834, note 7.]

[6] Innoc. Papa in Corp. Jur. Canon. Lugd. 1624. Decret. Gratian. Decr. Sec. Pars, Caus. ix. Quæst. iii. can. 13. col. 877.]

[7] Athanas. Op. Par. 1698. Ad Episc. Ægypt. Epist. 7. Tom. I. Pars i. pp. 276, 7.]

[8] Chrysost. Op. Par. 1718-38. In Matt. Hom. lxxxiv. Tom. VII. p. 800.]

[9] C. Sueton. Tranquill. in Neron. Vit. cap. lv.]

[10] This reference is not in 1567.]

[11] Herv. De Potest. Pap. Par. 1506. fol. AA. iii. 2.]

[12] 1567 has not *In prologo*.]

[13] August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. De Verb. Johan. Evang. x. Serm. cxxxviii. cap. vii. 7. Tom. V. col. 675.]

[14] The last two sentences are not in 1567.]

St Augustine saith: *Qui hoc animo pascunt oves Christi, ut suas velint esse, non Christi, se convincuntur amare, non Christum; vel gloriandi vel dominandi vel acquirendi cupiditate*[15]: "They that feed the sheep of Christ, to that end that they would have them to be their sheep, and not Christ's, are found to love themselves, and not Christ; for desire, either of glory, or of government, or of gain." August. in Johan. Tract. 123.

THE APOLOGY, Chap. iv. Division 2.

How say ye? do we devise these tales? Is not this the very course[16] of the councils in these days? Are not all things removed from the whole holy council, and brought before the pope alone; that, as though nothing had been done to purpose by the judgments and consents of such a number, he alone may add, alter, diminish, disannul, allow, remit, and qualify whatsoever he list? Whose words be these then? And why have the bishops and abbats, in the late[17] council at Trident, concluded thus[18] in the end: "Saving always the authority of the see apostolic in all things?"[19] Or why doth pope Paschal write so proudly of himself? "As though," saith he, "there were any general council able to prescribe a law to the church of Rome; whereas all councils both have been made, and have received their force and strength, by the authority of the church of Rome[20]; and in ordinances made by councils is ever plainly excepted the authority of the Roman [21]bishop."[22] If they will have these things allowed for good, why be councils called? But, if they command them to be void, why are they left in their books, as things allowable? De Elect. et Elect. Potest. Signific.

M. HARDING.

...*Sir, what need you bestow so much talk in vain? Is it not reason the* [a]*members acknowledge the head? Would you the members to work their actions without the head? Is pope Paschalis to be called proud for preferring the church of Rome before a council? Have not councils ever been thought to lack their full authority,* [b]*which were not called and confirmed by the bishop of Rome?*...

[a] Who made all the faithful of Christ the pope's members?

[b] Untruth, plain and manifest. For the pope had no authority to call councils, as it shall appear.

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

The modesty and sobriety of pope Paschalis' claim shall better appear in the next division. Verily the church of Rome these many years may seem to have been nothing else but a mother of falsehood[23], and a school of pride. Pope Nicolas saith: *De sedis apostolicæ judicio nemini licet judicare*[24]: "It is lawful for no man to judge of the pope's judgment." And of late years pope Leo said: *Papa habet auctoritatem super omnia concilia*[25]: "The pope hath authority over all councils." That all lawful councils have evermore been summoned and confirmed by the pope, it is a manifest and gross untruth, as hereafter it shall be opened more at large. Nic. Pap. I. ad Imp. Mich. Concil. Lat. sub Leon. X. Sess. 10.

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[15] Id. in Johan. Evang. cap. xxi. Tractat. cxxiii. 5. Tom. III. Pars II. col. 817.]

[16] The course, Conf.]

[17] Last, Conf. and Def. 1567.]

[18] But of late concluded with saying thus, Conf.; but of late concluded thus, Def. 1567.]

[19] See before, page 773, note 18.]

[20] By the church of Rome's authority, Conf.]

[21] The bishop of Rome, Conf.]

[22] ...quasi Romanæ ecclesiæ legem concilia ulla præfixerint: cum omnia concilia per Romanæ ecclesiæ auctoritatem et facta sint, et robur acceperint, et in eorum statutis Romani pontificis patenter excipiatur auctoritas.—Paschal. in Corp. Jur. Canon. Decretal. Gregor. IX. Lib. I. Tit. vi. cap. 4. cols. 111, 2.]

[23] Falshead, 1567, 1570.]

[24] ...sedis apostolicæ... neque cuiquam de ejus liceat judicare judicio.—Nicol. Papæ I. Epist. ad Michael. Imp. in Crabb. Concil. Tom. II. p. 761.]

[25] ... cum etiam solum Ro. pontificem...auctoritatem super omnia concilia habentem, &c.—Concil. Later. Sess. XI. in eod. Tom. III. p. 696.]

Where ye say, "It is reason the members should acknowledge their head," that is the pope[1]; for shame, M. Harding, and for your credit's sake once leave these vanities. If the pope be any part of God's church, he is a member, and not the head; and the faithful of the church of God are Christ's members, and not the pope's. Indeed, pope Athanasius saith thus of himself: *Mihi cura erit evangelii fidem circa meos populos custodire, partesque corporis mei per spatia diversa terrarum,... quantum possum, literis convenire*[2]: "I will be careful to keep the faith of the gospel amongst my people, and by letters to deal with the parts of my body lying over the sundry coasts of the world." Thus he imagineth in his dream that all the princes and states of the world be nothing else but the parts and members of his body[3].

The Apology, Chap. v. Division 1.

But be it so: let the bishop of Rome alone be above all councils; that is to say, let some one part be greater than the whole, let him be of greater power, let him be of more wisdom than all his, and, in spite of Hierome's head, let the authority of one city be greater than the authority of the whole world[4].

Hieron. ad Evagr.

M. HARDING.

It is a common manner of this defender, what he must needs grant, to make a shew in words as though it were free gift. So many times beggars will seem gentlemen, and payers of debt will seem givers. "Let the bishop of Rome (saith he) alone be above all councils." [a]Sir, he is so, no thank to you. Yet speak you like a liberal gentleman, "that is to say, let some one part be greater than the whole." No, sir, maugre your scoffing head, part shall not be greater than the whole, but part shall be greater than part: [b]in a right sense, is not the head greater than the body, the bishop than his clergy, the [b]master of a house more than his family? Neither is the council the whole, pardy, except your merry wit can devise us a whole body without a head. "Let him be of greater power," say you. And so he is. "Let him be of more wisdom than all his." We say not so. It may be that his council hath more learning, [c]more knowledge, and more wisdom, than his only person. Albeit, when we speak of that wisdom of the see apostolic, which is sure, infallible, and cannot err, we mean not only the pope's singular person, but head[4] pastor and bishop, as he doth those things which pertain to that chair, that is to say, inasmuch as he proceedeth not upon his own private judgment, [d]but by the instinct of the Holy Ghost, promised by Christ to his vicar. Where you say, "And in spite of Hierome's head, let the authority of one city be greater than the authority of the whole world," we tell you, that this you speak more spitefully than learnedly: for St Hierome, in his epistle to Evagrius, speaketh [e]only of a particular matter, blaming the custom of Rome, where, contrary to the custom of the whole world, deacons in certain cases were preferred before priests; whereof we have spoken before.

[a] Untruth. Otherwise shew us by what authority he is so.

[b] Full wisely. As if the pope were the head, and the whole church were his body; or as if the pope were the master, and the church his family.

[c] The council hath more wisdom and learning than the pope, yet the pope is in wisdom and learning above the council.

[d] O fond folly! For so any simple creature, so long as he is led by the Holy Ghost, can never err.

[e] Untruth, vain and childish. For St Hierome speaketh plainly of authority: *Si auctoritas quæritur, major est orbis urbe*[5].

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

"Sir defender" (ye say) "speaketh like a liberal gentleman." Again ye say, "No, sir, maugre your scoffing head." These and other like words, M. Harding, are fitting and seemly for your person, and may well become your merry wit.

Where we say, "Let the bishop of Rome be of greater power than any

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[1] These four words are not in 1567.]

[2] Here is an error for Anastasius....mihi certe cura non deerit evangelii &c. custodire populos, partesque populi mei per quæque spatia &c. possim, &c.—Anastas. Epist. iii. ad Joan. Hieros. Episc. in Concil. Stud. Labb. et Cossart. Lut. Par. 1671-2. Tom. II. col. 1195.]

[3] The sentences from *the pope's* are not in 1567.]

[4] But the head, Conf. and Def. 1567, 1570.]

[5] Hieron. Op. Par. 1693-1706. Ad Evang. Epist. ci. Tom. IV. Pars II. col. 803. See Vol. III. page 293, note 9.]

general council;" ye answer[6] us readily, "And so he is." Where we say, "Let him be of more wisdom than all other bishops;" ye answer again, "We say not so." As if ye would allow the pope authority and power without wisdom. Yet wise men have said, that "power without wisdom is the kingdom of folly." The Pope above general Councils.

"The pope," you say, "maugre your scoffing head, shall be greater than the church. And yet shall not the part be greater than the whole." Awake a little, M. Harding, and expound us your dream. The whole we speak of is the whole church of Christ. And, I trow, by your learning the pope is a part or member of the same. Otherwise ye must tell us that the pope is no part of the church of Christ. Which thing, all circumstances considered, were not hard to be granted.

"But the pope," say you, "being but a part, is greater than the whole church." *Ergo*, say I, it must needs follow that the part is greater than the whole. Neither was it my "scoffing head," as it pleaseth you to say, that framed this reason. Your own doctor Gerson, the director of the council of Constance, saw it, and uttered it above a hundred and fifty years ago. Yet was he not therefore thought to be a scoffer. These be his words: *Quærere utrum papalis auctoritas sit major quam ecclesia, ... redit in idem ac si quæreretur, utrum totum sit majus sua parte*[7]: "To demand whether the authority of the pope be greater than the authority of the church, is as much as if a man would demand whether the whole be greater than the part." You see, M. Harding, these be Gerson's words, and not mine. Therefore ye might with more sobriety have spared your scoffing at scoffing heads[8]. Jo. Gerson. de Pot. Eccles. Consid. 7.

Some of your friends have said, *Si totus mundus sententiaret in aliquo negotio contra papam, videtur quod standum esset sententiæ papæ*[9]: "If the whole world should give sentence in any matter against the pope, it seemeth we ought rather to stand to the pope's judgment, than to the judgment of all the world." Albertus Pighius saith: *Certius est judicium papæ, quam judicium generalis concilii, aut totius orbis terrarum*[10]: "The judgment of the pope is more certain than is the judgment of a general council, or else of all the whole world." Another saith: *Papa ... virtualiter est tota ecclesia*[11]: "The pope by power is the whole universal church." Another saith: *Potestas solius papæ excedit potestatem ... residuæ ecclesiæ*[13]: "The pope's only power exceedeth the power of all the church beside." Another saith: *Papa non potest subjicere se concilio generali*[14]: "The pope cannot submit himself to a general council." Upon these worthy foundations ye have built up the pope's infinite and universal power; and therefore ye say, "Sir Defender would seem to grant you of free gift that he must needs grant perforce, whether he will or no." ix. Quæst. 3. Nemo, in Glossa. Albert. Pigh. Eccles. Hier. Lib. vi. cap. xiii. Herv. de Potest. Pap. His præmissis.[12] Pet. de Palud. de Potest. Pap. Art. 4. Extr. de Judic. Cum venissent. Joan. Andr.

All this notwithstanding, M. Harding, others of your more indifferent doctors would have told you another tale. St Bernard saith: *Quæ major superbia [esse potest], quam ut unus homo toti congregationi judicium suum præferat, tanquam solus habeat Spiritum sanctum*[15]? "What greater pride can there be than that one man should esteem his own judgment more than the judgment of all the church, as if he only had the Spirit of God?" Whereunto Picus Mirandula addeth these Bernard. cit. a Pic. Mirand. In Quæst. An Papa sit supr. concil.

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[6] Answered, 1570.]

[7] ... quærere si papalis &c. ac si peteretur: nonne totum est majus sua parte?—J. Gerson. Op. Antw. 1706. De Potest. Eccles. Consid. Sept. Tom. II. Pars II. col. 235.]

[8] The last two paragraphs are not in 1567.]

[9] Corp. Jur. Canon. Lugd. 1624. Decret. Gratian. Decr. Sec. Pars, Caus. IX. Quæst. iii. Gloss. in can. 13. col. 877; where *sententiæ papæ standum esset.*]

[10] The exact words cited have not been found in the place referred to; but the whole chapter is an argument in favour of the conclusion. See Pigh. Hierarch. Eccles. Col. 1538. Lib. VI. cap. xiii. foll. 245. 2, &c. Also in another part of Pighius' work there are nearly the expressions of the text: ... quam ... venerabilior,... quam ... formidabilior fuerit unius Romani pontificis, quam conciliorum omnium et totius in eis convenientis ecclesiæ auctoritas,...ostendit Theodoretus.—Ibid. Lib. IV. cap. xiv. fol. 154.]

[11] Herv. De Potest. Pap. Par. 1506. fol. EE i. 2; where *papa quodammodo virtualiter.*]

[12] For *His præmissis* 1567 has *cap. xxiii.*]

[13] P. de Palud. De Caus. Immed. Eccles. Potest. Par. 1506. De Potest. Pap. Art. Quart. Concl. Prim. fol. c. vii. 2; where *papæ solius.*]

[14] These words do not occur in the place cited. But very extravagant pretensions of the pope are maintained there: ...potest mutare quadrata rotundis. —Joan. Andr. in Sec. Decretal. Venet. 1581. Tit. i. cap. 12. fol. 8. 2. Conf. Bald. sup. Decretal. Lugd. 1551. Lib. II. Tit. xxvii. cap. 26. fol. 346; who says: papa non supponit se correctioni concilii.]

[15] This quotation has not been found in the works of Picus; but see Catalog. Test. Genev. 1608. col. 1918; where *quam quod unus.*]

The Pope above general Councils

words: *Imo simplici potius rustico, et infanti, et aniculæ, [magis] quam pontifici maximo et mille episcopis credendum est, si isti contra evangelium, illi pro evangelio ... faciant*[1]: "Nay, we ought to believe a simple plain husbandman, or a child, or an old woman, rather than the pope and a thousand bishops, if the pope and the bishops speak against the gospel, and the others speak with the gospel."

Pic. Mirand. eod. loc. Conc. Ferrar. Sess. 10. Conc. Basil. Int. Epist. Synod.

The bishops in the council of Ferraria say thus: *Quacunque facultate Romana ecclesia prædita sit, universali tamen ecclesiæ, quam generalis synodus præ se fert, inferior est*[2]: "With whatsoever power the church of Rome be endued, yet is it inferior to the universal church, that is represented by the general council."

In Append. Conc. Basil. Sacrosanct. Generali.

But perhaps ye will say, This was a council of rebels and schismatics, for that the bishops assembled there were not so appliable unto the pope[3]. The bishops in the council of Basil say thus: *Etsi [papa] sit caput ministeriale ecclesiæ, non tamen est major tota ecclesia. Alioqui, errante pontifice, quod sæpe contingit, et contingere potest, tota erraret ecclesia*[4]: "Although the pope be the ministerial head of the church, yet is he not greater than all the church. Otherwise whensoever the pope erreth, which thing happeneth oftentimes, and may well happen, the whole church should likewise err."

In ead. Append. Et primo.

Again they say: *Nonnulli os suum ponentes in cœlum potestatem Romani pontificis supra potestatem sacrorum generalium conciliorum, contra juris divini et humani veritatem, a sanctis patribus alias declaratam, exaltare nituntur*[5]: "Many men, setting their face against the heaven, go about to exalt the power of the bishop of Rome above the power of holy general councils, contrary to the truth of the law, both of God and man, declared unto us by the holy fathers."

In ead. Append. Eod. cap.

Again they say: *Ecclesia Romana non est universa, sed est de universitate corporis mystici, [id est] ecclesiæ; et sic est membrum dicti corporis mystici, ut patet per beatum Gregorium ... Igitur ex quo est membrum dicti corporis, non est, nec esse potest, caput illius; cum differentia sit inter caput et membra*[6]: "The church of Rome is not universal, but a part of the universal mystical body of Christ, which is the church; and so is it a member of Christ's said body mystical, as it appeareth by St Gregory. Therefore, forasmuch as it is a member of the said body, it is not, neither can it be, the head of the same body. For there is a difference between the head and the body."

Likewise again they say: *Allegant papam impune posse tollere constitutionem concilii generalis, contra prohibitionem ipsius concilii generalis; supponentes papam esse pastorem universalis ecclesiæ. Sed ipsorum suppositum est falsum; et consequenter ipsorum assertio super eo fundata est falsa*[7]: "They say, the pope may safely abolish the decree of a general council, notwithstanding the same general council have decreed the contrary; supposing that the pope is the bishop of the universal church. But their supposal is false; and so consequently false is their doctrine that they have built thereupon."

The pope is not pastor of the universal church.

But, lest you should say that all these bishops and fathers in the councils of Ferraria and Basil were inflamed with schismatical spirits, or possessed with devils, Nicolaus Cusanus, being himself a cardinal, and a child of the church of Rome, hath by express words avouched the same. Thus he saith: *Quia sedentes in ipsa sede ab hominibus assumuntur, deviabiles et peccabiles, [et] nunc maxime, mundo ad finem tendente, et malitia excrescente, sua potestate ad ædificationem data ad destructionem abutuntur, quis dubitare potest sanæ mentis, ... universale concilium tam in abusum, quam [in] abutentem, potestatem habere, &c.? Universaliter dici potest, universale concilium ... esse omni respectu tam supra papam quam [supra] sedem apostolicam*[8]: "Forasmuch as the popes sitting in the apostolic see of Rome be chosen of men, and be such as may err and sin,

Nic. Cusan. de Concord. Lib. ii. cap. xvii.

[1 Ibid; where *quinimo, contra evangelium isti,* and *facerent.*]

[2 Si quidem igitur Romana ecclesia quavis facultate prædita &c. ecclesia, quam &c.—Gen. VIII. Synod. Sess. IX. Ferrar. in Crabb. Concil. Col. Agrip. 1551. Tom. III. p. 409.]

[3 This sentence is not in 1567.]

[4 Concil. Basil. Epist. Synod. in eod. Tom. III. p. 148; where *alioquin,* and *sicut sæpe.*]

[5 Concil. Basil. Append. ibid. p. 302; where *os suum aperientes.*]

[6 Ibid. p. 309. Conf. Gregor. Magni Papæ I. Op. Par. 1705. Epist. Lib. VIII. Indict. I. Ad Eulog. Episc. Epist. xxx. Tom. II. col. 919. See Vol. I. page 346, note 6.]

[7 Ibid. p. 313; where *super illo fundata.*]

[8 Nic. de Cusa Op. Basil. 1565. De Concord. Cathol. Lib. II. cap. xvii. Tom. II. p. 736.]

and now specially, the world drawing towards an end, and wickedness increasing, abuse their power to the destruction of the church, that was given them for the rearing up and furnishing of the church, what man having his right wits can doubt but a general council hath authority, as well over the abuse, as also over the pope that hath made the abuse? Universally it may be said, that the universal council is in every respect as well above the pope, as also above his apostolic see." Here is specially to be noted, that cardinal Cusanus saith, The pope sitting in his apostolic see abuseth his universal power, and that to the destruction of the church[9]. The Pope above general Councils.

Therefore, M. Harding, this part of your book, among the rest, would more advisedly have been considered. D. Cole himself, notwithstanding otherwise well inclined unto your faction, yet in this point is well content to give you over. Thus he saith of himself: "I hold herein rather with Gerson[10]", that the council is above the pope. "The pope," ye say, "in one respect, as he is a man, in his own singular person may happen to err; but in another respect, as he is head pastor, and chief bishop, and is placed in Peter's chair, he cannot err." D. Cole.

And thus, as the heathens in old times imagined their Centaurus to be half a man, and half a horse; or their Janus to have two faces, the one behind, and the other before; even so have you imagined two popes in one body, the one going backward, the other forward; the one bearing light, the other darkness; the one deceived, the other not deceived; the one speaking truth, the other falsehood[11]; and yet both these popes incorporate together in one person. Give us leave therefore, M. Harding, to say now as the whole university of Paris said, not long sithence, unto pope Leo: *A domino nostro papa, jam non bene consulto, ... appellamus*[12]: "We appeal from our lord the pope, being as now not well advised." We appeal from the pope that hath erred so shamefully, unto that pope that cannot err[13]. Appell. Univ. Paris. a Leon. X. An. 1517.

Certainly St Hierome saith: *Non est facile stare [in] loco Pauli, tenere gradum Petri, jam cum Christo regnantium; ne forte veniat angelus, qui scindat velum templi tui, qui candelabrum tuum de loco moveat*[14]: "It is no easy matter to stand in Peter or Paul's place, now reigning with Christ; lest the angel come, and rent asunder the veil of thy temple, and remove[15] thy candlestick from his place." Hieron. ad Heliod. de Laud. Vit. Solit.

The place of St Hierome to Evagrius is answered before[16]. Part II. cap. iii. Div. 5.

The Apology, Chap. v. Division 2.

How then, if the pope have seen none of these things, and have never read either the scriptures, or the old fathers, or yet his own councils? How if he favour the Arians, as once pope Liberius did[17]? or have a wicked and a detestable opinion of the life to come, and of the immortality of the soul, as pope John[18] had but few years sithence[19]? or, to increase his own dignity, do now corrupt[20] other councils, as pope Zosimus corrupted the council holden at Nice in times past[21]; and do say that those things were devised and appointed by the holy fathers, which never once came into their thought; and, to have the full sway of authority, do wrest the scriptures; which thing[22], as Camotensis saith, is an usual custom with the popes[23]? How if he have renounced the faith of[24] Christ, and become an apostata, as Lyranus saith many popes have

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[9] This paragraph is not in 1567.]
[10] See Vol. I. page 38.]
[11] Falshead, 1567, 1570.]
[12] Appell. Univ. Paris. in Fasc. Rer. Expet. et Fug. Lond. 1690. Tom. I. p. 71; where *non recte consulto jam.*]
[13] This sentence is not in 1567.]
[14] Hieron. Op. Par. 1693-1706. Ad Heliodor. Monach. Epist. v. Tom. IV. Pars II. col. 11.]
[15] *Remove* is not in 1570.]
[16] See Vol. III. pages 292, &c.]
[17] See below, page 929.]
[18] See below, pages 930, &c.]
[19] Since, Conf.]
[20] Increase now his own dignity do corrupt, Conf.]
[21] See below, pages 937, &c.]
[22] These two words are not in Conf.]
[23] See below, pages 938, 9.]
[24] In, Conf.]

The Pope above general Councils.

been[1]? Yet[2], for all this, shall the Holy Ghost, with turning of a hand, knock at his breast, and even whether he will or no, yea, and wholly against his will, kindle him a light, so as he may not err? Shall he straightway be the head-spring of all right, and shall all the treasures of[3] wisdom and understanding be found in him, as it were laid up in store? or, if these things be not in him, can he give a right and apt judgment of so weighty matters? or, if he be not able to judge, would he have that those matters should be brought before him alone?

M. HARDING.

To your "how ifs" and "what ifs" I could soon make an answer by the contrary. [a]*And, sir, how if the pope have seen all these things, the scriptures, fathers, and councils? What have ye*[4] *then to say? Is not your tale then at an end? Were your matter good, and yourself wise, you would not so commonly use that weak kind of reasoning. But to a number of your "how ifs," and "what ifs," for the reader's sake, to put away all scruple, I give you this answer.*

[a] What then? Should he therefore be above general councils? Sadly and sagely, and much to the purpose.

God's "wisdom (as the scripture saith) disposeth all things sweetly, and in one instant foreseeth the end," and means that be necessary to the end. If he promise any man life everlasting, withal he giveth him grace also to do good deeds, whereby to obtain the same. "Whom he hath glorified (saith St Paul), them he hath justified and called." So, whereas he hath by force of his prayer made to the Father promised to Peter, and, for the safety of the church, [b]*to every Peter's successor, that his faith shall not fail, and therefore hath willed him to confirm his brethren, that is, to remove all doubts and errors from them; we are assured he will give him such wit, diligence, learning, and understanding, as this firmness and infallibility of faith, and confirming of brethren, requireth. Shall we stand in doubt whether that happeneth in things supernatural, which we see to be in things natural, that, who giveth the end, he giveth also things that pertain to the attaining of the end? If God would promise us abundance of corn for the next year to come, what were more foolish than to doubt and say, like to this defender, how if, and what if men will not till the ground, nor sow any seed? Doubtless, if they sow, they shall reap: if they sow not, neither shall they reap. But what? We may gather of the promise of God, that we shall have not only fair and seasonable weather, whereby the fruits of the earth may prove plentiful, but also that the husbandmen shall employ their endeavour, pains, and labour. For the abundance of corn so promised shall not be given but to such as till, sow, and travail. Even so, whereas Christ hath promised to the* [c]*successors of Peter firmness of faith, to the apostles and their successors the Spirit of truth, and likewise to councils gathered in his name, we must persuade ourselves that nothing shall want necessary for the controversies touching faith to be decided.*

Wisd. viii. *Rom. viii.* *Matt. xvi.* *Luke xxii.*

[b] Untruth, fond and childish. For Christ prayed no more for Peter than for others; nor ever made mention of Peter's successors. O worthy and grave reasons!

[c] Untruth. For Christ never entered into such covenant with Peter's successors.

That you say of Liberius the pope is stark false. [d]*He never favoured the Arians. The most ye can find against him is, that he was compelled by the greater*[5] *persecution of Constantius the emperor to subscribe to the Arians*[6]*. Neither is that by the ancient writers of the ecclesiastical stories constantly affirmed, but of the chief of them not spoken of, where most occasion was to signify it, if it had so been, of some denied, of some mentioned not as true, but as a false rumour bruited abroad of him: by which rumour it seemeth* [e]*St Hierome was deceived*[7]*, remaining in the East, far from the places where the truth might more certainly be known. But, were it true that he subscribed, as Peter denied Christ; yet, being done* [f]*for lack of charity, and not by error in faith, well might that fact be slanderous to the church, but it was not a decree made in favour of the Arians, neither to confirm that heresy.*

Sozom. lib. iv. cap. xv.

Lib. de viris illustribus in Chronicis.

[d] Untruth, plainly reproved by St Hierome.

[e] St Hierome's authority refused, as a man writing rashly he knew not what.

[f] The pope denieth Christ, for lack of charity, but not for lack of faith.

[1] Bibl. cum Gloss. Ord. et Expos. N. de Lyra, Basil. 1502. Matt. cap. xvi. Pars V. fol. 52. See below, page 928, note 10.]

[2] And yet, Conf. and Def. 1567.]

[3] All treasure of, Conf.]

[4] You, Conf. and Def. 1567, 1570.]

[5] Great, Conf. and Def. 1567.]

[6] Soz. in Hist. Eccles. Script. Amst. 1695-1700. Lib. iv. cap. xv. pp. 453, 4.]

[7] Hieron. Op. Par. 1693-1706. Catalog. Script. Eccles. 97. Tom. IV. Pars ii. col. 124.]

Whether the Pope may err or no.

That you report of pope John the XXII. is likewise most false. The worst that Marsilius of Padua, and William Ockam, heretics, wrote of him to flatter the emperor Ludovicus of Bavaria, is, that he had taught openly [g]*(which also is referred to the time before he was pope), that the souls of the just see not God until the day of judgment*[8]*. That he had a wicked and a detestable opinion of the immortality of the soul, there was no such his opinion; but it is your false slander, by which your wicked and detestable malice imagined to deface the church, and specially the authority of the holy see apostolic. No story of any estimation mentioneth that he was of that first opinion after he came to be pope, much less that he gave any definitive sentence of any such*[10] *matter. But contrariwise,* [h]*when as he prepared himself to go to the definition of that question concerning the seeing of God, which just souls have before the day of judgment, as Benedictus the eleventh* in sua Extravagante *saith, he was "prevented by death, so as he might not do it*[12]*".*

You belie Zosimus: [i]*he corrupted not the council of Nice, but signified to the bishops of Afric, assembled in council at Carthage, the truth concerning the canons of the Nicene council. The same may be proved by Julius the first, by the epistle of* [k]*Athanasius and other bishops of Egypt, Thebais and Libya, written to Marcus the pope, of the original of the 72 canons of the Nicene council, that remained in safe custody in the church of Rome, subscribed with the hands of the fathers that at the same council were present*[13]*. And what credit was to be given to the contrary information of only twenty canons that was returned from the bishops of Constantinople and Alexandria,* [l]*when heretics before had burned the books where the whole number was contained, and left but those twenty, that all books now commonly have?*

If we should allege Camotensis and Lyra, you would call them the black guard, and set little by them. First, shew us where they have that you allege out of them. M. Jewel allegeth that of Camotensis in another place. But where it is, he keepeth it to himself, and of himself it is likely it proceeded. For his dealing is such as any false practice in respect of him may seem credible. Albeit, what worshipful doctor ye mean by Camotensis, [m]*I know not. Peradventure ye mean Camotensis*[14]*, otherwise called Ivo. I have cause to guess that so it should be. And yet four books of sundry prints, both English and Latin, so have. If there be any such, as I suppose there is not, he is very obscure, not*[15] *worth the naming....*

[g] Untruth manifest. See the answer. Untruth. For he held also that the souls of the wicked should not be punished before the judgment[9].

[h] Untruth, contrary to that M. Harding said immediately before. For he [11] held this error in the time of his popedom.

[i] Untruth, manifestly reproved by the council of Africa.

[k] These be very vain and childish forgeries.

[l] Untruth, without any savour of wit or learning. Why should M. Harding allege so foolish fables?

[m] If ye know him not, then may you best blame your ignorance.

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

Here ye say, "And, sir, how if the pope have seen all these things, the scriptures, the fathers, the councils? What have you then to say? Is not your tale then at an end?" No verily, M. Harding. I would further desire God to give him grace to use them well, and to his glory. Notwithstanding, your own doctors will soon put all these your "whats" and "what ifs," out of question. For concerning the pope's great and high learning, Alphonsus de Castro saith, as he hath been alleged before: *Constat plures papas adeo illiteratos fuisse, ut grammaticam penitus ignorarent*[16]*:* "It is certainly known that sundry popes have been so unskilful in learning that they never understood their grammar." And this he speaketh, not of one pope only, but of sundry. "But (you say) Christ[17] hath prayed for Peter, and made sure promise that his faith should never fail." Therefore the pope is wise; the pope is learned; the pope is catholic; the pope cannot err. All this, and a great deal more, the pope may claim only by virtue of Christ's prayer. Now therefore, if the pope should err or be in heresy, he might sue Christ in an action

Alphons. contr. Hær. Lib. i. cap. iv.

[8 Marsil. Patav. Defens. Pac. ad. Imp. Ludov. IV. in Goldast. Mon. Rom. Imp. Hanov. et Franc. 1612-14. Tom. II. pp. 154, &c.; Guil. de Ockam Compend. Error. Joan. Papæ XXII. cap. vii. ibid. pp. 970, &c. Conf. Pigh. Hierarch. Eccles. Col. 1538. Lib. v. cap. xiv. fol. 200.]

[9 This note is inserted from Def. 1567.]

[10 Of such, Conf. and Def. 1567, 1570.]

[11 For then he, Def. 1567.]

[12 Tamen morte præventus, sicut Domino placuit, perficere illud nequivit.—Cherubin. Bullar. Rom. 1617. Benedict. XII. Const. iv. 1. Tom. I. p. 178.]

[13 See Vol. I. pages 356, &c.]

[14 You mean Carnotensis, Conf.; ye mean Carnotensis, Def. 1567, 1570.]

[15 Nor, Conf. and Def. 1567, 1570.]

[16 Alfons. de Castro adv. Hær. Col. 1539. Lib. I. cap. iv. fol. 8. See Vol. III. page 343, note 15.]

[17 Grammar. But Christ, 1567.]

Whether the Pope may err or no.

of covenant, and require him to perform his promise. So saith the prophet Micheas: *Sacerdotes in mercede docebant, et prophetæ in pecunia divinabant; et super Dominum requiescebant, dicentes, Nonne est Dominus in medio nostrum?* "The priests taught the people for hire, and the prophets prophesied for money; and yet they rested themselves upon God's promise, saying, And is not the Lord in the midst amongst us?" So the Valentinian heretics said sometime of themselves: *Nos salutem de privilegio status possidemus*[1]: "We have our safety by the privilege of our state." We cannot miscarry: we cannot err[2]. But the prophet saith: "Every man is a liar:" "Accursed be[3] he that trusteth in man." Your own doctor Alphonsus saith: *Omnis homo errare potest in fide, etiamsi papa sit*[4]: "Every man may err in faith; yea, although he be the pope."

Mic. iii. Tertull. adv. Valentin.

Psal. cxvi. Jer. xvii.

Howbeit, that your unlearned reader may the better consider how safely he may give credit to your bare word, whether the pope may be deceived in faith or no, it may easily appear by these few examples. Whoso listeth to seek may find more. Pope Marcellinus offered up incense, and made sacrifice unto devils[5]. Tertullian saith: *Episcopum Romanum agnoscentem jam prophetias Montani, Priscæ, Maximillæ, &c.*: "The bishop of Rome, well liking now the prophecies (or heresies) of Montanus, Prisca, and Maximilla," &c. Upon which words Beatus Rhenanus noteth thus: *Episcopus Romanus Montanizat*[6]: "The bishop of Rome favoureth the heresy of Montanus." Pope Liberius was an Arian heretic, as hereafter it shall better appear[7]. Pope Honorius was condemned for an heretic in two general councils[8]. In the council of Constantinople the words of his condemnation be alleged thus: *Anathematizari curavimus Honorium, qui fuerat papa antiquæ Romæ; quia in omnibus mentem Sergii sequutus est, et impia dogmata confirmavit*[9]: "We have caused Honorius, the late pope of old Rome, to be accursed, for that in all things he followed the mind of Sergius the heretic, and confirmed his wicked doctrines[10]." Alphonsus de Castro saith: *Anastasium papam favisse Nestorianis, qui historias legerit, non dubitat*[11]: "Whosoever hath read the stories or course of time, cannot doubt but pope Anastasius favoured the Nestorian heretics." In the very legend of Hilarius it is mentioned that pope Leo was an Arian heretic[12]. In a synod holden at Rome against pope Hildebrand it is written thus: *Incendio tradidimus decreta eorum hæretica*[13]: "We have burnt their heretical decrees." Pope Sylvester II. was made pope by necromancy, and in recompence thereof promised himself both body and soul unto the devil[14].

Conc. Tom. I. Tertull. contr. Prax.

Beat. Rhen. Hieron. in Præf. de Vir. Illustr. Concil. Nic. II. Act. 7. Concil. Const. VI. Act. 13.

Alphons. Lib. i. cap. iv.

In Legend. Hilar. Synod. Rom. in Fasc. Rer. Sciend. impress. Col. 1553. Joan. Stell. Vonet.

Hulderichus, the bishop of Augusta in Germany, expresseth the restraint of priests' marriage by these words: *Periculosum hujus hæresis decretum*[15]: "The dangerous decree of this heresy."

Epist. Huld. ad Nic. Pap.

Notwithstanding, I have seen the same epistle unto P. Nicolas, together with another epistle to like purpose, written in old vellum of very ancient record, under the name of Volusianus, the bishop of Carthage. But what

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[1 ...ut salutem quam non de &c.—Tertull. Op. Lut. 1641. Adv. Valent. 30. p. 301.]

[2 The sentences from *amongst us* are not in 1567.]

[3 Is, 1567.]

[4 Alfons. de Castro adv. Hær. Col. 1539. Lib. I. cap. iv. fol. 8.]

[5 Decret. Marcellin. Papæ in Crabb. Concil. Col. Agrip. 1551. Tom. I. p. 184.]

[6 Tertull. Op. Franek. 1597. Adv. Prax. cap. i. p. 494. In the annotations which are subjoined (pp. 108, &c.) of Beatus Rhenanus there are no such words as those alleged. He rather seems to praise the Roman bishop as deciding against Montanus. In an earlier edition (see Tertull. Op. Basil. 1521. p. 378) "Montanizat" appears in the margin; but it was probably intended to apply to Tertullian.]

[7 Hieron. Op. Par. 1693-1706. Catalog. Script. Eccles. 97. Tom. IV. Pars II. col. 124.]

[8 Concil. Nic. II. Act. VII. in Concil. Stud. Labb. et Cossart. Lut. Par. 1671-2. Tom. VII. cols. 580, 1.]

[9 Concil. Constant. III. Act. XIII. in eod. Tom. VI. col. 943.]

[10 Doctrine, 1567, 1570.]

[11 Alfons. de Castro adv. Hær. Lib. I. cap. iv. fol. 8.]

[12 Eo tempore Leo papa hæreticorum perfidia depravatus: &c.—Op. Aur. et Legend. Insign. Lugd. 1526. Leg. xvii. fol. 17. 2. But the author adds: Hoc autem...dubitationem habet.]

[13 Vit. et Gest. Hildebrand. auth. Benon. Card. in Fasc. Rer. Expet. et Fug. Lond. 1690. Tom. I. p. 86; where *tradimus*.]

[14 Hic malis artibus pontificatum obtinuit eo quod ab adolescentia cum monachus esset relicto monasterio se totum diabolo obtulit: &c.—Stell. Vit. Pont. Basil. 1507. Silvest. II. fol. F iii.]

[15 Huld. Epist. in Rer. Mem. Paraleip. Argent. 1537. p. 437.]

need we to touch all the particulars? The doctors of the great school of Sorbona in Paris have determined in their articles that St Peter himself erred in the faith[16]. The council of Basil condemneth pope Eugenius by these words: "*Eugenium... contemptorem sacrorum canonum,... pacis, et veritatis ecclesiæ Dei perturbatorem notorium, universalis ecclesiæ scandalizatorem.... simoniacum, perjurum, incorrigibilem, schismaticum, a fide devium, pertinacem hæreticum, &c.*[17]: "We condemn and depose pope Eugenius, a despiser of the holy canons, a disturber of the peace and unity of the church of God, a notorious offender of the whole universal church, a simonist, a forsworn man, a man uncorrigible, a schismatic, a man fallen from the faith, and a wilful heretic." Of pope John's heresy, touching the immortality of the soul, we shall speak more hereafter. St Hierome saith: *Qui scripturam intelligit aliter quam sensus Spiritus Sancti flagitat quo scripta est, licet ab ecclesia non recesserit, tamen hæreticus appellari potest*[18]: "Whosoever otherwise understandeth the scriptures than the sense of the Holy Ghost requireth, by whom they were written (as it is most certain the pope in infinite places both hath done and doth), although he be not departed from the church, yet he may well be called an heretic."

Whether the Pope may err or no.

Erasm. in Annot. in Epist. ad Gal. cap. ii. In faciem illi restiti. Conc. Basil. Sess. 34.

xxiv. Quæst. 3. Hær. In Concil. Const. in Append. c. Inprim. Quinimo [idem Johan. Pap. XXII.] dixit, et pertinaciter credidit animam hominis cum corpore humano mori et extingui, ad instar animalium brutorum.[19] Conc. Basil. inter Epist. Synod.

Now, if idolaters, Montanists, Arians, Monothelites, Nestorians, deniers of the immortality, simonists, sorcerers, maintainers of filthiness, and other obstinate and wilful heretics may err, then, whatsoever M. Harding and his fellows shall say to the contrary, it is easily seen that the pope may err.

Verily the council of Basil saith thus: *Multi ex*[20] *summis pontificibus in hæreses et errores lapsi esse dicuntur, et leguntur:... certum est, papam errare posse:... concilium sæpe condemnavit atque deposuit papam, tam ratione fidei quam morum*[21]: "It is reported and read that many popes have fallen into errors and heresies: it is certain that the pope may err: the council hath oftentimes condemned and removed the pope, in respect as well of his heresy in faith, as of his lewdness in life." Visellus saith: *Summorum.... pontificum quidam pestilenter erraverunt*[22]: "Certain of the bishops of Rome have been in pestilent heresies." Your own gloss saith: *Certum est, quod papa errare potest*[23]: "It is certain that the pope may err." Another of your doctors saith: *Interdum possit aliquis esse, qui esset a sede removendus; ut si esset fœmina, vel hæreticus; sicut fuerunt aliqui; et ob*[24] *hoc non numerantur in catalogo paparum*[25]: "The pope may sometimes be such a one as may seem worthy to be removed; as, if he were a woman or an heretic. And certain such there have been; and therefore they be not reckoned in the calendar of the popes." Another saith: *Aliqui papæ inventi sunt flagitiosi et hæretici:* "Some popes have been found wicked men and heretics." Another saith: *Et papa et episcopi sunt deviabiles a fide*[27]: "Both popes and bishops may wander from the faith." Another saith: *Papa mandans aliquid fieri, quod sonet in hæresim, turbat statum ecclesiæ, et non est ei parendum*[28]: "The pope, commanding anything to be done that soundeth of heresy, troubleth the state of the church; and we may not obey him." Another saith: *Papa*

Visellus.

xxiv. Q. 1. A recta. In Glossa. Johan. de Paris. de Pot Reg. et Pap.[26] cap. xviii.

Gerson. an liceat appellare a Pap. Host. de Conc. Præb. Prop.

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[16] Durius autem articuli Parisienses, qui dicunt Petrum errasse in fide.—Erasm. Op. L. Bat. 1703-6. Annot. in Epist. ad Galat. cap. ii. Tom. VI. col. 809.]

[17] Concil. Basil. Sess. xxxiv. in Crabb. Concil. Tom. III. pp. 106, 7; where *et unitatis ecclesiæ.*]

[18] Hieron. in Corp. Jur. Canon. Lugd. 1624. Decret. Gratian. Decr. Sec. Pars, Caus. xxiv. Quæst. iii. can. 27. col. 1428; where *quicunque igitur aliter scripturam intelligit,* and *licet de.*]

[19] Artic. Joan. XXIII. in Concil. Constant. Sess. XI. in Crabb. Concil. Tom. II. p. 1060.]

[20] E, 1567; 1570 omits the word.]

[21] ...summis pontificibus, quorum nonnulli in hæreses &c. certum sit &c. sæpe totum corpus condemnavit &c.—Concil. Basil. Epist. Synod. in eod. Tom. III. pp. 146, 8.]

[22] Wessel. Farrag. Rer. Theolog. Basil. 1522. De Potest. Eccles. fol. 32; where *pontificum plenique,* a misprint for *plerique.*]

[23] Corp. Jur. Canon. Decret. Gratian. Decr. Sec. Pars, Caus. XXIV. Quæst. i. Gloss. in can. 9. col. 1387.]

[24] Ab, 1570.]

[25] Johan. de Parrhis. de Potest. Reg. et Papal. cap. xxiii. in Goldast. Mon. Rom. Imp. Hanov. et Franc. 1612-14. Tom. II. p. 142; where *quod esset a sede repellendus,* and *qui ob hoc non enumerentur.*]

[26] Here 1567 introduces *Hærveus de potesta. Pp.*]

[27] ...quoniam tam papa, quam episcopus deviabiles sunt a fide.—J. Gerson. Op. Antw. 1706. Tractat. An liceat a Pont. appell. Quart. Prop. Tom. II. Pars II. col. 307.]

[28] The following may be the passage intended: In subditis autem tantam habet [papa] plenitudinem potestatis quod ex quo aliquid præcipit obediendum est: etiam si dubium sit utrum mortale sit: dummodo conscientia vinci possit...Sed si certum sit quod illud quod præcipit est mortale, recognoscendus est papa cœlestis.—Host. sup. Tert. Decretal. Par. 1512. Tit. viii. cap. 4. fol. 34.]

Whether the Pope may err or no.

potest esse hæreticus, et de hæresi judicari[1]: "The pope may be an heretic, and of heresy may be judged."

All these were the pope's undoubted friends. But now let us hear the pope himself. Pope Pius II., otherwise called Æneas Sylvius, saith thus: *Quid... si criminosus papa... contraria fidei prædicet, hæreticisque dogmatibus imbuat subditos*[2]? "What if a notorious wicked pope teach things contrary to the faith, and with heretical doctrine pervert his subjects?" He could never have moved this question, if he had thought it a matter impossible that ever the pope should be an heretic[3].

Extr. de Elect. Signif. Abb. Æn. Sylv. de Conc. Basil. Lib. i

I would not stand so long in so clear a case, were it not that M. Harding, all this notwithstanding, telleth us so sadly, and biddeth us believe it upon his warrant, that the pope undoubtedly can never err. Stanislaus Hosius, the greatest stickler of that side, blusheth not to say thus: *Numerentur omnes, &c.*[4]: "Reckon all the popes that ever were, from Peter until this Julius that now is, there never sat in this chair any Arian, any Donatist, any Pelagian, or any other that professed any manner heresy." Yet nevertheless your own doctor Alphonsus saith: *Non... credo aliquem esse adeo impudentem papæ assentatorem ut ei tribuere hoc velit, ut nec errare nec in interpretatione sacrarum literarum hallucinari possit*[5]: "I believe there is no so shameless a flatterer of the pope, that will grant him this prerogative, that he can never err, nor be deceived in the expounding of the scriptures." Here, M. Harding, your own principal doctor Alphonsus calleth all them that maintain your doctrine, and say as you say, "the shameless flatterers of the pope." Certainly, I think it may safely be said: If a man will take the view of all Christendom, he shall not find so many heretics in any one see whatsoever as may be found in the see of Rome. And for that cause perhaps Franciscus Petrarcha calleth Rome *Asylum hæresium*[6] *et errorum*, "The sanctuary of errors and heresies." And in his Italian sonnets he calleth it, "The school of error, and the temple of heresy[7]."

Hos. in Confess. Pet. cap. xxix.

Alphons. contr. Hær. Lib. i. cap. iv.

Fr. Petrarch. Epist. 20. Schola di errore, e tempio di eresia.

As for Nicolas Lyra, ye doubt of our dealing, for that the printer hath not quoted the place. It may please you therefore to peruse his notes upon the sixteenth[8] chapter of St Matthew. There among others[9] ye shall find these words: *Ex hoc patet, quod ecclesia non consistit in hominibus, ratione potestatis vel dignitatis ecclesiasticæ vel secularis; quia multi principes et summi pontifices... inventi sunt apostatasse a fide*[10]: "Hereby it appeareth that the church standeth not upon[11] men in consideration either of their power, or of their dignity, either ecclesiastical or temporal. For many princes and popes have been found to have strayed from the faith." Therefore Baldus saith, *Cautela est, quod quis dicat, credo quod credit sancta mater ecclesia, non quod credit papa*[12]: "It is to be marked, that a man may say, I believe that the church believeth; but he may not say, I[13] believe that the pope believeth." His meaning is, that the pope may be deceived, and believe amiss[3]. Ye say, Christ prayed for Peter; *ergo*, the pope cannot err. But where was Christ's prayer then when so many heretics were popes in Rome? Will ye say that Christ prayed for Arians, for Nestorians, for Montanists, for Monothelites, for simonists, for idolaters, for necromancers, for poisoners, for murderers, and for dame Joan too? or that by the virtue of Christ's prayer none of these could ever err? or that the pope's errors must go for truth, or his heresies

Nic. Lyra, in Matt. cap. xvi.

Bald. de Offic. Præs. l. Sæpe.

[1 Panorm. sup. Prim. Primi Decretal. Lugd. 1534. Tit. vi. cap. 4. fol. 122.]

[2 Æn. Sylv. Op. Basil. 1551. De Gest. Basil. Concil. Lib. i. p. 19.]

[3 This sentence is not in 1567.]

[4 Numerentur omnes pontifices a Petro ad hunc usque Gregorium XIII. nullus in ista cathedra sedit Arrianus, nullus Donatista, nullus Pelagianus, nullus Lutheranus, nullus qui hæresim aliquam professus esset.—Hos. Op. Col. 1584. Confess. Cathol. Fid. cap. xxix. Tom. I. p. 67.]

[5 Alfons. de Castro adv. Hær. Col. 1539. Lib. i. cap. iv. fol. 8. See Vol. III. page 343, note 15.]

[6 Hæresum, 1567, 1570.]

[7 F. Petrarch. Op. Basil. 1581. Epist. sine Tit. Lib. Ad Amic. Epist. xvi. Tom. II. p. 729; Sonnett. cviii. Tom. IV. p. 149. See before, page 628, note 5, and Vol. III. page 345, note 12. Conf. Catalog. Test. Genev. 1608. col. 2098.]

[8 xvi, 1567; sixteen, 1570.]

[9 Other, 1567.]

[10 Bibl. cum Gloss. Ord. et Expos. N. de Lyra, Basil. 1502. Matt. cap. xvi. Pars V. fol. 52; where *ex quo patet*, and *apostasse*.]

[11 In, 1567.]

[12 The editor has not been able to verify this reference.]

[13 But not I, 1567.]

be holden as right religion, only because you tell us, that whatsoever he[14] say he cannot err? O M. Harding, I shewed you before, that Christ prayed not only for Peter, but also for all the rest of his disciples. Origen saith, as he is before alleged: *Num audebimus dicere, quod adversus unum Petrum non prævaliturœ sint portæ inferorum, adversus ceteros apostolos prævaliturœ sint*[15]*?* "Shall we dare to say that the gates of hell shall not prevail against only Peter, and that the same gates shall prevail against all other the apostles?" St Cyprian saith: *Rogabat... pro delictis nostris, sicut... ipse declarat, cum dicit ad Petrum,... ego... rogavi pro te, ne deficiat fides tua*[16]*;* "Christ prayed (not for Peter only, but) for our sins, as he himself declareth, saying unto Peter, 'I have prayed for thee that thy faith should not fail.'" St Augustine, expounding the same words, saith thus: *Ego rogavi Patrem pro vobis, ne deficiat fides vestra*[17]*:* "I have prayed (not only for Peter, but also) for you, that your faith should not fail." Chrysostom saith: *Omnis... Christianus, qui suscipit verbum Petri, thronus fit Petri, et Petrus sedet in eo*[18]*:* "Every christian man, that receiveth the word of Peter, is made Peter's chair; and Peter himself sitteth in him."

Whether the Pope may err or no.

Orig. in Matt. Tract. 1.

Cypr. in Orat. Domin.

August. de Verb. Dom. secund. Luc. Serm. 36.

Chrysost. in Matt. Hom. 33. in Op. Imp.[19]

Otherwise, M. Harding, they are not all Peters that sit in place of Peter. St Ambrose saith: *Non habent... hæreditatem Petri, qui fidem Petri non habent*[20]*:* "They have not Peter's inheritance, that have not the faith of Peter."

Ambros. de Pœnit. Lib. i. cap. vi.

St Hierome saith: *Auferet... Dominus nomina vanœ gloriœ et admirationis falsœ, quœ versantur in ecclesia*[21]*:* "God will take away these names of vain glory and false ostentation that are used in the church." Where we say, Pope Liberius favoured the Arians, that (ye say) is "stark false." And yet, ye know, St Hierome is the reporter of that falsehood[22]. But St Hierome (ye say) was deceived. In such reverence and regard ye have the doctors and learned fathers of the church. Ye believe them no farther[23] than ye list. I doubt not but St Hierome might better say, M. Harding is deceived. If St Hierome's authority suffice you not, you may take also the authority of St Augustine: for St Augustine saith, as he is alleged by cardinal Cusanus, that pope Liberius gave his hand and consent unto the [24]Arians[25]. Certainly Alphonsus your own doctor saith: *De Liberio papa constat fuisse Arianum*[26]*:* "Touching pope Liberius, it is well known he was an Arian." Platina saith: *Liberius, ut quidam volunt, in rebus omnibus sensit cum hæreticis*[27]*:* "Pope Liberius, as some say, was in all points of one judgment with the Arian heretics."

Hieron. in Soph. cap. i.

Pope Liberius.

Hieron. de Eccles. Script. In Fortunat.

Nic. Cusan. de Concord. Lib. ii. cap. v.

Alphons. contr. Hær. Lib. i. cap. iv.

Plat. in Lib.

Antonius, the archbishop of Florence, saith: *Liberius* [*papa*] *consensit præceptis Augusti* (*Ariani*)*, ut una... cum hæreticis communicaret*[28]*:* "Pope Liberius so consented to the commandments of the Arian emperor, that he communicated with the heretics." So saith Joverius in the abridgment of councils[29]. So saith Hermannus Gigas[30]. So saith your very Legend, commonly called Historia Longobardica[31]. Among others, Erasmus saith: *Ariana hæresis et Romanum pontificem involvit, et ipsos imperatores*[32]*:* "The Arians' heresy entangled and

Ant. Part. II. Tit. x. cap. iv. sec. 5.

Joverius.

Her. Gigas. Hist. Long.

Erasm. in Annot. in Hieron. contr. Lucif.

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[14] Ye, 1611.]

[15] Orig. Op. Par. 1733-59. Comm. in Matt. Tom. XII. 11. Tom. III. p. 524.]

[16] Cypr. Oxon. 1682. De Orat. Domin. p. 152.]

[17] August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. De Verb. Evang. Luc. xviii. Serm. cxv. 1. Tom. V. col. 575. See before, page 711, note 6.]

[18] Chrysost. Op. Par. 1718-38. Op. Imperf. in Matt. Hom. xxxiii. ex cap. xix. Tom. VI. Append. p. cxliii.]

[19] 1567, 1570, have not *in opere imperfecto.*]

[20] Ambros. Op. Par. 1686-90. De Pœn. Lib. i. cap. vii. 33. Tom. II. col. 399; where *Petri hæreditatem qui Petri sedem.* But the earlier editions have *Petri fidem.*]

[21] Hieron. Op. Par. 1693-1706. Comm. in Soph. Proph. cap. i. Tom. III. col. 1647.]

[22] Falshead, 1567, 1570.]

[23] Further, 1567, 1570, 1609.]

[24] These two sentences are not in 1567.]

[25] Et licet Liberius papa tunc fuit, qui (ut scribit August. contra Crescentium, Arrianæ sectæ se subscripsit) &c.—Nic. de Cusa Op. Basil. 1565. De Concord. Cathol. Lib. II. cap. v. Tom. II. p. 716.]

[26] Alfons. de Castro adv. Hær. Lib. i. cap. iv. fol. 8.]

[27] Plat. de Vit. Pont. Col. 1551. Liber. pp. 44, 5. See Vol. III. page 342, note 4.]

[28] Antonin. Chronic. Lugd. 1586. Pars II. Tit. IX. cap. iv. Sect. 5. p. 24.]

[29] ...ut Liberius tandem fractus ærumnis, in sententiam impii principis, dum restitueretur, cessisse sit judicatus.—Jover. Sanct. Eccles. Par. 1555. Synod. Nic. fol. 5.]

[30] ...unde Liberius, Arianis subscribens et consentiens, quasi victor intravit, et facta est persecutio magna in Christianos ab Arianis.—Herman. Gygant. Flor. Temp. Lugd. Bat. 1750. p. 52.]

[31] Liberius igitur tædio affectus exilii in hæretica pravitate subscripsit.—Op. Aur. et Legend. Insign. cum Hyst. Lomb. Lugd. 1526. Leg. xcviii. fol. 75.]

[32] Nulla hæresis gravius afflixit totius orbis ecclesias, quam Arrianorum, adeo ut Romanum

wrapped both pope and emperor." By the pope namely he meaneth pope Liberius.

Nic. Cusan. de Concord. Lib. i. cap. xiv.

Cardinal Cusanus saith: *Liberius,* [*et*] *Honorius, et alii in cathedra Petri aliquandiu sedentes, in errorem schismaticum seducti ceciderunt*[1]*:* "Pope Liberius and Honorius, and others sitting in Peter's chair, have fallen into schismatical error, and have been deceived[2]."

Yet you doubt not to say, St Hierome was shamefully "deceived," and wrote of ignorance, he knew not what, and all is false[3].

Pope John.

Likewise ye say, That we report of pope John is "most false and impudent[4]." Our report is, "That pope John denied the immortality of the soul:" not thoroughly and altogether, but only in that he said, "Until the time of the last judgment the soul lieth still, as in a trance, as doth the body, without sense of joy or pain." Wherein he not only withstood the express word of God, but also unwares quite overthrew his own whole kingdom of purgatory, which is the greatest and fairest of all his three crowns. For what avail his pardons and trentals, if the soul lie still asleep until the day of judgment, and feel no pain? Verily after the last judgment, by common consent, there shall be nor purgatory, nor trental, nor mass, nor pope, nor pardon. Now[5] if there be no place of purgatory, neither before nor after the last judgment, then may we well conclude that absolutely and without doubt there is no purgatory. The first authors of this error, as St Augustine saith, were the heretics called Arabici[6].

August. ad Quodvultd. Hær. 83.[7] Gers. Serm. I. in Fest. Pasch.

Touching pope John's error, Gerson saith thus: *Johannes papa XXII. decrevit, &c.*[8] "Pope John XXII. decreed that the souls of the wicked should not be punished before the day of the last judgment:" which error the university of Paris condemned for heresy, and caused the pope to recant. One of your own companions of Lovaine saith, Pope John kept this error secretly to himself, and never had the open consent of the church of Rome[9]. And for better excuse hereof he saith: *Petrus non fidem Christi, sed Christum, salva fide, negavit*[10]*:* "Peter denied not the faith of Christ, but, his faith saved, he denied no more but only Christ[11]." And so, by this pretty shift of your Lovanian divinity, ye have both Christ without faith, and also faith without Christ. Thus, M. Harding, it is plain, by your own doctors and fellows, that our report of pope John is neither a false slander, as you say, nor proceedeth of detestable and wicked malice.

Cop. Dial. i. pp. 50, 51.

Addition.

Addition. ☞ M. Harding. "What shall I say, but all is false? It is a foul thing, M. Jewel, and a wicked impudency thus to belie the doctors. Certain it is, Gerson never said it, nor *in Sermone Paschali,* as you report, nor any where else, that this pope John made any such decree. Neither was his error as you untruly burden him, &c. That ye write touching this pope either proceedeth of 1. malice, or of ignorance, &c. The error of pope John XXII. was not, that the souls of the wicked be not punished before the day of the last judgment, but that 2. the souls of the good see not the face of God before the last day. His position was conceived with these terms, as we find it in Adrianus that learned pope, and in the Extravagant of pope Benedictus Undecimus who succeeded him next: *Animæ purgatæ ante finale judicium non habent stolam, quæ est clara et facialis visio Dei*[12].

☞ M. Harding, fol. 64. a. [Detect.]

M. Harding, fol. 65. a. [Detect.]

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quoque pontificem et ipsos involverit imperatores.—Hieron. Op. Basil. 1516. Erasm. Arg. Epist. adv. Lucifer. Tom. III. fol. 61.]

[1 Nic. de Cusa Op. Basil. 1565. De Concord. Cathol. Lib. I. cap. xiv. Tom. I. p. 707; where *cecideriut.*]

[2 This paragraph is not in 1567].

[3 The last four words are not in 1567.]

[4 These two words are not in 1567.]

[5 No purgatory. Now, 1567.]

[6 August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. Lib. de Hæres. ad Quodvultd. Hær. lxxxiii. Tom. VIII. col. 24. See below, page 935, note 15.]

[7 1567, 1570 have not *Hæres.* 83.]

[8 See below, note 13.]

[9 Singulari enim Dei bonitate factum est, ut aut nullus hactenus ex ea sede episcopus aliquid contra fidem commiserit...aut eum cum Petro et Marcellino pœnitentia non diluerit ac deterserit; aut certe non habuerit reliquæ ecclesiæ Romanæ conciliique sui ecclesiastici consensum; sed sibi soli illum errorem retinuerit, non edicto legeque publica ita credendum sancierit.—Copi Dialog. Sex, Antv. 1566. Dial. I. cap. viii. pp. 50, 1.]

[10 Id. ibid. p. 51.]

[11 But Christ, 1567.—In the margin here 1609 and 1611 insert, Monks, Nuns, Friars.]

[12 ...animæ...fidelium defunctorum ... cum post mortem suam fuerint purgatæ...ante...judicium generale...vident divinam essentiam visione intuitiva, et

"Of this question some doctors then held the affirmative, some the negative. Amongst them that held the negative, this pope John XXII. was one before he was pope, and perhaps also afterward. But he held it only as his private opinion. M. Harding, fol. 65. b. [Detect.] 3. 4.

"Now this was an error in pope John, I deny not; yet for the same is not he to be counted an heretic; as neither St Irenæus, Theophylactus, and St Bernard are, who seem to have been of the same opinion. Gerson saith: *Propter quod... apparet falsitas doctrinæ papæ Johannis XXII. quæ damnata fuit cum sono buccinarum vel tubarum coram rege Philippo avunculo tuo per theologos Parisienses*[13]. Remember, good reader, this error of pope John XXII. was not condemned by the divines of Paris, when he was pope, but before, when he was a private doctor, and lived in the realm of France, &c. And so by this purgatory is not taken away at all, as your scoffing tale that liketh you so well pretendeth it to be: neither were the heretics, that of St Augustine are called *Arabici*[14], the first authors of this error, as you say, but the Armenians and Grecians, if we may believe Guido[15]. Now, touching that you have alleged out of the council of Constance, I marvel with what face you bring it in; and what a great falsehood[16] is it to put in your book the name of pope John XXII. for pope John XXIII. The name of this John XXIII. was, before he took upon him to be pope, Balthazar de Cossa, as there ye have it declared, &c. Neither was he a true pope, lawfully elect, but an usurper, as two others were with him at the same time. So by this place ye have proved no heresy against pope John XXII., nor against any true pope at all, but only have shewed yourself a shameless shifter, and one that hath a more malicious mind to hurt the authority of the pope, than matter of just accusation against him." *The answer.* All this is true, no doubt[17]: for M. Harding's saws must go for gospel. First, good reader, I will tell thee what man this pope John was, and then make answer to every piece hereof in order. The next pope before him was Clemens the fifth, that caused Franciscus Dandalus, the ambassador of Venice, to come before him tied in an iron chain, and to wallow under his table as a dog, while his holiness sat at supper. Otherwise the indignation he had conceived against the Venetians could never be swaged[18]. The fourth pope after him was Urbanus the fourth, that took five of his cardinals upon displeasure, and tied them up in sacks, and threw them out into the sea[19]. As for this pope John himself, he turned bishopricks into abbeys, and abbeys into bishopricks; bishopricks into archbishopricks, and archbishopricks into bishopricks; one bishoprick into two, and two into one; cities into towns, and towns into cities: and thus was evermore altering, and never contented[20]. Pope Clement[21] his predecessor being dead, the cardinals, after they had long contended among themselves about the election of a pope, and could not agree, they committed the whole matter in trust unto this John, being then also himself a cardinal, that he should choose whom he best liked, and end the strife, nothing doubting but he would have chosen one of the same cardinals that they had named. But he, having the whole power in his own hand, like a man of trust, forgat all others, and chose himself, and so was pope by his own election[22]. Being pope, he excommunicated Lodovicus the emperor, for that he had attempted to execute some part of his imperial office without his licence: by mean whereof he inflamed all Christendom with such discord and hatred, and deadly wars, as could not afterward be quenched in thirty years. He said he had power to raise up emperors, and to depose them, at his

Fol. 66. b. [Detect.]

Fol. 66. a. [Detect.]

67. a. [Detect.]

Sabell. Ennead. IX. Lib. VII.

Sabell. Ennead. IX. Lib. IX.

Naucler. Gen. 44.

Naucler. Gen. 44.

Naucler. Carion.

Pro sua voluntate.

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etiam faciali... divina essentia immediate se nude, clare, et aperte eis ostendente.—Cherubin. Bull. Rom. 1617. Benedict. XII. Const. iv. 3. Tom. I. pp. 178, 9.]

[13] J. Gerson. Op. Antw. 1706. Serm. in Fest. Pasch. Tom. III. Pars III. col. 1205; where *Joannis vicesimi*.]

[14] August. Op. Lib. de Hær. ad Quodvultd. Hær. lxxxiii. Tom. VIII. col. 24. See below, page 935, note 15.]

[15] Guidon. de Perpin. Summ. de Hæres. Par. 1528. De Hær. Græc. cap. vii.; De Hær. Armen. cap. ix.; De Hær. Arab. cap. lxi. foll. 22. 2, 32. 2. 67.]

[16] Falshead, 1570.]

[17] Doubts, 1570.]

[18] Sabell. Rapsod. Hist. Par. 1509. Ennead. IX. Lib. VII. Pars III. fol. 123. 2.]

[19] Id. ibid. Lib. IX. fol. 136. 2.]

[20] Naucler. Chronic. Tubing. 1516. Vol. II. Gen. xliv. fol. 247.]

[21] Clemens, 1570, 1609.]

[22] Id. ibid.]

Pope John XXII.

pleasure; and that, whensoever the empire is void, the pope is emperor; and that there is no power above the pope[1].

And, whereas certain preachers, loathing the intolerable ambition and lordliness of the clergy that then was, had told the people openly in their sermons, that Christ and his apostles were simple and poor, and possessors of nothing, he caused them to be taken and condemned, and burnt as heretics: which thing, saith one, he did the better to justify his own greediness[2]. For at the time of his death he left in his treasury five and twenty thousand thousand crowns in ready gold[3]: which thing was the more to be wondered at, for that not long before the same pope John had joined in war with Robert the king of Apulia, in defence of the state of Genoa; in which war, as Antoninus Florentinus saith, such abundance of gold and treasure was spent on both sides, as might have bought a good kingdom[4]. Such a one, M. Harding, was pope John, whose doctrine you may not in any wise suffer to be stained. And therefore, touching the matter itself, you have minced it prettily. It was no heresy, you say, but only "an error." And why so? I trow, because this John was no inferior bishop, nor private man, but a bishop of bishops and a pope: for in any other poor man it had been an heresy. The Arabians[5] and Armenians many hundred years before were condemned and holden as heretics for the same. So blessed a thing is it to be a pope.

Paralip. Ursperg.

Anselm. Rid. Millies viginti quinque millia.

Antonin. Part. III. Tit. 21. cap. iv.

M. Harding, 65. b. [Detect.]

August. ad Quodvult.

Pope John an heretic.

But, if this error were no heresy in pope John, then a great many, that so charged him, did him great wrong, and were much to blame. Antoninus saith, *Johannes [XXII.] ... sermonem faciens in publico consistorio, dixit quædam hæresim sapientia*[6]: "Pope John, speaking openly in the consistory, uttered certain words savouring of heresy;" and therefore he saith, that of many he was judged an heretic. Christianus Massæus saith: [*Johannes papa XXII.*] *misit Parisios duos, ... qui hanc hæresim prædicarent*[7]: "Pope John sent two preachers to Paris to set forth this heresy." Nauclerus saith: *Imo Johannem papam [XXII.] magni et multi theologi, scientia et vita probati, dogmatizabant esse hæreticum*[8]: "Nay, many great and famous doctors of divinity, notable as well for their learning as for their life, published pope John to be an heretic." So many historiographers, and so many and so notable doctors of divinity, may be witnesses sufficient to prove one heretic, if he were not a pope.

Antonin. Part. III. Tit. 21. cap. vi. sec. 15. Asserebant ex eo, ipsum esse hæreticum. Massæ. Lib. xviii. anno 1332.

Naucler. Gen. 45. M. Harding, 64. b. [Detect.]

Decreed.

Gerson saith not, *Johannes papa decrevit:* "Pope John decreed." "This," you say, "is a foul thing, and a wicked impudency." *The answer.* It is no manly part, M. Harding, to strive and wrangle about words when the matter is plain. If Gerson said not, "Pope John decreed these things," yet he said, "Pope John published and taught these things." And a man would think that teaching and publishing were not much less then decreeing. Gerson's words be plain, even as you yourself have alleged them: *Propterea apparet falsitas doctrinæ papæ Johannis XXII.*[9] "Hereby appeareth the falsehood[10] of the doctrine of pope John." Christianus Massæus saith: *Papa Johannes prædicavit errorem*[11]: "Pope John

Massæ. Lib. xviii.

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[1] Postea censuris pontificiis animadvertit in Cæsarem Ludovicum Joannes XXII. quo ante coronationem imperiali auctoritate et imperio usus fuerat in Italia. Occasio ingentis schismatis inde orta est apud Germanos, idque duravit circiter viginti quatuor annos...gloriari veritus non est Joannes papa, penes se summam auctoritatem et jus esse creandi et deponendi non solum reges, sed imperatores omnes pro sua voluntate.—J. Carion. Chronic. Libell. Par. 1543. fol. 118.

...papa egregie gloriatur, quasi potestatem habeat imperatores et reges ordinare et deponere.—Rer. Mem. Paraleip. ad calc. Chronic. Abbat. Ursperg. Argent. 1537. p. 375.]

[2] The words from *heretics* are not in 1570.]

[3] Dixit item, assertis antecessoris sui Clementis Clementinis, inopiæ hæresim, optimo scilicet sui jure, dum ex inope quinquies vicies mille millium aureorum nummum thesaurum, 90. vitæ suæ anno defunctus, reliquit.—Anselm. Ryd, Catalog. Annor. et Princ. Bern. 1540. fol. 53. Conf. Rer. Mem. Paraleip. p. 376.]

[4] Tantæque impensæ hujusmodi mutuis præliis et congressionibus factæ sunt, ut fere unum regnum inde posset emi.—Antonin. Chronic. Lugd. 1586. Pars III. Tit. XXI. cap. iv. sect. 7. p. 298.]

[5] August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. Lib. de Hæres. ad Quodvultd. Hær. lxxxiii. Tom. VIII. col. 24. See below, page 935, note 15.]

[6] Antonin. Chronic. Pars III. Tit. XXI. cap. vi. sect. 15. pp. 333, 4.]

[7] Massæ. Chronic. Libr. Antv. 1540. Lib. XVIII. p. 247. See below, page 934, note 2.]

[8] Naucler. Chronic. Tubing. 1516. Vol. II. Gen. xlv. fol. 248. 2.]

[9] See above, page 931, note 13.]

[10] Falshead, 1570.

[11] Massæ. Chronic. Libr. Lib. XVIII. p. 247.]

preached or set forth this error." And it is said, the pope's will must needs stand for a [12]law[13]. Pope John XXII.

You say, "Remember, good reader, this error of pope John XXII. was not condemned by the divines of Paris when he was pope, but before, when he was a private doctor, and lived in the realm of France." *The answer.* Thou must believe M. Harding, good reader, be his tale never so unlikely, yea, though he speak impossibilities. This error of pope John, saith he, was condemned in the presence of Philip the French king, not when John was pope, but before, when he was a private man. Now, I beseech thee, good reader, for thy better satisfaction, consider well the years and ages, as well of this king Philip the sixth, as also of this pope John the two-and-twentieth[14]. It appeareth by all writers whatsoever, that this John was consecrated[15] pope at Avenion *anno* 1316, and that Philippus Valesius was crowned king in France *anno* 1328: by which computation it is plain that this John was pope thirteen years before this Philip was king. This story is evident, and agreeably confessed by all that have written: yet it pleaseth M. Harding to take it by the top, and to turn it backward, and to tell us of himself only, without further authority, that Philip Valesius was king, and sat in place of judgment to hear causes of religion, thirteen years at the least before this John was pope. Thus by M. Harding's handling pope John when he was pope yet was no pope, and Philip was a king thirteen years at the least before he was king. Such pretty verities M. Harding can shape us for his advantage. De Trans. Episc. Quant. Before he was pope.

Yet, M. Harding, you tell us that this John "was condemned by the divines of Paris, not when he was pope" (God forbid; for then must we confess that the pope was an heretic), "but before, when he was a private doctor, and lived in the realm of France." Here is a marvellous case, M. Harding. An heretic by your confession may be a pope; but a pope in no wise may be an heretic. This John, you say, "was hereof condemned when he was a private man and lived in France." I pray you, M. Harding, and where lived he afterward, being pope? Look up your chronicles. Where was pope John's abode? Where was his consistory? Where was his court during all that whole time while he was pope? Perhaps you think it was at Rome: for there sat St Peter; there is the continuance of his succession; and thereof the popes are called the bishops of Rome. If you so think, M. Harding, your thought deceiveth you. For indeed it is well known that pope Clemens the fifth, that was the next predecessor before pope John XXII., removed himself and all his train from Rome to Avenion in France, in the year of our Lord 1303; from which time, during the space of three-score and fourteen years following, the popes continued still at Avenion, and never returned back to Rome[16]. It was in vain therefore for you to say, Pope John at the time of his condemnation was no pope, but only a private man, and lived in France. For during the whole time of his popedom he continued still in France at Avenion; and, being four-score and ten years of age, he died at Avenion, and at Avenion was buried in the cathedral church, where his body resteth until this day, and not in Rome. When he lived in France. Sabell. Ennead. IX. Lib. VII. Platina.

Say no more, therefore, M. Harding, that pope John's error was condemned in Paris, and blown out with trumpets in the presence of the king, not when he was pope, but only when he lived in private estate. For all the historiographers that have written hereof will soon control you. Antoninus saith: "Pope John held this error in the time of his popedom, and pronounced words savouring of heresy openly in the consistory"[17] (being pope). Nauclerus saith: *Imo papam Johannem magni et multi theologi, scientia et vita probati, dogmatizabant esse hæreticum propter errores certos; quos tamen die obitus sui dicitur tepide revocasse; et ejus* Naucler. Gen. 45. Anno 1324. Tepide.

[12] For law, 1570.]

[13] Corp. Jur. Canon. Lugd. 1624. Decretal. Gregor. IX. Lib. I. Tit. VII. Gloss. in cap. 3. col. 217. See Vol. I. p. 442, note 17.]

[14] Twenty, 1570.]

[15] Consecrate, 1570, 1609.]

[16] ...his auspiciis apostolica sedes Italiæ finibus egressa annos quattuor et septuaginta abfuit. Incidit hæc Romanæ aulæ in Galliam translatio in annum salutis millesimum trecentesimum quintum.—Sabell. Rapsod. Hist. Par. 1509. Ennead. IX. Lib. VII. Pars III. fol. 122. 2. Conf. Plat. De Vit. Pont. Col. 1551. Clem. V. p. 215.]

[17] Antonin. Chronic. Pars III. Tit. XXI. cap. VI. sect. 15. pp. 333, 4. See the last page.]

Pope John XXII.

successor Benedictus eos errores fertur publice damnasse[1]: "Nay, many great and famous divines, of great learning and good life, proclaimed" not one or other by the name of John, but "pope John by the name of pope to be an heretic, for certain errors; which errors notwithstanding it is said that he coldly revoked at the time of his death:" but not before, neither then but coldly. "Again it is said, that pope Benedictus, his next successor, openly condemned the same errors." Christianus Massæus saith: *Papa Johannes prædicavit errorem, &c. misitque Parisios duos, alterum Dominicanum, alterum Franciscanum, qui eandem hæresim prædicarent, &c.*[2]: "Pope John preached and professed an error, &c. and sent two preachers to Paris, the one a black friar, and the other a grey friar, to maintain the same heresy. But one Thomas, a preacher of England, withstood the pope. Him the pope took, and threw into prison. Hereupon the king summoned a council unto his palace in Vinciana Sylva. The whole assembly subscribed against the pope. Immediately the king sent to pope John, and willed him to reform his error, and to set the preacher at liberty; and so he did."

Benedictus condemnat.

Massæ. Lib. xviii. Anno 1332.

Thus you see, M. Harding, that pope John, being pope, stood in error; that pope John was condemned for an heretic; that pope John professed and preached false doctrine; that pope John sent out preachers to maintain his heresy, and they were friars; that pope John was controlled by an English preacher; that pope John was reproved by a council; that pope John was willed by the king to reform his error. And yet can you tell us, all this notwithstanding, that pope John was then a private man, and no pope at all.

M. Harding, 66. b. [Detect.]

M. Harding, 67. a. [Detect.]

Further you say: "Touching that you have alleged out of the council of Constance, what a great falsehood[3] is it to put in your book the name of pope John XXII. for pope John XXIII.! The name of this John XXIII. was (before he took upon him to be pope) Balthazar de Cossa, as there ye have it declared. Neither was it certain that he held that detestable opinion. Howsoever it be, pope John XXIII. was not a true pope lawfully elect, but an usurper." *The answer.* And what if I should here confess an error, M. Harding? Or what if I should say, I had not advisedly considered the story, but had taken one number for another? Yet have have you not one heretic pope John the less, but one the more. For howsoever ye number them, as it shall well appear, both were Johns, and both were popes, and both were heretics. But, as you can so favourably tell us, it is no heresy in a pope wilfully to maintain an open error touching the state of the soul; so I trust of your courtesy ye will not so hastily condemn it for heinous heresy, if a man happen only to misreckon the name or number of a pope: for more than that you cannot make it. Otherwise it may happen that you yourself, even in this self-same place, may find yourself in like error, and yield yourself to be an heretic. For where you say it was Benedictus undecimus that followed Johannes XXII., Onuphrius calleth him Benedictum decimum[4]; and Sabellicus saith it was Benedictus duodecimus[5]. In this reckoning, if every misnumbering of a pope be an heresy, by your judgment we must needs have two heresies at the least. As for Balthazar a Cossa, whom ye[6] call pope John XXIII., Platina calleth him pope John XXIV.[7] Onuphrius calleth him, even as I did, pope John XXII.[8], and not as you do, pope John XXIII. And the other John, whom you call pope John XXII., he calleth pope John XXI. Look on your books, and you shall find it. Now, M. Harding, you see the very causes of all this error; and yet no great cause why you should so fiercely upbraid us with so great falsehood[9]. The matter, wherewith this pope John

Sabell. Ennead. IX.

[1 Naucler. Chronic. Tubing. 1516. Vol. II. Gen. xlv. fol. 248. 2; where *Joannem papam*, and *successor suus Benedictus*.]

[2 ...papa &c. Misitque Parisium duos, &c. Pontifici restitit quidam Tomas prædicator Anglus, quem propterea papa in carcerem misit. Rex autem convocavit concilium ad palatium suum in Vintiana silva. Qui omnes contra pontificem subscribebant. Statim rex legationem misit Joanni, petens ut et se corrigeret et Tomam dimitteret: ille vinctum absolvit.—Massæ. Chronic. Libr. Antv. 1540. Lib. XVIII. p. 247.]

[3 Falshead, 1570.]

[4 Onuph. Panvin. Epit. Pont. Rom. Venet. 1557. pp. 211, 4.]

[5 Sabell. Rapsod. Hist. Par. 1509. Ennead. IX. Lib. VIII. Pars III. fol. 126. 2.]

[6 You, 1570.]

[7 Plat. De Vit. Pont. Col. 1551. Johan. XXIV. p. 249.]

[8 Onuph. Panvin. Epit. Pont. Rom. p. 205.]

[9 Falshead, 1570.]

the latter[10] was charged, was this, as it is specially objected against him in the council of Constance: *Quin imo dixit, et pertinaciter credidit, animam hominis cum corpore humano mori et extingui, ad instar animalium brutorum*[11]: "Pope John said, and stubbornly believed, that the soul of man dieth together with the body, and is consumed to nothing, as the soul of brute beasts." Therefore, M. Harding, the greatest fault ye can find in me in this behalf is this, that, seeking to find heretics among the popes, I thought there had been but one pope John condemned of heresy, whereas indeed there were two. Pope John XXII.

You say, "This heresy was objected only against pope John XXIII., but never proved." But it[12] was objected against him, M. Harding, in the council of Constance, and of his part never purged. Seek his purgation where ye[13] will, ye shall never find it. And the want of purgation is called in law a plain conviction.

Yet the better to countenance a bad matter, you say, "This latter[10] pope John was no true pope, nor lawfully chosen, as appertained." Who saith so, M. Harding, but only yourself? And what is your own only authority against all others? In the council of Constance, where all the enormities and villanies of this pope John's whole life were blazed abroad, yet this article of his election and title of popedom was never laid to his charge. Platina, touching his election, saith thus: *Bononiæ omnium consensu pontifex creatur*[14]: "This John was chosen pope at Bononia, by the consent of all the cardinals." Having the consent of all the cardinals, he wanted none, no, not one. And what election can be more canonical, or lawful, than when the voices of all the electors agree together? Certainly in any reasonable judgment he was much more lawfully chosen than pope John XXII. that chose himself; and yet was that pope John a lawful pope. Indeed the other two popes were set up in schism and division, only by a part of the cardinals: but pope John XXIII. was lawfully chosen by the consent and agreement of the whole; and had he not been charged with other crimes, he had never been removed. Plat. in Johan. XXIV.

To conclude, you say, "The heretics, that of St Augustine are called *Arabici*, were not the first authors of this error; but the Armenians and Grecians, if we believe Guido." *The answer.* And why so, M. Harding? Did not the Arabian heretics hold this same error? Verily St Augustine's words are plain: *Arabici dixerunt, animas cum corporibus mori atque dissolvi, et in fine seculi utrunque resurgere*[15]. But you say, "The Armenians were the founders of this error, and they were long before the Arabians." For, I trow, so saith your Guido. But examine you better the course of times. You may happen to find your error. St Augustine saith, the Arabians were in the time of Origen, well-near fourteen hundred years ago. As for the Armenians, Alphonsus saith, they began about eleven hundred years ago, after the council of Chalcedon, about the year of our Lord 450[16], that is to say, 250 years after the Arabians. Now, M. Harding, tell us, I pray you, whether of these two sorts of heretics was the former? Is it[17] not a likely matter that the Arabians, that were fourteen hundred years ago, learned first their heresy of the Armenians, that followed two hundred and fifty years after them? August. ad Quodvultd. Arabici. Anno 212. Alphons. de Hær. Lib. ii. De Adam et Eva, Armen. Ann. 450.

As for Guido the Carmelite friar, no doubt, he was a wise and a worthy[18] doctor to be brought forth for a witness against the authority of St Augustine[19].

Now, that the truth of your words may appear the better, let us lay forth a brief hereof by way of comparison, as in a table.

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[10] Later, 1570.]

[11] Artic. contr. Joan. XXIII. in Concil. Constant. Sess. XI. in Crabb. Concil. Col. Agrip. 1551. Tom. II. p. 1060. It seems clear that bishop Jewel confounded the two popes of the same title, Jacobus de Ossa, and Balthazar Cossa. See the last page.]

[12] Is, 1611.]

[13] You, 1570.]

[14] Plat. De Vit. Pont. Johan. XXIV. p. 249.]

[15] ... hos hæreticos... Arabicos possumus nuncupare: qui dixerunt &c. resurgere. Sed hos disputatione Origenis præsentis... dicit fuisse correctos.—August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. Lib. de Hæres. ad Quodvultd. Hær. lxxxiii. Tom. VIII. col. 24.]

[16] Quantum autem ego ex pluribus conjicere possum, verisimile est Armenos fuisse ab ecclesia separatos, propter decreta concilii Chalcedonensis sub Leone primo et Martiano imperatore celebrati.—Alfons. de Castro adv. Hær. Col. 1539. Lib. II. Tit. Adam et Eva. Hær. iii. fol. 39.]

[17] It is, 1570.]

[18] He was wise and worthy, 1570.]

[19] See above, page 931, note 15.]

Pope John XXII.

M. HARDING.

This was an error in pope John XXII. I deny not. Yet for the same is not he to be counted an heretic.

The answer.

Antoninus. Pope John uttered words of heresy. And many judged him to be an heretic[1].

Massæus. Pope John sent preachers to Paris to maintain his heresy[2].

M. HARDING.

Gerson never said that pope John made any such decree.

The answer.

Gerson. Pope John professed and[3] taught this heresy[4].

Massæus. Pope John preached and published this error: *Prædicavit errorem*[2].

M. HARDING.

This error of pope John XXII. was not condemned by the divines of Paris, in the presence of the king, when he was pope, but before, when he was a private doctor.

The answer.

Pope John XXII. was pope thirteen years before king Philip was king.

Antoninus. Pope John spake words savouring of heresy in the consistory, that is to say, being pope[1].

Nauclerus. The most famous divines proclaimed pope John, being pope, to be an heretic[5].

Massæus. Pope John preached error, and sent preachers abroad to maintain his heresy[2].

M. HARDING.

Pope John was condemned before he was pope, when he lived in the realm of France.

The answer.

Pope John, during the whole time of his popedom, continued still at Avenion in France, and never departed thence to Rome. *Sabellicus*[6].

M. HARDING.

Pope John held this error only as his private opinion.

The answer.

Gerson. Pope John professed and taught this doctrine[4].

Massæus. Pope John preached it, and sent out preachers to maintain it, and imprisoned them that durst to withstand it[2].

M. HARDING.

You name pope John XXII. for pope John XXIII.

The answer.

Onuphrius calleth him, as I do, pope John XXII.[7]

Platina calleth him pope John XXIV. and not as you do, pope John XXIII.[8]

Instead of one heretical pope John, we have found two, and the latter[9] much more horrible than the former.

M. HARDING.

This heresy was objected against pope John XXIII. in the council of Constance, but never proved.

The answer.

This heresy was objected against pope John, but never purged.

[1 Antonin. Chronic. Lugd. 1586. Pars III. Tit. XXI. cap. vi. sect. 15. pp. 333, 4. See above, page 932. This author proceeds: ... asserentes ex eo ipsum fuisse hæreticum.—Ibid. p. 334.]

[2 Massæ. Chronic. Libr. Antv. 1540. Lib. XVIII. p. 247. See before, page 934, note 2.]

[3 Professed it and, 1570.]

[4 J. Gerson. Op. Antw. 1706. Serm. in Fest. Pasch. Tom. III. Pars III. col. 1205. See before, page 931, note 13.]

[5 Naucler. Chronic. Tubing. 1516. Vol. II. Gen. XLV. fol. 248. 2. See before, page 934, note 1.]

[6 Sabell. Rapsod. Hist. Par. 1509. Ennead. IX. Lib. VIII. foll. 125, 6. Conf. before, page 933, note 16.]

[7 See before, page 934, note 8.]

[8 See before, page 934, note 7. But this was Cossa.]

[9 Later, 1570.]

Pope John XXII.

M. HARDING.

Pope John XXIII. was never lawfully chosen.

The answer.

Platina. Pope John was chosen at Bononia, by the consent of all the cardinals[10]. Who so hath the consent of all the electors is lawfully chosen.

M. HARDING.

The Arabians were not the authors of this error, but the Armenians.

The answer.

St Augustine. The Arabians were the authors hereof[11].

The Arabians were two hundred and fifty years before the Armenians.

So many ways, M. Harding, have you corrupted and altered the truth of this story. And yet you think it lawful for you to cry out against us, "All is false: wicked impudency: ye belie the doctors: ye are malicious: ye are ignorant: ye are shameless shifters."

Pope Zosimus. Art. IV. Div. 6. Concil. Aphr. Can. 101.

For the rest, ye say, we "belie pope Zosimus: he corrupted not the council of Nice." For trial whereof I refer myself[12] to my former reply unto your answer[13]. Certainly, whatsoever learned man will stand to the denial[14] hereof, he must needs want colour in his face. The fraud was notoriously found, and detected to the whole world by the ancient learned fathers, Cyrillus and Atticus, the one being patriarch of Alexandria, the other of Antioch, and was reproved and published by two hundred and seventeen bishops openly in the council of Africa[15]. The peevish forged epistle that ye allege under the name of the learned godly father Athanasius, the fantastical burning of the canons of Nice without fire, with other your like childish vanities, scarcely meet for[16] children to play withal, are likewise answered.

An epistle forged under the name of Athanasius. The council of Nice corrupted. In the Reply. Art. IV. Div. 6. Cop. p. 78. Concil. Florent. Sess. 20. Concil. Carth. VI. cap. 4.

One of your own Lovanian company confesseth that in the late council of Florence the Greeks there made open complaint, that the bishop of Rome had corrupted the canons of the council of Nice[17]. Alypius, the bishop of Tagasta, speaking hereof in the council of Carthage, saith thus: *Adhuc tamen me movet, quoniam, cum inspiceremus Græca exemplaria hujus synodi Nicenæ, ista ibi, nescio qua ratione, minime invenimus*[18]: "Yet this thing moveth me, that, when we examined and conferred the originals of the Nicene council, written in Greek, I know not by what means, these things we found not there."

Addition.

Addition. Howbeit, all this may be easily holpen by a writ of error. For you will say, pope Zosimus alleged the council of Sardica, instead of the council of Nice. And herein he was deceived; and this was his whole fault. If this were all the fault, M. Harding, yet were it a great fault for Christ's vicar and St Peter's successor, in maintenance of his own inordinate ambition, to allege one council for another, and therewith to face down two hundred and seventeen bishops in general council. If it were the council of Sardica, and not of Nice, why then did pope Zosimus so often and so stoutly allege it for the council of Nice? How durst he say he had seen it, he had read it, and had the very true copy of it in his library in Rome? Why did he cause the bishops of Africa to send so many hundred miles, to Constantinople in Thracia, to Alexandria in Egypt, and to Antioch in Syria, to search the originals of the council of Nice, himself knowing there was no such thing written in the council of Nice? Was this plain dealing, M. Harding? Was this no corruption of a council? The law saith: *Magna negligentia culpa est; magna culpa dolus est:* "Great negligence is a fault, and a great fault is guile and falsehood[19]."

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[10] See before, page 935, note 14.]

[11] See before, page 935, note 15.]

[12] Meself, 1567, 1570.]

[13] See Vol. I. pages 356, &c.]

[14] Stand in denial, 1567.]

[15] Concil. Aphr. cap. 101. in Crabb. Concil. Col. Agrip. 1551. Tom. I. pp. 518, &c.]

[16] *For* is not in 1611.]

[17] Copi Dial. Sex, Antv. 1566. Dial. I. cap. xiii. p. 78. See Vol. III. page 341, note 8. Conf. Gen. VIII. Synod. Sess. XX. Florent. in Crabb. Concil. Tom. III. pp. 440, &c.]

[18] Concil. Carthag. VI. cap. 4. in eod. Tom. I. p. 494.]

[19] Falshead, 1570.]

Whether the Pope may err or no.

As for the council of Sardica, Nicolaus Cusanus saith: *Sardicense concilium... pro statuto Niceni concilii per legatos apostolicæ sedis falso fuit allegatum*[1]: "The council of Sardica was deceitfully or falsely alleged by the legates of the apostolic see of Rome, sent from pope Zosimus, instead of a canon of the council of Nice." Here, M. Harding, I beseech you of your courtesy, forget not this: Nicolaus Cusanus, one of your principal doctors, telleth you that pope Zosimus and his legates deceitfully and falsely alleged the council of Sardica under the name of the council of Nice.

Nic. Cus. de Concord. Lib. ii. cap. xxv.

But yet let us see of what authority and credit was this council of Sardica. Nicolaus Cusanus saith: *Augustinus non putavit illud concilium* [*esse*] *catholicum, sed potius Arianum*[2]: "St Augustine held not the council of Sardica for a catholic council, but rather for a council of Arian heretics." It goeth hard with the pope, M. Harding, when he is driven to leave all catholic councils, and to hold by such evidence.

Nic. Cus. de Concord. Lib. ii. cap. xv.

Verily Cusanus, opening his own judgment touching the said council of Sardica, saith thus: *Verum est, ipsos patres Africani concilii (in quo et S. Augustinus interfuit) in epistola ad Cœlestinum scribere,* [*se*] *hanc constitutionem... nulla patrum synodo invenisse constitutam. Quare satis posset dubitari, an Sardicensis concilii constitutio existat*[3]: "It is certain that the bishops in the council of Africa (among whom also was St Augustine) in their letters unto pope Celestine write thus, that they never found this constitution decreed in the council of any bishops: wherefore it may well be doubted whether this be a constitution of the council of Sardica, or rather no." Thus, M. Harding, you see pope Zosimus falsely alleged a canon of the council of Sardica for a canon of the council of Nice: you see the said council of Sardica, whereby ye would hold, was a council of heretics: you see your own doctor Cusanus doubteth whether ever there were any such canon written or no, either in the council of Nice, or in the council of Sardica, either by catholics or by heretics. And yet will you say, "It cannot be proved that pope Zosimus was a corrupter of councils?"

Nic. Cus. de Concord. Lib. ii. cap. xxv.

Epist. Bonif. II. ad Eulal.

Yet pope Bonifacius, to save the credit of the see of Rome, was forced to say, and publish openly, that the said Alypius, and Aurelius the bishop of Carthage, and St Augustine the bishop of Hippo, and two hundred and fourteen other bishops, that had espied and revealed this falsehood[4], were all inflamed and led by the devil[5]. And one of your own sudden doctors of Lovaine saith:

Copus, p. 93.

Hæc omnia, tanquam somnia, tanquam fabulæ, tanquam superflua, abolita, antiquata, calcata sunt[6]: "All these decrees (of these councils of Carthage and Africa) are abolished, and repealed, and trodden under foot, as dreams, and fables, and things superfluous." This, M. Harding, is the weighing of your councils. If they like you, they are the express voices of the Holy Ghost; if they like you not, they are dreams, and fables, and things superfluous.

Johan. Camotensis.

"Camotensis (ye say) is some worshipful doctor, such as by our own judgment might pass in the black guard." Yet was he a bishop, M. Harding, in all respects far better than either your Leontius, or your Hippolytus, or your new-found Clemens, whom ye call the apostles' fellow, or your vain fable of Amphilochius. Ye would seem to find fault with the name, and think we should not have written Camotensis, but rather Ivo Carnotensis. Your guess ye shew us; but reason thereof ye shew us none. Ye might as well have said, Fulbertus Carnotensis, who, being very much consumed and spent with sickness, as it is learnedly noted among other your verities, for a restorative sucked our lady's breast, and by virtue thereof was made whole. Ye might likewise have guessed it had been Johan. Sarisburiensis, otherwise called by some Rupertus Carnotensis[7]. For he saith: *In ecclesia Romana sedent scribæ*

Herm. Bid. Joan. Saris. in Polycrat.

[1 Sardicense concilium...per legatos apostolicæ sedis...fuit pro statuto Niceni concilii...false allegatum.—Nic. de Cusa Op. Basil. 1565. De Concord. Cathol. Lib. II. cap. xxv. Tom. II. p. 757.]

[2 Id. ibid. cap. xv. p. 732; where *reputavit.*]

[3 Id. ibid. cap. xxv. p. 757; where *sanctus interfuit Augustinus in præfata ad Cœlestinum epistola.*]

[4 Falshead, 1567, 1570.]

[5 Bonifac. Papæ II. ad Eulal. Alex. Episc. Epist. in Crabb. Concil. Col. Agrip. 1551. Tom. I. pp. 1057, 8.]

[6 ...universa tanquam somnia, &c.—Copi Dial. Sex, Antv. 1566. Dial. I. cap. xiv. p. 93. Conf. Vincent. Lirin. contr. Hær. 1591. cap. x. pp. 18, 9.]

[7 Herm. Ryd, De Vit. et Honest. Cler. cap. vii. in Fasc. Rer. Expet. et Fug. Lond. 1690. Tom. II. p. 143.]

et Pharisæi[8]: "In the church of Rome sit the scribes and the Pharisees." But indeed this writer's name is Johannes Camotensis, alleged by Cornelius Agrippa. His words be these: *Angelis præcipiunt: potestatem habent in mortuos. Vim faciunt scripturis, ut habeant plenitudinem potestatis*[9]. *Ipse papa jam factus est intolerabilis: ejus pompam et fastum nullus tyrannorum unquam æquavit. Legati Romanorum pontificum sic bacchantur in provinciis ac si ad flagellandam ecclesiam Satan egressus sit a facie Domini*[10]: "They lay their commandments upon the angels of God: they have power upon the dead: they wrest and rack the scriptures, that they may have the fulness of power. The pope himself is now become untolerable. No tyrant was ever able to match him in pomp and pride. The pope's legates keep such revel in kingdoms and countries, as if Satan were sent abroad from the face of the Lord to scourge the church." This is not your Ivo Carnotensis: it is Johannes Camotensis; and this is his judgment of your church of Rome.

Whether the Pope may err or no.

Corn. Agrip. de Vanit. Scient.

THE APOLOGY, Chap. vi. Division 1.

What will ye say, if the pope's advocates, abbats and bishops, dissemble not the matter, but shew themselves open enemies to the gospel, and, though they see, yet will[11] not see, but wry the scriptures, and wittingly and knowingly corrupt and counterfeit the word of God, and foully and wickedly apply to the pope all the same things which evidently and properly be spoken of the person of Christ only, nor by no means can be applied to any other? And what though they say, "The pope is all, and above all[12]?" or that "the pope can[13] do as much as Christ can do[14]?" and that "one judgment-place, and one council-house, serveth for the pope and for Christ both together[15]?" or that "the pope is the same Light which should come into the world?" which words Christ spake of himself alone; and, that "whoso is an evil-doer hateth and flieth from that light[16]?" or, that all the other bishops have received of the pope's fulness[17]?

Hostiens. cap. Quanto. Abb. Panor. de Elect. ca. Vener.

Corn. Episc. in Concil. Trid.

M. HARDING.

You have never done with your "what ifs." Your interpreter, good gentlewoman, that favoureth your present divinity so much, seemeth to be weary of it herself; for here she turneth your Quid si, *into "What will ye say if." And now, sir, do you demand of us, as madam Interpreter maketh you to speak, what we will say? Forsooth, for this you allege against "the pope's advocates, abbats and bishops," we say, that the most part is very false and slanderous; somewhat may be taken for truth in a right sense. As for the advocates, I mind not to be their advocate; neither*

[8 ...tales plerique super sedem Christi conscendunt pontifices et apostoli, quales olim super sedem Moysi sedebant scribæ et Pharisæi.—H. C. Agrip. De Incert. et Vanit. Scient. Col. 1584. cap. lxi. fol. N. 5.]

[9 ... quorum &c. mitterent, etiam in divinam legem, interpretando, declarando, disputando nonnunquam tyrannidem exercerent, ne quid plenitudini potestatis suæ posset deesse aut derogari. Nonne &c.—Id. ibid. cap. xcii. fol. Z. 3. 2. See before, page 846, notes 7, 10.]

[10 Jam etiam ipse Romanus summus pontifex (quod idem sanctus episcopus Camotensis conqueritur) omnibus gravissimus et intolerabilis est, cujus pompam et fastum nullus unquam tyrannorum æquavit....Jamque ipsi etiam Romanorum pontificum legati... sic interdum in provinciis debacchantur, ac si ad flagellandum ecclesiam egressus sit Sathan a facie Domini.—Id. ibid. cap. lxi. foll. N. 6. 2, 7. Conf. Joan. Saresb. Policr. Lugd. Bat. 1595. Libb. v. cap. xvi.; vi. cap. xxiv. pp. 269, 329, 30. It is only the last paragraph that Agrippa professes to quote from Camotensis. See before, page 679, note 11.]

[11 Yet they will, Conf.]

[12 See Vol. I. page 69, note 17; page 443, note 28.]

[13 That he can, Conf.]

[14 *Do* is not in Conf.]

[15 Hostiens. Sup. Prim. Decretal. Par. 1512. Tit. vii. De Transl. Episc. cap. 3. fol. 75. 2; Panorm. sup. Prim. Primi Decretal. Lugd. 1534. Tit. vi. De Elect. cap. 34. fol. 156. See before, pages 830, 1.]

[16 See below, page 940, note 4.]

[17 Durand. Rat. Div. Offic. Venet. 1568. Lib. II. cap. i. 17. fol. 31. See before, page 829, note 22.]

have they need of my help. Let them answer one for another: Hostiensis for abbat Panormitane, and he for Hostiensis. In good sooth, were those excellent men at this day living, I think verily they would not do you that honour as to answer you themselves. Or, if they would vouchsafe to do you so[2] *much, I doubt not but they would make short work with you, and take you up roundly for halting, with one word,* Mentiris, *dashing all your allegations; which word in your divinity is a verb common.*

Hostiensis[1]. *Panormitanus*[1].

*Thus leaving Hostiensis and Panormitane to defence of the canonists, telling you by the way that in questions of divinity we stand not always to their sayings; we answer you on the behalf of Cornelius the bishop of Bitonto in Italy (for him ye mean, I suppose, putting in your margent the name of Cornelius only), that he never said, * "The pope is the Light which should come into the world," in that sense as it is spoken of Christ. If you were hardly charged to shew where he said it, or where he wrote it, you would be found a liar, as in many other points you are found already. That he never wrote it in any of his eloquent Italian sermons, set forth in print, I am assured. And more hath he not set forth. Now it remaineth that you tell us where he saith so, * or else confess your slanderous lie.*

Cornelius Episcopus Bitontinus[1].

* Untruth, blasphemous, unadvisedly defended. For the words be plain: *Papa lux venit in mundum.*

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

Where ye say, M. Harding, as[3] I think ye have learned of a child, that *Mentiris* is a verb common, if ye hold on as ye have begun, ye will shortly alter the property thereof to yourself, and make it henceforth a verb private. Touching Hostiensis and Panormitane, I will say nothing, but only refer you to the places.

As for Cornelius, the bishop of Bitonto, forasmuch as, contrary to your nature, ye plead ignorance, and say ye cannot find the place, read therefore these words in his oration openly pronounced in your late chapter at Trident: *Quis erit tam injustus rerum æstimator, qui non dicat, papa lux venit in mundum? sed dilexerunt homines tenebras magis quam lucem. Omnis qui male agit odit lucem, et non venit ad lucem, ut non arguantur opera ejus, quia mala sunt*[4]: "Who will so unjustly weigh things, but he will say, The pope is the Light that is come into the world? But men have loved darkness more than (the pope, that is) the light. Whosoever doth evil hateth the light, and cometh not to the light, lest his works should be discovered, for that they be evil."

Concil. Trid. sub Paul. III. Orat. Corn. Episc. Bitont.

THE APOLOGY, Chap. vi. Division 2.

Shortly, what though they make decrees expressly against God's word, and that, not in hucker-mucker, or covertly, but openly, and in the face of the world; must it needs yet be gospel straight, whatsoever they say[5]? Shall these be God's holy army? or will Christ be at hand among them there? Shall the Holy Ghost flow in their tongues, or can they with truth say, We and the Holy Ghost have thought so?

M. HARDING.

After a great many of your foolish and false "what ifs," you conclude shortly with, "What if they make decrees expressly against God's word, and that openly in the face of the world?" Hereto we answer, requiting your "what if" with another "what if," and say, "What if the learned and holy fathers," &c.

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[1] These marginal references are inserted from Conf. and Def. 1567, 1570.]

[2] Do so, Conf. and Def. 1567, 1570.]

[3] *As* is not in 1570, 1609, 1611.]

[4] Orat. Corn. Episc. Bitont. ad Trident. Synod. in Concil. stud. Labb. et Cossart. Lut. Par. 1671-2. Tom. XIV. col. 996. See Vol. I. page 385, note 6.]

[5] Whatsoever these men say, Conf.]

THE APOLOGY, Chap. vi. Division 3.

The Spirit of truth in Annas and Caiaphas.

Indeed Peter Asotus and his companion Hosius stick not to affirm that the same council, wherein our Saviour Jesus[6] Christ was condemned to die, had both the spirit of prophesying, and the Holy Ghost, and the spirit of truth[7]; and[8] that it was neither a false nor a trifling saying, when those bishops said, "We have the[9] law, and by our law he ought to die;" and, that they, so saying, did light upon the very "truth of judgment" (for so be Hosius' words); and that the same plainly was a just decree, whereby they pronounced that Christ was worthy to die. This, methinketh, is strange, that these men are not able to speak for themselves, and to defend[10] their own cause, but they must also take part with Annas and Caiaphas against Christ[11]. For, if they will call that a lawful and a good council, wherein the Son of God was most shamefully condemned to die the death, what[12] council will they then allow for false and naught? And yet (as all their councils, to say truth, commonly be) necessity compelled them to pronounce these things of the council holden by Annas and Caiaphas.

Hos. contr. Brent. Lib. ii.

Christ worthy to die.

M. HARDING.

[13] ... *Such unhonest toys better become Brentius, that shameless railing heretic... Now to you, sir Defender. You belie Hosius, as Brentius, of whom you borrowed this, belied the reverend father Peter a Soto. Either you have readen the place of Hosius, or you have not. If you have not, then are you to blame to say so much evil that you know not. If you have readen the place, then is your fault plain malice, in putting that to Hosius, the contrary whereof you find in the place by yourself alleged, by which you lead us, as it were by the hand, to behold and consider your own dishonesty... How just cause you have to reprehend Hosius, for that he wrote against Brentius in defence of Petrus a Soto, touching the council in which Christ was condemned by Caiaphas, it should best appear to him that would read the whole place where Hosius treateth that matter. The same would I here have rehearsed, to the discovering of your false dealing and shameless lying, were not the same very long....*

First, this is the truth touching the whole: [a] *The acts of those priests of the Jews' synagogue were wicked, and contrary to Christ.* [a] *But their sentence, though themselves were never so evil, was not only true, but also to mankind most profitable. And St John in his gospel witnesseth it was the oracle of God: for when, after long deliberation of the council, Caiaphas, the high bishop and president of that council, had pronounced his sentence, whereunto all the rest almost gave their consent,* "*It is expedient for us that one man die for the people, and not that all the nation perish;*" *the evangelist thereto added his verdict*[15], *saying,* "*This he said, not of himself, but, whereas he was high bishop of that year, he prophesied.*" *Therefore let this be the true conclusion of the whole matter: the acts of that council were wicked; the sentence was true and good. Now Hosius treateth this matter so learnedly and so substantially, as you cannot truly take any advantage of his words to reprehend him. He stayeth himself upon the scripture, a good ground to stand upon: which scripture referreth doubtful and hard questions to the priests of the Levitical order; of whom it is said,* Judicabunt tibi judicii veritatem: [b] "*They*

[a] A discreet and a worthy proctor. The acts were naught, and the sentence good. The sentence was, that Christ should die the death.

John xi.[14]

[b] This truth of judgment

[6] Jesu, Conf.]

[7] Nam in hoc etiam quamlibet injusto judicio fuit nihilominus judicii veritas.—Hos. Op. Col. 1584. Conf. Proleg. Brent. Lib. II. Tom. I. p. 462. See also below, page 942, note 4.]

[8] Truth in it and, Conf.]

[9] A, Conf. and Def. 1567.]

[10] And defend, Conf.]

[11] These two words are not in Conf. or Def. 1567.]

[12] To die what, Conf. and Def. 1567.]

[13] Harding in the part here omitted rails at lady Bacon for calling Peter a Soto, Peter Asotus.]

[14] This reference is inserted from Conf. and Def. 1567, which have *xix.*]

[15] Verdite, Conf. and Def. 1567, 1570.]

The Spirit of truth in Annas and Caiaphas.

shall shew unto thee the truth of judgment." "In this judgment," saith Hosius, "though it were never so wicked, yet was the truth of judgment[1]*." How that might be, there he proveth it to Brentius by most manifest argument*[2]*....*

Where ye impute to Hosius, to have said that the same plainly was a just decree [c]*whereby they pronounced that Christ was worthy to die, that is your slanderous lie, not Hosius' saying.* [c]*For he saith the clean contrary, and that sundry times, that it was a wicked council, and most unjust decree. God forbid any christian man should say that Christ was worthy to die.* [d]*He saith, it might have been truly pronounced by Caiaphas, that he was guilty of death. And there he sheweth how, very religiously and wisely admonishing the reader that he was most innocent, and deserved not to die. And thus, sir, you may see we take not part with Annas and Caiaphas, as you rail, and yet be able, God be thanked, to defend our true cause, and declare you to the world to be false teachers. Therefore belie us no more....*

was, that the Son of God was a blasphemer, and had deserved to die.

[c] Untruth. For thus said Caiaphas; and his judgment Hosius defendeth as true and godly.

[d] Christ, by Hosius' judgment, was guilty of death.

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

Good christian reader, this whole matter concerneth only the credit and certainty of general councils. Sotus and Hosius say, whatsoever is determined in council must be taken as the undoubted judgment and word of God. Hereunto the godly learned father Johannes Brentius replieth thus: "Councils sometimes have erred, and have utterly wanted the Spirit of God, as it may appear by that in a council the Son of God was condemned, and judged to die the death." Hosius answereth: "When Annas and Caiaphas sat as presidents in the council, and Christ the Son of God was by them condemned to die, yet nevertheless the same council had the assistance of the Holy Ghost, and the undoubted Spirit of truth." For, speaking of the same council, he saith thus: *Vides, Brenti, quemadmodum ... non defuerit sacerdotio Levitico Spiritus propheticus, Spiritus Sanctus, Spiritus veritatis*[3]*:* "Ye see, friend Brentius, how that the Levitical priesthood (that pronounced sentence of death against Christ) wanted not the Spirit of prophecy, the Holy Ghost, the Spirit of truth." Again he saith: *Ex quo tempore primus parens noster ... de vetito ligno gustavit, factus est mortis reus Christus Dei, &c. Nec falsum fuit illud, quod dixerunt, Nos legem habemus et secundum legem hanc debet mori*[4]*:* "From the time that our first father tasted of the forbidden fruit, Christ the Son of God became guilty of death: neither was it false that the Jews said, 'We have a law, and according to that law he ought to die.'" With this spirit, I trow, he was inspired that wrote this marginal note upon your decrees: *Judæi mortaliter peccassent, nisi Christum crucifixissent*[5]*:* "The Jews had committed mortal sin, if they had not nailed Christ unto the cross." Again, Hosius saith: *Nulla esse potest tanta pontificum improbitas, quæ impedire queat, quo minus vera sit illa Dei promissio, Qui indicabunt tibi judicii veritatem*[6]*:* "Be the wickedness of bishops never so great, it can never hinder but that this promise of God shall ever be true, The bishops shall shew thee the truth of judgment."

Hos. Lib. ii. contr. Brent. p. 62. b. p. 63. a. Dist. 13. Item, in margine: Hos. contr. Brent. p. 63. b.

This therefore, M. Harding, is[7] your doctor's meaning: it is sufficient that bishops only meet in council: God will supply all the rest. Whatsoever they determine, the Holy Ghost will assist them: they cannot err. All this is as true as that Hosius your doctor saith: "Annas and Caiaphas could not err in pronouncing sentence of death against Christ[8]."

But for excuse hereof, somewhat to salve a festry matter, ye tell us a long tedious tale, without head or foot; and, that your reader may think ye say somewhat, ye cry out aloud, Shameless railing heretics, we belie Hosius, we belie Sotus. Our false dealing, our shameless lying, we are impudent and continue in lying. These, M. Harding, be the proofs and grounds of your doctrine, and the most savoury and fairest flowers in your garland.

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[1] See last page, note 7.]

[2] Arguments, Conf. and Def. 1567.]

[3] Hos. Op. Col. 1584. Contr. Proleg. Brent. Lib. II. Tom. I. p. 462; where *defuit.*]

[4] Id. ibid.; where *illud fuit.*]

[5] ... Judæi, qui crucifixerunt Christum...si non occidissent, ... peccassent mortaliter. — Corp. Jur. Canon. Lugd. 1624. Decret. Gratian. Decr. Prim. Pars, Dist. xiii. Gloss. in Rubr. col. 47.]

[6] Hos. Op. ubi supra, p. 462; where *nulla possit esse tanta.*]

[7] By, 1570.]

[8] Id. ibid. pp. 463, 4, &c.]

The substance of your tale is this: The acts of the council where Christ was condemned were lewd and wicked; but the sentence of death pronounced by the bishops against Christ was just and true. And thus by your dalliance in dark words, and by your blind distinction between act and sentence, ye seek shifts to mock the world. Ye should plainly have told us what were these sentences; and what were these acts; and what great difference ye can espy between act and sentence; or when ever ye heard of sentence in judgment without act, or of perfect[9] act without sentence; or how the[10] sentence of the judge may be true, if the act be false; or how the act may be right, if the sentence be wrong: for the act is a direction to the sentence, and the sentence groweth upon the act[11]. For your credit's sake, leave these toys, M. Harding. Ye have used them over long. They are too childish for a child: they become not your gravity: they deceive the simple.

The Spirit of truth in Annas and Caiaphas.

Indeed, I can easily believe that neither Sotus nor Hosius was ever so wicked to say, that Christ was rightly and worthily done to death. Howbeit he that saith, "The sentence of death pronounced in council against Christ was just and true," seemeth indeed to say no less. For, if the sentence of Christ's death were just, then had Christ undoubtedly deserved to die[11]. The very case and course of your doctrine undoubtedly forced them thus to say. For, if all councils be good and holy, without exception, then must that also be a good and a holy council that was assembled against God and against his Christ.

Hosius your doctor, to make the matter plain, saith thus: *Judasne sit, an Petrus, an Paulus, [Deus] attendi non vult; sed solum hoc, quod sedet in cathedra Petri, quod apostolus, quod Christi legatus,... quod angelus est Domini exercituum; de cujus ore legem... requirere jussus es. Hoc solum spectari vult. Si Judas est, quandoquidem apostolus est,... nihil te moveat, quod fur est*[12]: "God will never have thee consider whether the pope be a Judas, or a Peter, or a Paul. It is sufficient only that he sitteth in Peter's chair, that he is an apostle, that he is Christ's ambassador, that he is the angel of the Lord of hosts; from whose mouth thou art commanded to require the law. This thing only Christ would have thee to consider. Be he[13] Judas, forasmuch as he is an apostle, let it not move thee, though he be a thief." Hos. in Conf. Petrov. cap. xxix.

But Caiaphas said, "It is good that one man die for the people, lest all the people perish." *Ergo*, say you, "Caiaphas had the Spirit of God." Alas, M. Harding, although you little pass for your divinity, yet why have you no more regard unto your logic? Every child knoweth that this is a *paralogismus*, or a deceitful kind of reasoning called *fallacia accidentis*. And that ye may the better espy your oversight, like as ye say, Caiaphas prophesied blindly, himself not understanding what he said; *ergo*, he had the Holy Ghost: even so may ye say, Balaam's ass reproved his master, and spake the truth as Caiaphas did; *ergo*, Balaam's ass had the Holy Ghost. St Paul saith: "No man can say the Lord Jesus but in the Spirit of God." Hereof by your logic ye may reason thus: The devil said unto Christ, I know that thou art Christ, the Son of the living God; *ergo*, the devil had the Spirit of God. 1 Cor. xii.

It pitieth me, M. Harding, to see your follies. Although Caiaphas unwares and against his will, by the enforcement and power of God, at one only time spake words of truth, as did also Balaam's ass and the devil, yet it followeth not that we should therefore at all times run to Caiaphas to seek the truth.

St Augustine saith: *Quando Deus voluit, etiam mutum jumentum rationabiliter loquutum est. Nec ideo admoniti sunt homines in deliberationibus suis etiam asinina exspectare consilia*[14]: "When it pleased God, Balaam's ass being a dumb beast, was able to speak as a man; yet are not men therefore commanded in all their consultations and doubtful cases to seek counsel of an ass." August. Epist. 58.

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[9] Perfite, 1567, 1570.]

[10] Then, 1611.]

[11] This sentence is not in 1567.]

[12] Id. Confess. Cathol. Fid. cap. xxix. Tom. I. p. 68.]

[13] It, 1567.]

[14] Nam quando &c. jumentum mutum rationabiliter est locutum. Nec ideo sunt admoniti homines &c.—August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. Lib. ad Dard. seu Epist. clxxxvii. cap. vii. 24. Tom. II. col. 685.]

As for the "lies," "shames," and "slanders," ye would so liberally lay upon us, it may please you to take them freely home again. If ye be full freight and have store sufficient of your own, yet may you divide them among your poor Lovanian brethren. It shall be a work of supererogation: for ye wis they have of their own enough already. To conclude, your whole drift herein is, to force your reader to have a good opinion of Annas and Caiaphas that condemned Christ to die the death; for that, as Hosius saith, they had "the spirit of prophecy, the Holy Ghost, and the spirit of truth;" and therefore could not err in their judgment.

THE APOLOGY, Chap. vii. Division 1.

But will these men (I say) reform us the church, being themselves both the persons guilty, and the judges too? Will they abate their own ambition and their pride[1]? Will they overthrow their own causes[2], and give sentence against themselves, that they must leave off to be unlearned bishops, slow-bellies, heapers together of benefices, takers upon them as princes and men of war? Will the abbats, the pope's dear darlings, judge the[3] monk for a thief, which laboureth not for his living; and that it is against all law to suffer such a one to live and to be found either in city or in country, all of other[4] men's charges? or else, that a monk ought to lie on the ground, to live hardly with herbs and peason[5], to study earnestly, to argue, to pray, to work with hand, and fully to bend himself to come to the ministry of the church? In faith, as soon will the Pharisees and scribes repair again the temple of God, and restore it unto us a house of prayer, instead of a den of thieves[6].

M. HARDING.

Ye leap with a light skip from one thing to another, neither dwell ye long in any one point, but in lying....

But ye say, "they be both the persons guilty, and the judges also." Judges doubtless they be: for their vocation is lawful, ye cannot disprove it. Guilty also they be, we deny not; but whereof? Of frail living, not of false teaching (for commonly they teach nothing). *And where? In the court of conscience,* [a]*not in the court of man. Or if any of them be, both before this council, and in this council, godly orders have been decreed for wholesome reformation....*

[a] Untruth. For their life is notorious to the world.

As for monks, ye may not look now that either they get their living only by their hand-labour, or that they be bound to the hard discipline which monks lived in for twelve hundred years past. Now be other days, other manners. Such great austerity is to be wondered at, and to be wished for. But whether the religious men of our time be to be compelled thereto, I leave it to wise consideration. If it may be lawful to[7] *direct us in such spiritual cases by an old example of externe prudency, methinketh the discretion of Jacob's answer to his brother Esau is worthy*[8] *to be thought on. When Esau courteously offered his brother Jacob returning from Mesopotamia, with all his train of household and cattle, to go with him and keep him company the rest of the journey that remained from the place of their first meeting; Jacob full mildly said, "Sir, you know, if it like your lordship, that I have here with me tender babes,* [b]*ewes with lamb* [b]*and kine with calf: if I over-labour them with fast going, my flocks will die all in a day: may it please your lordship to go before me your servant: I will follow after the flock fair and soft, so as I shall see my little ones able to bear it."* Gen. xxxiii.

[b] M. Harding likeneth his monks to droves of cattle.

Likewise, if there be not a discreet moderation used, but all monks be rigorously

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[1] And pride, Conf.]
[2] Matter, Conf.]
[3] That, Conf. and Def. 1567, 1570, 1609.]
[4] Country or yet of other, Conf.]
[5] Peason: peas.]
[6] A thievish den, Conf.]
[7] Do, Conf.]
[8] Worth, Conf. and Def. 1567.]

driven to the austerity of life they lived in of old time, in this so great looseness of manners, specially the discipline of all religions being so far slacked in comparison of the ancient severity, it is to be feared we shall rather see cloisters forsaken (which God grant) *than a godly reformation procured* (which will never be)... Monks, Nuns, Friars.

In the end of this paragraph, ye shew yourself to despair of our amendment. God give you grace so to do for your parts, as we may have good cause to hope better of you. But, whether we amend our faults or otherwise, what pertaineth that to the justification of your new gospel, and to the disproof of the catholic faith by us defended? You know it is no good argument a moribus ad doctrinam. *Who would not hiss you, and tramp you out of schools, if ye made this fond reason: the papists' lives be faulty;* ergo, *their teaching is false? To this head all the reasons of your Apology in effect may be reduced; and they hold* per locum topicum novi evangelii a malis moribus. [c]*Doth not Christ himself confute all such your feeble reasons, where he saith, "The scribes and Pharisees sit in the chair of Moses: whatsoever they say to you, do ye, but after their works do ye not?"* *Matt. xxiii.*

[c] Here M. Harding compareth the pope and his bishops with the scribes and Pharisees.

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

Ye say, If your monks and friars should now be forced to keep the old discipline and severity of their foundations, they would rather break their cloisters, and leave altogether. And therefore, by a fit comparison, ye resemble them to the heavy droves of Jacob's cattle. Whereby ye seem secretly to give us to imagine, that the monk's cowl is not always so holy a weed as is pretended. St Hierome, describing the life and order of monks in his time, saith thus: *Nihil arrogant sibi de continentia supercilii. Humilitatis inter omnes contentio est. Quicunque novissimus fuerit, hic primus putatur. In veste nulla discretio, nulla admiratio. Utcunque placuerit incedere, nec detractionis est, nec laudis. Jejunia... neminem sublevant; nec defertur inediæ; nec moderata saturitas condemnatur. Suo Domino stat unusquisque, aut cadit. Nemo judicat alterum, ne a Domino judicetur*[9]: "They brag not of their sole or single life. All their contention[10] is, who may be most humble. Whosoever is last, he is counted first. There is neither difference nor wondering in apparel. Howsoever it pleaseth a man to go, he is neither slandered for it, nor commended. No man is advanced[11] for his fasting. Neither is abstinence praised, nor sober refreshing condemned. Each man either standeth or falleth to his Lord. No man judgeth other, lest of the Lord he himself be judged." Hieron. ad Marcel. ut commigret Bethlehem.

But (ye say) your monks now-a-days are waxen nice and crank[12]. Such extreme rigour and severity they may not bear.

Such holy men they were of whom Sulpitius Severus writeth: *Sedentes munera exspectant, atque omne vitæ decus mercede corruptum habent, dum quasi venalem præ se ferunt sanctimoniam*[13]: "These friars sit still, and look for money; and have all the beauty of their life corrupted with hire, setting their holiness out to sale." Of such holy persons[14] St Hierome telleth us: *Post cœnam dubiam apostolos somniant*[15]: "After they have well filled their bellies, they dream of the apostles." In like sort he writeth of certain monks: *Apud hos affectata sunt omnia, laxæ manicæ, caligæ follicantes, vestis crassior, crebra suspiria, visitatio virginum, detractio clericorum, et, si quando dies festus venerit, saturantur ad vomitum*[16]: "Among these men all things are counterfeit: their wide sleeves, their great boots, their coarse gown, their often sighs, their visiting of virgins, their backbiting of priests. And, if there come a holy day, they eat until they be fain to perbreak[17]." This, no doubt, is that holiness that Christ brought into the world[18]. Sulp. Sever. in Chronic. Hieron. ad Eustoch. de Virg. serv. In ead. Epist. ad Eustoch.

Nicolaus Cusanus, a cardinal of the church of Rome, thus setteth out the

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[9 ...nihil arrogans, nihil de continentia &c.—Hieron. Op. Par. 1693-1706. Paul. et Eustoch. ad Marcell. Epist. xliv. Tom. IV. Pars II. col. 551.]

[10 All contention, 1567.]

[11 Avanced, 1567, 1570.]

[12 Crank: sickly.]

[13 This passage has not been found.]

[14 Nuns, 1567.]

[15 Hieron. Op. Ad Eustoch. Epist. xviii. Tom. IV. Pars II. col. 34.]

[16 Id. ibid.]

[17 Perbreak: vomit.]

[18 Word, 1570.]

Nic. Cus. Excit. Lib. ix. Anima.

whole life and holiness of your monks: *Apud plures non nisi habitus extrinsecus remansit, et nihil de spiritu fundatoris*[1]: "In the most part of them there appeareth only an outward shew in their apparel; but they have left themselves no part of their founder's spirit."

Nic. Cus. Excit. Lib. vii. Moneta.

Again he saith: *Fallacia illorum, qui sub habitu Christi apparent, [vix] potest sciri ob suam varietatem. Nam alius quidem sub hac veste, alius sub alia, alius sub capitio, alius sub hoc religionis signo, alius sub alio, se Christo militare asserit: licet pene omnes non quæ Christi, sed quæ sua sunt quærant. Omnes enim ştudent avaritiæ a maximo usque ad minimum*[2]: "The falsehood[3] of them that walk under the apparel of Christ can hardly be known, they are so divers. For they all say they serve Christ, one under one weed, another under another; one under a cowl, another under a hood; one under one badge of religion, and another under another. Notwithstanding the whole sort of them, for the most part, seek their own, and not that pertaineth to Jesus Christ: for they are all bent to covetousness, even from the greatest to the least[4]."

These are your monks, M. Harding, this is their holiness. They have no part of their founder's spirit: they seek their own: they seek not the glory of Christ[5].

But your life (ye say) is no prejudice to your faith: howsoever you live, yet is your doctrine right good and catholic; and that ye prove by the words

Matt. xxiii.

of Christ: "The scribes and Pharisees sit on Moses' chair: whatsoever they say to you, do ye; but after their works do ye not." If this be the best claim ye can hold by, then suffer us, M. Harding, to say to you, as Christ sometime said

In eod. capite.

to them whom ye confess to be your fathers: "Woe be unto you, ye scribes and Pharisees, ye hypocrites! ye devour and raven up poor widows' houses, under the colour of long prayer. Outwardly ye seem holy; but within ye are full of hypocrisy and wickedness[6]."

August. de Mor. Manich. Lib. ii. capp. xix. et xx.

St Augustine saith unto the old heretics called the Manichees: *Dicitis, ... non oportere omnino quæri, quales sunt homines, qui vestram sectam profitentur; sed qualis sit ipsa professio*[7]. *Quid vobis fallacius, quid insidiosius, quid malitiosius dici aut inveniri potest*[8]? "Ye say, we may not examine what men they be that profess your sect, but only what is their profession." "What thing can there be found more false, more deceitful, more malicious than you are?"

Thus said St Augustine to the Manichees. Take heed, M. Harding, lest the same may be said to some of you[9].

THE APOLOGY, Chap. vii. Division 2.

There have been, I know, certain of their own companions[10], which have found fault with many errors in the church; as pope Adrian, Æneas Sylvius, cardinal Poole, Pighius, and others, as is aforesaid: they held afterwards their council at Trident, in the self-same place where it is now appointed. There assembled many bishops and abbats, and others, whom it behoved for that matter[11]. They were alone by themselves; whatsoever they did, nobody gainsaid it; for they had quite shut out and barred our side from all manner of assemblies: and there they sat six years feeding folks with a marvellous expectation of their doings[12]. The first six months[13], as though it were greatly needful, they made

[1 Nic. de Cusa Op. Basil. 1565. Excit. Lib. IX. Tom. II. p. 651.]

[2 Id. ibid. Lib. VI. p. 548; where *fallacia eorum*, and *Christo se militare*.]

[3 Falshead, 1570.]

[4 Lest, 1611.]

[5 The three preceding paragraphs are not in 1567.]

[6 Here in 1567 followed a quotation from Irenæus, referring to the Valentinian heretics.]

[7 August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. De Mor. Manich. Lib. II. cap. XX. 75. Tom. I. col. 743; where *sint*.]

[8 Id. ibid. cap. xix. 67. col. 740.]

[9 These two sentences are not in 1567.]

[10 Ownselves, Conf.]

[11 These three words are in Conf. joined to the next sentence.]

[12 Of doings, Conf.]

[13 Month, Conf.]

many determinations of the Holy Trinity, of the Father, of the Son, and of the[14] Holy Ghost; which were godly things indeed, but not so necessary for that time. Let us see, in all that while, of so many, so manifest, so often confessed by them, and so evident errors, what one error have they amended? From what kind of idolatry have they reclaimed the people? What superstition have they taken away? What piece of their tyranny and pomp have they diminished? As though all the world may not now see, that this is a conspiracy and not a council; and that these bishops, whom the pope hath now called together, be wholly sworn and become bound to bear him their faithful allegiance, and will do no manner of thing but that they perceive pleaseth him and helpeth to advance[15] his power, and as he will have it; or that they reckon not of the number of men's voices, rather than of the weight and value of[16] the same; or that might there doth[17] not oftentimes overcome right[18].

The freedom of the Council of Trident.

M. HARDING.

... As you proceed, you talk your pleasure of the godly and learned fathers assembled in the late council of Trent. By the way, as your manner is, you drop lies, of which one is[19]*, that they "had quite shut out and barred" your side "from all manner of assemblies;"* [a] *which is a foul lie. That the first six months they occupied themselves with making many determinations of the holy Trinity, that also is another lie. For then the world had no need of any new determinations or decrees concerning the Trinity: what it shall have hereafter, by occasion of your chief master John*[b] *Calvin's doctrine, it is more feared than yet perceived...*

Where ye would fain see "of so many, so manifest, so often confessed by themselves, and so evident errors, what one error they have amended," they are not like to satisfy your longing. And yet they have taken order for the amendment [c] *of so many as they know. Neither is any of the same about any point of our faith, but about things of less weight. Your exaggeration of the terms, "so many, so manifest, so often confessed by them, and so evident," reporteth in one sentence your so many, so manifest, so often confuted by us, and so evident lies... When you follow your hot humour, and ask, from what kind of idolatry the fathers of the Tridentine council have reclaimed the people, you go too far. Whatsoever blasphemy ye utter in books and sermons against the adoration of the blessed sacrament of the altar, we know no kind of idolatry used in the church;* [d] *neither is any idolatry committed by us in worshipping of saints, in praying to them, nor in the reverence we exhibit to their images, as ye bear the people in hand.* [e] *As I cannot well take a hair from your lying beard, so wish I that I could pluck malice from your blasphemous heart....*

[a] Untruth manifest, as hereafter it shall appear.

[b] A slanderous untruth. M.[20] Calvin was ever an enemy unto the Arians.

[c] Untruth most impudent. For their own confessed and known errors they never once touched.

[d] Untruth, confessed by M. Harding's own fellows. Read the answer.

[e] O profound divinity!

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

Whether the learned men of our side were shut out from the right and liberty of your council or no, it may soon appear, partly by that is already said[21], partly by that shall be said hereafter[22]. Verily, the pope, for his præmunire, will not suffer any bishop to give voice in council, unless he have him first solemnly sworn to the see of Rome; and therefore they be all called his creatures. So Cicero saith, Verres, when he had bribed and spoiled the whole island of Sicilia, thought it not good to suffer his name or any part of his doings to come in hazard, but only before a judge or arbiter of his own.

Therefore the French king's ambassador, as it is said before, protested thus openly, even in your said council: *Minus legitima minusque libera dicuntur fuisse*

Part I. Div. 19.

Part VI. cap. viii. Div. 1.

Cic. in Verr. Act. I.

In Conc. Trid. Anno 1562.

[14] And the, Conf.]
[15] Avance, Def. 1567, 1570.]
[16] Than have weight and consideration of, Conf.]
[17] Might doth, Conf.]
[18] Overcome the right, Conf.]
[19] Conf. repeats *is*.]
[20] For M. 1567, 1570, 1609.]
[21] See before, Vol. III. pages 204, &c.]
[22] See below, pages 955, &c.]

The placing of Ambassadors.

illa concilia: qui aderant, ad voluntatem alterius semper loquebantur[1]: "These councils are counted neither so free nor so lawful as they ought to be: they that were there spake evermore to please another:" (by which other he meant the pope.)

And for that cause the emperor's majesty, by his ambassador, Hurtadus Mendoza, solemnly protested against the assembly of the same council. His words be these: "*Ego Jacobus Hurtadus Mendoza, nomine pientissimi et invictissimi Domini mei, Caroli Cæsaris Romani imperatoris, ex illius speciali mandato, ac nomine totius sacri Romani imperii aliorumque regnorum ac dominiorum suorum, protestor, nullam posse esse auctoritatem assertorum legatorum sanctitatis vestræ, et eorum episcoporum qui sunt Bononiæ, sanctitati vestræ majori ex parte obnoxiorum, atque ab illius nutu omnino pendentium, ut in religionis et morum reformationis causa, &c. legem præscribant*[2]: "I, James Hurtado Mendoza, in the name of the most godly and most mighty prince my lord Charles, the Roman emperor, by his special commission, and in the name of the whole Roman empire and all other[3] his realms and dominions, do protest that the authority of the pretensed legates of your holiness, and of such other bishops as be now at Bononia (unto which town the council of Trident was then adjourned), for the most part bound unto your holiness, and wholly hanging upon your beck, is of no force, namely to make laws in cause of reformation of religion and manners."

Anno 1547. Citat. ab Illyr. in Protest. contr. Conc. Trident.

And that it may appear in what obedience and servile subjection all bishops be unto the pope, Æneas Sylvius, otherwise called Pope Pius the Second, saith thus: *Quod si episcopus papæ contradicat, etiam vera loquendo, nihilominus peccat contra jusjurandum papæ præstitum*[4]: "If a bishop speak against the pope, yea, although he speak the truth, yet nevertheless he sinneth against the oath that he hath made unto the pope." Therefore, whereas at the late conference at Norenberg *it* was required by the princes and states of Germany that all bishops coming to the council might both be discharged from their oath made to the pope, and also sworn to speak and to promote the truth, the pope's legate there made answer, in great disdain, that it might not so be; for that so the pope's hands should be bound[5]. Hereby, M. Harding, a blind man may easily see the form and freedom of your councils. If the bishops be free to say the truth, then is the pope left in bondage.

Paralip. Ursperg. Æn. Sylv. ad Capit. Mogunt. J. Sleid. Anno 1523. Lib. iv.

Hoc enim esse colligare manus pontificis.

Whether your fathers, in the chapter at Trident, sat there six whole months debating and reasoning about the Trinity, or no, of certain knowledge I cannot tell. But certainly what thing else they did, either in all that time, or long after, you can hardly shew us. Therefore, if they did not this, forasmuch as nothing else appeareth of their doings, we must imagine they sat mute in a mummery, and said nothing. Notwithstanding, Cassander saith they bestowed one whole summer in great and holy disputations about meaner matters than the Trinity; I mean only about the communion of the cup[6]. Martinus Kemnitius saith they held disputations there, and kept great stir, seven whole months together, about the justification of faith and works[7]; and yet in the end left it worse than they found it. We say, you yourselves have espied many disorders in your church of Rome, as it is plain by your own confessions. To reckon them all in particular, it were too long: I have partly touched them heretofore. Albertus Pighius confesseth there be abuses in your mass[8]. The French king's ambassador at your late Tridentine chapter saith thus: [*Vel*] *præfectorum ecclesiæ*

Cassandr. in Consult. de Commun. sub utraque Spec. in Præf. Anno 1562. Mart. Kemn. in Exam. Concil. Trid. p. 638.

Alb. Pigh. in Controv. de Miss. Priv. In Concil. Trid. Anno 1562.

[1 Guid. Fabr. Orat. in Concil. Trident. in Concil. Stud. Labb. et Cossart. Lut. Par. 1671-2. Tom. XIV. col. 1177. See before, page 916, note 8.]

[2 Protest. Concion. August. Confess. adv. Convent. Trident. 1563. pp. 23, 4; where *qui Bononiæ sunt.*]

[3 Others, 1567, 1570.]

[4 ...et quod vera etiam in papam dicere esset contra juramentum episcoporum.—Rer. Mem. Paraleip. ad calc. Chronic. Abbat. Ursperg. Argent. 1537. p. 440.]

[5 J. Sleid. Comm. Argent. 1572. Lib. iv. foll. 33, &c. Conf. Replic. Pontif. Orat. in Fasc. Rer. Expet. et Fug. Lond. 1690. Tom. I. p. 350; where *quia nisi tollerentur ista, videretur sanctitati suæ ligari manus per illustrisss. D. vestras.*]

[6 ...illud etiam ipsum [de calicis communione disputatio] concilium Tridentinum æstate proxima superiore totum occupavit.—Cassandr. Op. Par. 1616. Typogr. ad Lect. præf. De Sacr. Commun. sub utraq. Spec. Consult. p. 1017.]

[7 Jam vero in concilio Tridentino gravissima hæc quæstio in deliberationem deducta fuit, et quidem, sicut ipsi narrant, per 7 menses agitata. &c.—M. Chemnic. Exam. Concil. Trident. Franc. 1596. Pars I. p. 128.]

[8 Alb. Pigh. Explic. Cathol. Controv. Par. 1586. Contr. VII. De Miss. Priv. fol. 123. 2. See before, page 738, note 8.]

Idolatry in the Church of Rome.

incuria, vel etiam (ne quid gravius dicam) præpostera pietate, irrepsisse in ecclesiam res nonnullas antiquatione, abrogatione, vel moderatione dignas, fateamur necesse est[9]: "We must needs confess that, either by the negligence of the bishops, or by some disordered opinion of holiness (for I will say no more: he meaneth falsehood[10], and mockery, and wilful avarice), certain things are brought into the church, worthy either to be put away and abolished, or at least to be qualified."

Pic. Mirand. ad Leon. Pp. X. In Concil. Lat.

Picus Mirandula besought pope Leo X. to abate the vain multitude of your ceremonies, to reform your prayers, and to cut off your fables[11].

Cop. Dial. 1. p. 115.

One of your own Lovanian fellows saith: "Even now-a-days many good men mislike so many appeals to Rome[12]:" some others find fault with your pardons; some with your simony; some with your stews; some with your licentious keeping and maintaining of concubines.

I will not enlarge the matter further. These and other like things are confessed by yourselves. Other greater matters I will not touch. For in cases of faith, for your credit's sake, ye may grant no manner error: for, otherwise, it might be thought ye have neither the faith nor the life of christian men.

Now therefore tell us, M. Harding, what one abuse of all the abuses in your mass, what one disorder or deformity of so many disorders and deformities in your church, what one vain ceremony, what one childish fable, what appeal to Rome, what simony, what pardon, what stews, what courteghians, what concubines, have ye reformed? If ye redress not those gross and sensible abuses that ye see with your eyes, how then will ye redress other more secret matters that pertain only to faith, and be not seen? If ye will not reform your open stews, when will ye reform the church of God? But ye are bold to assure us, that there is no kind of idolatry, nor ever was any in your whole church of Rome. Notwithstanding some others of your best-learned friends have thought otherwise, as it shall appear.

Epiph. Lib. iii. in Orat. de Fid. Cathol. Οἱ εἰδωλα μὲν βδελυτ. τόμενοι, εἰδώλοις δὲ προσκυ- νοῦντες. Epiph. contr. Collyrid.

First, Epiphanius saith of certain Persians named Magusæi, *Idola quidem detestantur; tamen idolis cultum exhibent*[13]: "They abhor the sight of idols, yet they fall down and worship idols." And what if a man would say the same of your clergy of Rome? Verily, notwithstanding ye would seem to mislike of idols, yet your churches and chapels are full of idols[14]. Again, he reporteth certain words of St Paul, as uttered of him by the spirit of prophecy: *Erunt mortuis cultum divinum præstantes, quemadmodum etiam in Israel impie coluerunt*[15]: "They shall give godly honour unto dead men, like as also they did in Israel."

Bemb. in Epist. ad Carol. V. Lipoman. p. 289.

What opinion ye have had of saints departed, I need not here to remember. Cardinal Bembus, in an epistle unto the emperor Charles V., calleth the blessed virgin *Dominam deam nostram*[16], "Our lady and goddess." Your great Hercules, Lipomanus, crieth out in his marginal agony: *Ecce quam potentissima est sancta Dei genitrix; et quomodo nullus salvus fieri possit nisi per eam*[17]! "Behold, how mighty is the holy mother of God, and how no man may be saved but by her!" If this be not manifest idolatry, it may please you to give it some other name[18].

August. contr. Faust. Lib. xx. cap. xxi.

It seemeth this error began to spring long sithence, even in the time of the old fathers; and that hereof Faustus the heretic took occasion thus to charge the catholics for the same: *Idola vertistis in martyres*[19]: "Ye have changed the heathen idols into your martyrs." Further ye say, the reverence that ye give unto saints' images is no idolatry. Yet Polydorus Vergilius, speaking hereof,

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[9] Guid. Fabr. Orat. in Concil. Trident. in Concil. Stud. Labb. et Cossart. Tom. XIV. col. 1176.]

[10] Falshead, 1567, 1570.]

[11] ...solennes cæremoniæ, de quibus fuere olim quæpiam difficultates, prioribus oblatæ synodis statuendæ firmandæque sunt, quotidianæ preces redigendæ in statum et probatum ordinatum ordinem, et veræ historiæ ab apocryphis nugis segregandæ, &c.—Joan. et Joan. F. Pic. Mirand. Op. Basil. 1601. Ad Leon. Dec. de Ref. Mor. Orat. Tom. II. p. 890.]

[12] Atqui nec hodie multi pii viri omnes appellationes, quæ Romam promiscue deferuntur, probant.—Copi Dial. Sex, Antv. 1566. Dial. I. cap. xix. p. 115.]

[13] Epiph. Op. Par. 1622. Expos. Fid. Cathol. 13. Tom. I. p. 1094; where τε for δὲ.]

[14] These two sentences are not in 1567.]

[15] Id. adv. Hær. Lib. III. Hær. lxxviii. 23. Tom. I. p. 1055.]

[16] P. Bemb. Epist. Leon. X. nom. script. Col. Agrip. 1584. Ad Recan. Lib. VIII. Epist. xvii. p. 189. See Vol. III. p. 577, note 9.]

[17] Lipoman. De Vit. Sanct. Lov. 1565. Not. in German. Encom. Pars I. p. 283; where *sit* for *est*.]

[18] This sentence is not in 1567.]

[19] Cum enim dixisset nos vertisse idola in martyres, &c.—August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. Contr. Faust. Lib. xx. cap. xxi. Tom. VIII. col. 346.]

Polyd. Virg. de Invent. Rer. Lib. vi. cap. xiii.

saith thus: *Quia sacerdotes populum non docent, et vulgo ex usu suo tacere putantur, idcirco eo insaniæ deventum est, ut hæc pars pietatis parum differat ab impietate*[1]: "For that the priests instruct not the people, and are thought to hold their peace for gain's sake, the matter is brought to such a dotage, that this part of devotion differeth but little from extreme wickedness."

Ludov. Viv. in Lib. de Civ. Dei.

And Ludovicus Vives saith, he seeth no great difference between many christian men worshipping their images, and an heathen man adoring his idols[2].

Cath. in Lib. de Imag.

Catharinus, one of your great doctors of Trident, saith thus: *An licet adorare imagines ipsas, et illis cultum præbere? Sunt qui hoc omnino negent, et clament esse idololatriam. Videntur autem non futilibus argumentis moveri; nec absque majorum, imo* [*etiam*] *scripturarum auctoritate*[3]: "Whether is it lawful to worship the very images or no? Some men say nay, and call it idolatry. And they seem to be moved with no light arguments, nor without the authority as well of the fathers as of the scriptures."

Jac. Nanclant. in Epist. ad Rom. cap. i.

Jacobus Nanclantus saith: *Non solum fatendum est, fideles in ecclesia adorare coram imagine, sed et adorare imaginem, sine quo volueris scrupulo; quin et eo illam venerari cultu, quo et prototypon ejus. Propter quod, si illud habet adorari latria, et illa habet adorari latria*[4]: "We must grant that the faithful people in the church do not only worship before the image, but also worship the image itself; and that without any manner scruple of conscience whatsoever. And, further, they worship the image with the self-same honour wherewith they worship the thing itself that is represented by the image: as, if the thing itself be worshipped with godly honour, then must the image itself likewise be worshipped with godly honour."

Jac. Payv. Lib. ix. Fortal. Fid.

Hereto agreeth one other of your late writers, Jacobus Payva[5]. And another of your like doctors saith this is the very use and practice of your church of

Rob. Holcot. in Lib. Sap. Lect. 158.

Rome[6]. But Robertus Holcot saith, this kind of worshipping is plain idolatry[7]. Therefore I trow there hath been some idolatry in the church of Rome[8].

Ye will say, ye know the image is no God. And this ye think is excuse sufficient. But so likewise said the heathens of their idols; and yet, as

August. de Verb. Dom. sec. Matt. Serm. 6. August. ad Quodvultd. Hær. 7.[11]

St Augustine saith, they were idolaters notwithstanding[9]. Ye will say, it is the image of an apostle of Christ or of God himself; and therefore it can be no idolatry. But St Augustine saith: *Marcellina .... colebat imaginem Jesu, et Pauli, et Homeri, et Pythagoræ, adorando incensumque ponendo*[10]: "Marcellina worshipped the image of Jesus, and of Paul, and of Homer, and of Pythagoras, by kneeling unto them, and burning incense before them." Yet, nevertheless, she was an

Paul. Venet. Lib. iii. cap. xxvii.[14]

idolater. The Saracens this day make their sacrifices in Mount Mecha, not to devils, or heathen gods, but to Abraham, to Isaac, and to [12]St Thomas[13]; yet are they not therefore excused of idolatry. Gregorius the bishop of Nyssa,

Gregor. Nyss. in Orat. Fun. de Placill.

St Basil's brother, saith thus: *Qui creaturam adorat, etsi in nomine Christi id faciat, tamen simulacrorum cultor est, Christi nomen simulacro imponens*[15]: "He that worshippeth a creature, notwithstanding he doeth it in the name of Christ, yet is he a worshipper of images, as giving the name of Christ unto an image." By these few, M. Harding, it may soon appear that your churches are not void of all idolatry.

[1 ...quia illi [sacerdotes] tacent, et vulgo ex suo usu tacere &c. hæc pietatis pars &c.—Polyd. Verg. De Invent. Rer. Amst. 1671. Lib. vi. cap. xiii. p. 423.]

[2 This passage has not been found in the edition (Basil. 1522) of Augustine De Civ. Dei, with the commentary of Vives, which the editor has consulted. It would seem that it has been expunged by the papal censors.]

[3 Disputatio...utrum etiam ad hoc sculpantur vel pingantur imagines ut ipsæ adorentur, et aliquis eis cultus reddatur. Sunt enim qui &c.—Cath. Libell. de Imag. in Disp. de Verit. Rom. 1551-2. col. 129.]

[4 Jac. Naclant. Enarr. in Epist. ad Rom. Venet. 1557. cap. i. fol. 42. See Vol. II. page 667, note 15.]

[5 Jac. Payv. Andrad. Orthod. Explic. Libr. Decem, Col. 1564. Lib. ix. pp. 705, 6. See Vol. II. page 667.]

[6 Fortal. Fid. Nurm. 1494. Lib. iii. Consid. iv. Arg. 24. fol. 107. See Vol. II. page 667, note 13.]

[7 Rob. Holkoth in Lib. Sapient. Pælectr. 1586. cap. xiii. Lect. clviii. p. 524. See Vol. II. page 667, note 12.]

[8 This sentence is not in 1567.]

[9 August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. De Verb. Evang. Matt. viii. Serm. lxii. 10. Tom. V. col. 361.]

[10 Id. Lib. de Hær. ad Quodvultd. Hær. vii. Tom. VIII. col. 7; where *imagines*.]

[11 1567, 1570 omit *Hær.* 7.]

[12 And Isaac and St Thomas, 1567.]

[13 In provincia Maabar, quæ est India major, servatur corpus beati Thomæ apostoli...multi sunt Christiani et Saraceni, debito honore sancti venerantes corpus.—Marc. Paul. Venet. De Region. Orient. Col. Brand. 1671. Lib. iii. cap. xxvii. p. 147.]

[14 This reference is inserted from 1567, 1570.]

[15 Gregor. Nyss. Op. Par. 1638. Orat. Fun. de Placill. Tom. III. p. 533.]

THE APOLOGY, Chap. vii. Division 3.

And therefore we know that divers times many good men and catholic bishops did tarry at home, and would not come, when such councils were called, wherein men so apparently laboured to serve factions and to take parts, because they knew they should but lose their travail, and do no good, seeing whereunto their enemies' minds were so wholly bent. Athanasius denied to come when he was called by the emperor to his council at Cæsarea[16], perceiving plainly he should but come among his enemies, which deadly hated him. The same Athanasius, when he came afterward to the council at Syrmium, and foresaw what would be the end by reason of the outrage and malice of his enemies, he packed up his carriage, and went away immediately[17]. John Chrysostom, although the emperor Constantius commanded him by four sundry letters to come to the Arians' council, yet kept he himself at home still[18]. When Maximus, the bishop of Hierusalem, sat in the council of[20] Palestine, the old father Paphnutius took him by the hand, and led him out at the doors, saying, "It is not lawful[21] for us to confer of these matters with wicked men[22]." The bishops of the east would not come to the Syrmian council, after they knew Athanasius had gotten himself thence again. Cyril called men back by letters from the council of them which were named Patropassians. Paulinus the[23] bishop of Trier, and many others more, refused to come to the council at Millaine, when they understood what a stir and rule Auxentius kept there[24]: for they saw it was in vain to go thither, where not reason but faction should prevail; and where folk contended not for the truth and right judgment of the matter, but for partiality and favour.

Hist. Trip. Lib. x. cap. xiii. Ruffin.[19] Lib. i. cap. xvii.

And, albeit those[25] fathers had such malicious and stiff-necked enemies, yet, if they had come, they should have had free speech at least[26] in the councils.

M. HARDING.

First, here I note the falsehood[27] *of the lady interpreter, who turneth the Latin speaking of Athanasius:* Cum vocatus esset ab imperatore ad concilium Cæsariense: *"When he was called by the emperor to *his council at Cesarea." Where by adding the word "his" of her own, she (or a worse shrew under her name) goeth about to persuade, as heretics do, that the councils be to be accounted the councils of temporal princes, not of bishops; and that they be the heads of them, not the bishop of Rome. Thus*[29] *much to her. Now, sir, to you defender. All these examples serve you to no purpose. It is not denied you but that in cases men may refuse to come to councils. Your examples declare that catholic bishops shunned to come unto*[30] *the unlawful councils of heretics. But ye, holding strange opinions condemned by the church, deny to come to the lawful councils of catholic bishops. When ye have proved*

* And why not, as well as M. Harding may call the whole church the pope's vineyard? p. 283. b.[28] Or, all the bishops through the world the pope's sheep? p. 308. b.[28]

[16] Theodor. in Hist. Eccles. Script. Amst. 1695-1700. Lib. I. cap. xxviii. p. 61.]

[17] There were two or three synods held at Syrmium, A.D. 349, 351, 357: it does not appear which Jewel means. Perhaps there is a mistake here; and the council of Tyre may be intended.]

[18] Hist. Trip. Par. Lib. x. cap. xiii. fol. X 3.]

[19] Euseb. Conf. and Def. 1567, 1570.]

[20] At, Conf.]

[21] Leeful, Conf.]

[22] Is [Paphnutius] cum vidisset Maximum Hierosolymorum episcopum...consedisse cum ceteris...Te inquam non patiar sedere in concilio malignantium, et cum iniqua gerentibus introire. Injectaque manu elevans eum de medio eorum &c.—Hist. Eccles. Par. Lib. x. cap. xvii. fol. 113. 2.]

[23] *The* is not in Conf. and Def. 1567, 1570, 1609.]

[24] Socr. in Hist. Eccles. Script. Lib. II. cap. xxxvi. p. 108.

[25] And yet for all those, Conf.]

[26] Lest, 1611.]

[27] Falsehead, Conf. and Def. 1567, 1570.]

[28] See before, page 915, and below, page 993.]

[29] This, Conf. and Def. 1567, 1570.]

[30] To, Conf.]

us to be heretics, (I mean the fathers of the late council), then may ye justly allege the example of Athanasius, Chrysostom, Maximus, Paphnutius, Cyril, Paulinus, and such other, for not coming to the council....

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

Had you not had a shrewd sharp wit, M. Harding, and a very good liking of the same, ye could never have made yourself so great sport of so small a matter. "The lady interpreter" pitieth your case, and wisheth you a little more discretion, and would be much ashamed to answer your follies.

If the council we speak of were not the emperor's council, then much less was it the pope's council. For in those days, as hereafter it shall be declared more at large, councils were summoned by emperors, and not by popes. And what reason have you to shew us that the council, being summoned by the emperor, might not be called the emperor's council, as well as the pope, being admitted and allowed by the emperor, might be called the emperor's priest? Odoacer in the third council of Rome, in the time of pope Symmachus, said thus: *Miramur, prætermissis nobis, quicquam fuisse tentatum; cum etiam, sacerdote nostro superstite, nihil sine nobis debuisset assumi*[1]: "We marvel that anything was attempted without our knowledge, forasmuch as, our priest (he meaneth the pope) being alive, nothing may be done without us." As the pope may be called the emperor's priest, so may the council be called the emperor's council, without any impeachment of christian faith. Again, why might not a general council holden in Rome be called the emperor's council, as well as a general council holden in France might be called the king's council? Gerson, speaking of a council holden in Paris, saith thus: *Infamare regem cum generali concilio suo conati sunt*[2]: "They sought to defame[3] the king with his general council." It was a general council, and a council of bishops; and yet was it called the king's council[4]. Liberatus saith: *Flavianus episcopus ... Eutychem ad concilium suum venire præcepit*[5]: "Flavianus the bishop (not of Rome, but of Antioch) commanded Eutyches to come to his council." Hereafter, M. Harding, ye may take time to study for some better quarrel. Surely this was very simple.

In Concil. Rom. 3. Sub Symmach. Pp.

Gerson. Trilog. in Mater. Schism.

Liber. cap. xi.

Ye excuse Athanasius, Chrysostomus, Maximus, Paphnutius, Hilarius, Cyrillus, Paulinus, and other learned bishops and holy fathers, for not appearing at general councils, for that they were summoned to appear before heretics. As for the fathers of your late Tridentine chapter, whatsoever they were, ye must in any wise call them catholics. Yet notwithstanding, ye may remember that by such good catholics as you be the same holy fathers, Athanasius, Chrysostomus, Maximus, Paphnutius, Hilarius, Cyrillus, Paulinus, and others, were called heretics. Hilarius saith: *Congreget nunc Auxentius quas volet in me synodos, et hæreticum me, ut sæpe jam fecit, publico titulo proscribat*[6]: "Now let Auxentius, the Arian heretic, call what councils he list against me; and by open proclamation[7] let him publish me for an heretic, as he hath oftentimes done already." The Arian heretics said that the catholic Christians, whom they called Homousians, which in their meaning was as much as heretics, were the cause of all division[8].

Hilar. contr. Arian. et Auxent.

Theodor. Lib. ii. cap. iii.

St Hierome saith unto Marcus: *Hæreticus sum: quid ad te? Quiesce: jam dictum est*[9]: "I am an heretic: what is that to thee? Hold your peace: ye have told your tale." By like right Christ himself by certain your ancient fathers was called a Samaritan, a deceiver of the people, and an heretic. And, if it may please you soberly and advisedly to consider the matter, ye shall find throughout

Hieron. ad Marc. Presb. Celed.

[1 Rom. Synod. Tert. temp. Symmach. Papæ in Crabb. Concil. Col. Agrip. 1551. Tom. I. p. 1004. This occurs in a rescript of Basilius, representative of Odoacer, read in the council by Hormisda the deacon. The council disallowed its authority.]

[2 J. Gerson. Op. Antv. 1706. Trilog. in Mater. Schism. Tom. II. Pars I. col. 88; where *regiam dignitatem.*]

[3 Disfame, 1570.]

[4 The sentences from *without us*, seven lines above, are not in 1567.]

[5 Liberat. Breviar. cap. xi. in Crabb. Concil. Tom. II. p. 107. Flavianus was bishop of Constantinople.]

[6 Hilar. Op. Par. 1693. Lib. contr. Auxent. 12. col. 1269; where *ille* for *Auxentius.*]

[7 Proclamations, 1567, 1570, 1609.]

[8 ...*αὐτίους ἔλεγε τοὺς τὴν ἄγραφον τοῦ ὁμοουσίου φωνὴν ἐντεθεικότας τῇ διδασκαλίᾳ τῆς πίστεως.*—Theodor. in Hist. Eccles. Script. Amst. 1695-1700. Lib. II. cap. iii. p. 71.]

[9 Hieron. Op. Par. 1693-1706. Ad Marc. Presb. Epist. xv. Tom. IV. Pars II. col. 21.]

the whole body of the scriptures that no people made ever so great cracks of the church as they that were the deadly enemies of the church; nor none were so ready to condemn others of heresy, as they that indeed were themselves the greatest heretics.

THE APOLOGY, Chap. viii. Division 1.

But now, sithence none of us may be suffered so much as to sit or once to be seen in these men's meetings, much less suffered to speak freely our mind; and seeing the pope's legates, patriarchs, archbishops, bishops, and abbats, all being conspired together, all linked together in one kind of fault, and all bound by one oath, sit alone by themselves, and have power alone to give their consent, and at last, when they have all done, as though they had done nothing, bring all their opinions to be judged at the will and pleasure of the pope, being but one man, to the end he may pronounce his own sentence of himself, who ought rather to have answered to his complaint; sithence also the same ancient and christian liberty, which of all right should specially be in christian councils, is now utterly taken away from the council;—for these causes, I say, wise and good men ought not to marvel at this day, though we do the like now, that they see was done in times past in like case of so many fathers and catholic bishops; which is, though [10] we choose rather to sit at home, and leave our whole cause to God, than to journey thither; where as we neither can[11] have place, nor be able to do any good; where as we can obtain no audience; where as princes' ambassadors be but used as mocking-stocks; and where as also we be all[12] condemned already, before trial; as though the matter were aforehand dispatched and agreed upon.

M. HARDING.

*If I wist ye would take my counsel in good part, and listen unto it, *as it standeth you upon, I would advise you to call in all the books of your Apology, and that with no less diligence than ye went about to suppress the books of my Answer to M. Jewel's Challenge at their first coming abroad: that done, to cast bruits abroad that the Apology was made and counterfeited by some crafty papist, to bring you quite out of credit with all the world. So might ye perhaps in time recover some part of your lost estimation. For while[13] your books be in men's hands, they shall be an evident witness to all the world of your shameless lying....*

* A sage piece of counsel, and meet for a doctor of divinity.

The book of the canons and decrees of the council hath been printed almost in all parts of Christendom. Look who list, in every book he shall find three several solemn safe-conducts, granted by the council, and confirmed by the three popes under whom the same was celebrated: which safe-conducts contain, first, in most ample wise, "full liberty, power, authority, and assurance for all and singular persons of all Germany, of what degree, state, condition, or quality soever they be, that would come to that œcumenical and general council, to confer, propound, and treat with all freedom of all things to be treated there, and to the same council freely and safely to come, there to tarry and abide, and to offer and put up articles, so many as they thought good, as well in writing as by word, and with the fathers and others thereto chosen to confer, and without any reproaches or upbraidings to dispute; also at their pleasure safely again from thence to depart[14]".

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[10] Is as though, Conf.]

[11] Shall, Conf.]

[12] All we be, Conf. and Def. 1567, 1570.]

[13] Whiles, Conf. and Def. 1567, 1570.]

[14] Sacrosancta... Tridentina synodus...universis fidem facit...omnibus...cujuscumque status et conditionis aut qualitatis existant, Germanicæ provinciæ et nationis civitatibus...libere ad hanc Tridentinam civitatem veniendi, ibidemque manendi, standi, morandi, proponendi, loquendi, una cum ipsa synodo de quibuscumque negotiis tractandi, examinandi, discutiendi, et omnia quæcumque ipsis libuerit, ac articulos quoslibet, tam scripto quam verbo libere offerendi, propalandi, eosque scripturis sacris et

The Pope's Safe-conduct.

"An extension to other nations.

"The same holy council in the Holy Ghost lawfully assembled, the same legates de latere *of the see apostolic being president in it, to all and singular others which have not communion with us in those matters that be of faith, of whatsoever kingdoms, nations, provinces, cities, and places, in which openly and without punishment is preached, or taught, or believed the contrary of that which the holy Roman church holdeth, giveth faith public, or safe-conduct, under the same form and the same words with which it is given to the Germans*[1]*."*

This being most true, as the better part of the world seeth, and the books and public instruments extant do witness, your excuse of your refusal to come to the council, as bishops of other christian realms did, is found false. [a] *Ye had all free liberty and security granted unto you for that behalf, in so ample and large manner as man's wit could devise....*

[a] A full discreet kind of mockery. They offer men liberty to come and speak, but reserve the whole judgment to themselves.

The second cause why ye came not is, for that "the pope's legates, patriarchs, archbishops, bishops, and abbats, all being conspired together, all linked together in one kind of fault, and all bound in one oath, sit alone by themselves, and have power alone to give their consent." What is here that should let you to join with others for procuring unity and peace in Christendom? Complain ye of the fathers' concord and agreeing together? [b] *That is a sign the Spirit of God, author of charity and unity, governeth their hearts. In that respect they seem to come together in the Holy Ghost.... And, indeed, had ye gone thither, your heresies had been confuted, yourselves required to yield and to conform you to the catholic church; or else ye had been anathematized, accursed, and condemned....*

[b] They agree together against God and his Christ.

Your third cause is, for that the determinations and decrees of the council be referred to the pope. To that we have answered before. The pope confirmeth all, being head over the council. [c] *Doth not the queen so pardy confirm your acts of parliament by giving her royal assent unto them at the end of the parliament? What thing can be done perfectly*[2] *by a body without the head? And who might better confirm councils than he whose faith in pronouncing sentence rightly and duly, in matters concerning faith, we are assured by Christ's prayer to be infallible?* Luke xxii.[3]

[c] But who made your pope a king? And when will he give his real consent against himself?

Your fourth cause is, forasmuch as "the ancient and christian liberty, which of right should specially be in christian councils, is now utterly taken away." This cause is not different from your first....

Your fifth cause is a false lie, that "princes' ambassadors be used but as mocking-stocks". [d] *Truth it is they have most honourable seats in all councils. In this council they sat by the legates. Every ambassador hath his place there according to the degree of honour the kingdoms, common weals, states, and princes be of, from whence and from whom he cometh....*

[d] They are allowed a place, but touching judgment they may say nothing.

The sixth and the last[4] *cause ye allege for your not coming to the council is, for that ye be "condemned already before trial, as though the matter were aforehand dispatched and agreed upon." Indeed,* [e] *your heresies for the more part be and have been condemned above a thousand years past. And therefore they are not now to be called to*[5] *a new trial, as though the church until this day had been deceived, and so many fathers overseen.... This notwithstanding, may ye well say, touching that point, your matter is aforehand dispatched and agreed upon. For they know what ye can say, and see that ye say nothing, but only stand wilfully and stubbornly in your false opinions and fleshly pleasures....*

[e] Untruth, without any colour of honest shame.

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beatorum patrum verbis, sententiis et rationibus declarandi, astruendi, et persuadendi, et, si opus fuerit, etiam ad objecta concilii generalis respondendi, et cum iis qui a concilio delecti fuerint disputandi christiane aut caritative absque omni impedimento conferendi, opprobriis, conviciis, ac contumeliis penitus semotis:...Et ut...possint juxta beneplacitum libere et secure redire &c....Salvus conduct. conc. Germ. Nat. in Concil. Trident. Sess. XVIII. in Concil. Stud. Labb. et Cossart. Lut. Par. 1671-2. Tom. XIV. cols. 842, 3.]

[1] Eadem sacrosancta synodus, in Spiritu sancto legitime congregata, præsidentibus in ea eisdem apostolicæ sedis de latere legatis, omnibus et singulis aliis, qui nobiscum in iis quæ sunt fidei communionem non habent, ex quibuscumque regnis, nationibus, provinciis, civitatibus ac locis, in quibus publice et impune prædicatur, vel docetur, sive creditur contrarium ejus, quod sancta Romana sentit ecclesia, dat fidem publicam, sive salvumconductum, sub eadem forma et eisdem verbis, quibus datur Germanis.—Extens. ad alias Nat. ibid. cols. 844, 5.]

[2] Perfitly, Conf. and Def. 1567, 1570.]

[3] This reference is inserted from Conf. and Def. 1567.]

[4] And last, Conf. and Def. 1567, 1570.]

[5] Unto, Conf. and Def. 1567, 1570.]

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

We never suppressed any of your books, M. Harding, as you know; but are very well contented to see them so common, that as now children may play with them in the streets. Your manifest untruths, your simple conclusions, your often contrarieties to yourself, your new-found authors, your childish fables, your uncourteous speeches, your racking, corrupting, and misreporting of the doctors therein contained, have much bewrayed the miserable feebleness of your cause. Your fellows have no cause greatly to glory in such helps, no more than in other your like pamphlets, unmeet of any wise man to be answered. This was your only and special policy in the time of your late kingdom: ye suppressed, and called in, and burnt all our writings whatsoever, yea, the very testament and gospel of Christ, truly translated into English, naming them heretical and unlawful books: and, if any man had concealed and kept unto himself for his comfort any such book written by any of our side, by most terrible and bloody proclamations ye made it felony. So much ye despaired and doubted your own follies.

As for the books of our Apology, they have been spread so far, and printed so often in Latin, in Italian, in French, in Dutch, in English, that as now it were hard to suppress them. Touching the shameless lying wherewith ye charge us, we are well content to stand to the judgment of the wise. Certainly it shameth us much to see so little shame in your writings.

Ye say: The pope gave out his safe-conduct to all the princes and free cities, and to the whole people of Germany, to come to the council, to propound, to dispute at their pleasure, and, when they should think it good, freely and safely to return, with a large extension to other nations, as ye say to like purpose.

But first, M. Harding, what safety can there be in his safe-conduct that is not able to save himself? Pope Eugenius the fourth, if he had come to the council of Basil, as you know, had been quite deposed from his popedom, all his safe-conducts notwithstanding[6]. Pope John XXII. gave out as sure a safe-conduct for the council of Constance as pope Pius could devise any for your late chapter of Trident: yet, notwithstanding all his safety, being himself present in the council, he was pulled out of Peter's chair, and deprived of his dignity, and stript out of his *pontificalibus*, and turned home again in his *minoribus*, and allowed only to be a cardinal, and no longer to be a pope[7]. Ye may remember Cicero saith: *Qui multorum custodem se profiteatur, eum sapientes sui primum capitis aiunt custodem esse oportere:* "Wise men say, whoso will take upon him to save others ought first to save himself."

Concil. Basil. Sess. 3. & 4.

Concil. Const. Sess. 2. 3. 4.

Cic. Philip. 12.

And what credit may we give to your safe-conducts? Jacobus Nachiantes, the bishop of Chioca, for that he had simpered out one half word of truth to the misliking of the legates, was fain to run to Rome, to creep to the pope's feet, and to crave pardon[8]. Ye shamefully betrayed and cruelly murdered John Huss and Hieronymus Pragensis in your council of Constance: neither the protection of the emperor nor the pope's safe-conduct was able to save them. No; yourselves have already ruled the case in your said council. For thus ye say: *Fides non est servanda hæreticis*[9]: "Ye may hold no faith unto them that ye call heretics." Such is the safety and liberty of your councils.

Illyr. in Protest. cont. Concil. Trid. p. 77.

Conc. Const. Sess. 19.

Ye say our learned men were allowed to propound, to talk, to dispute. What should this avail? For ye reserved the determination and whole judgment to yourselves; and yourselves are sworn to submit your whole judgment to the pope, and without his judgment to judge nothing. And how may this seem a free council, where the guilty party shall be the judge?

[6 Concil. Basil. Sess. III. IV. in Crabb. Concil. Col. Agrip. 1551. Tom. III. pp. 13, &c.]

[7 Concil. Constant. Sess. II. III. IV. in eod. Tom. II. pp. 1016, &c.]

[8 Quod etiam anno 1551 accidit, ubi propter unam paulo liberiorem vocem episcopus Chiocensis oppidi, quod est prope Venetias, nomine Jacobus Nachiantes, adeo male tractatus fuit a legatis, ut Romam usque ad papam deprecatum culpam proficisci coactus fuerit.—Protest. Concion. August. Confess. adv. Convent. Trident. 1563. p. 77.]

[9 Præsens sancta synodus ex quovis salvo conductu ... hæreticis, vel de hæresi diffamatis ... concesso, nullum fidei catholicæ vel jurisdictioni ecclesiasticæ præjudicium generari, vel impedimentum præstari posse seu debere declarat, quo minus, dicto salvo conductu non obstante, liceat judici competenti et ecclesiastico de hujusmodi personarum erroribus inquirere...eosdemque punire &c.—Concil. Constant. Sess. xix. in Crabb. Concil. Tom. II. p. 1111.]

The Agreement of the Tridentine Fathers.

Ye say: "There is an extension granted to other nations." All this is true indeed. But this same truth descrieth your open mockery. For, if ye had seen the instrument itself[1], in the end thereof you[2] should have found your said extension restrained only to them that would repent, and recant the truth of God, which you call error, and yield themselves thrall unto the [3]pope[4].

J. Fabric. in Recus. Conc. Trid.

Howbeit, not long sithence the bishops of your said chapter at Trident were very loth to allow any tolerable safe-conduct[5] at all, either to the Germans or to any others.

J. Sleid. Lib. xxiii. Hist. 3. Anno 1552.

But ye say, if we had come to your chapter, we had been confounded. No doubts, by the reverend authority of your Amphilochius, your Abdias, your Leontius, or some other like doctors whom ye have so lately raked out of your channels, or at least by your fiery[6] arguments of swords and fagots[7]; for such proofs must help you when others fail.

As for the gay stuff that your Tridentine fathers, after their mature deliberation, as they call it, and more than twenty years' study, have sent us out lately into the world, it is too simple to mock children. Had they not been men impudent and void of all shame, they would rather have stolen home secretly in the dark, and have uttered nothing[8].

Matt. xxii. & xxvi.

We find no fault with you, M. Harding, for that your bishops and abbats agree together; but for that they agree together as did Herod and Pilate, the Sadducees and Pharisees, against Christ.

Domin.[9] a Soto. Cath.

Neither may you well vaunt yourselves of your great agreements. Ye may remember that two of the principal pillars of your chapter, Dominicus[9] a Soto and Catharinus, dissented even there openly and shamefully, and that in great points of religion, and wrote the one mightily against the other, the one charging the other with error and heresy, and could never yet be[10] reconciled.

August. in Psal. xxxvi. Conc. 2.

Notwithstanding, against other points of God's truth both they and the rest joined stoutly together. St Augustine saith: *Tunc... inter se concordant, quando in perniciem justi conspirant; non quia se amant, sed quia eum qui amandus.... simul*[11] *oderunt*[12]: "Then they agree together when they conspire to destroy the just; not for that they themselves love one another, but for that they both hate him whom they ought to love." Of such kind of consent St Hierome, although to a far contrary purpose, imagineth Jovinian thus to say:

Hieron. in Apolog. ad Domn.

Quod me damnant episcopi, non est ratio, sed conspiratio. Nolo mihi ille vel ille respondeat, quorum me auctoritas opprimere potest, docere non potest[13]: "That the bishops condemn me, there is no reason in their doings, but a conspiracy. I would not that this man or that man should answer me, which may oppress me by their authority, and cannot teach me."

Whether it be convenient that the pope, being notoriously accused of manifest corruption in God's religion, should nevertheless be the whole and only judge of the same, and pronounce sentence of himself, let it be indifferently considered by the wise.

ff. De Juris. Omn. Jud.

The law saith: *Qui jurisdictioni præest non debet sibi*[14] *jus dicere*[15]: "No man may be his own judge." Such authority (ye say) kings have in parliaments. Hereof I am not able to dispute. The prince's right many times passeth by composition, and therefore is not evermore one in all places. Howbeit, the pope is a bishop, and not a king; and other bishops be not his subjects, but his brethren.

Your fourth objection is but a cavil: ye say, ye mock not princes' ambassadors, but place them next unto your legates; to sit still, I trow, and to tell the

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[1] 1567 has not *itself*.] [2] Ye, 1567, 1570.]
[3] The last seven words are not in 1567.]
[4] J. Fabric. Mont. Orat. contr. Conc. Trident. Basil. 1562. p. 10. See Vol. III. page 208, note 4. Conf. J. Sleid. Comm. Argent. 1572. Lib. XXIII. foll. 288, &c.]
[5] Savecondite, 1567, 1570.]
[6] No doubts with your fiery, 1567.]
[7] These four words are not in 1567.]
[8] This sentence is not in 1567.]
[9] Petrus, 1567.]
[10] Never be, 1567.]
[11] Amandus erat simul, 1567, 1570, 1609.]
[12] August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. In Psalm xxxvi. Enarr. Serm. ii. 1. Tom. IV. col. 265; where *tunc autem secum concordant*.]
[13] Hieron. Op. Par. 1693-1706. Ad Domnion. Epist. xxxii. Tom. IV. Pars II. col. 246.]
[14] The law saith, *Nemo sibi debet*, 1567.]
[15] Ulpian. in Corp. Jur. Civil. Amst. 1663. Digest. Lib. II. Tit. i. 10. Tom. I. p. 88; where *neque sibi jus dicere debet*.]

clock: for voice in judgment ye allow them none. Thus ye proine their authority, and allow them honour, and set them aloft to say nothing[16]. Notwithstanding, whether the emperors' and princes' ambassadors may sit so near to the pope's legates or no, I cannot tell. Verily the emperor himself may not be so bold to press so near unto the pope. For thus it is ordered in your book of ceremonies: *Advertendum* [*est*], *quod locus ubi sedet imperator non sit altior loco ubi tenet pedes pontifex*[17]: "This is to be noted, that the place where the emperor sitteth (in general council) be no higher than the place where the pope setteth his feet." That is to say, the emperor must sit at the pope's foot-stool, and no higher. And this, saith your *magister ceremoniarum*, is a thing specially to be noted[18].

The Freedom of the Council of Trident.

Ceremon. Rom. Lib. i. Sect. 14. cap. ii.

All the parts of our religion, which you call heresies, ye say are already condemned just a thousand years past. If all this be not true, then have you foully abused your pen to slander God's truth, and to beguile the world. But I pray you, M. Harding, leave some part of your wont, and tell us the truth. Was the public ministration of the holy sacrament, was the holy communion in both kinds, was the public order of common prayer in the common known tongue, was the withstanding of the ambition and pride of Rome, condemned for heresy so long ago? How could you dare thus to say, and the same to publish so openly and so boldly unto the world, if ye had any regard to your sayings[19]? It would[20] have won you some good credit, if ye could have told us in what general council, under what emperor, by what doctors, by what catholic learned fathers, these great errors were thus condemned; as now ye rove only at large, and feed your simple reader with your empty calendars of thousands of years, and speak at random. If it had been true, ye would better have shewed it; but being most untrue, as you know it to be, for very shame ye should never have said it.

The Apology, Chap. ix. Division 1 and 2.

Nevertheless, we can bear patiently and quietly our own private wrongs. But wherefore do they shut out christian kings and good princes from their convocation? Why do they so uncourteously, or with such spite, leave them out, and, as though either they were not christian[21] men, or else could not judge, will not have them made acquainted with the causes[22] of christian religion, nor understand the state of their own churches[23]?

Or, if the said kings and princes happen to intermeddle in such matters, and take upon them to do that they may do, that they be commanded to do, and ought of duty to do, and the same things that we know both David and Salomon and other good princes have done; that is, if they, whiles the pope and his prelates slug and sleep, or else mischievously withstand them, do bridle the priests' sensuality, and drive them to do their duty, and keep them still to it, if they do overthrow idols, if they take away superstition, and set up again the true worshipping of God; why do they by and by make an outcry upon them, that such princes trouble all, and press by violence into another body's office, and do therein[24] wickedly and malapertly? What scripture hath at any time forbidden a christian prince to be made privy to such causes? Who but themselves alone made ever any such law?

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[16] The last seven words are not in 1567.]

[17] Rit. Eccles. sive Sacr. Cerim. Rom. Eccles. Libr. Col. Agrip. 1557. Lib. i. Sect. xiv. cap. ii. foll. 127. 2, 8; where *fit altior*.]

[18] This sentence is not in 1567.]

[19] The sentences from *years past*, seven lines above, are not in 1567.]

[20] Here M. Harding it would, 1567.]

[21] And as though they were not either christian, Conf. and Def. 1567.]

[22] Cause, Conf.]

[23] The answer of Harding to this paragraph is omitted by bishop Jewel.]

[24] Thereby, Conf.]

M. HARDING.

[a] Untruth, vain and unadvised. Read the answer.

[a] *Ye confound the offices of the spiritual governors and temporal magistrates. What kings and princes "may do, whát they be commanded to do, and ought of duty to do", in God's name let them do, and well may they so do. Who is he that gainsayeth? If by the pretensed example of David and Salomon ye* [b] *animate them to intermeddle with bishoply offices, then beware they (say we) that God's vengeance light not upon them for such wicked presumption, which lighted upon king Ozias for the like offence.* 2 Chron. xxvi.

[b] Untruth. It is not our doctrine. But why embolden you the pope to intermeddle with princes' offices?

Ye teach princes to use violence against priests, as though their faults could not be redressed by the [c] *prelates of the clergy, of whom ye speak by spiteful surmise, as though God had utterly withdrawn his Holy Spirit from them. But, forasmuch as Christ assisteth his church always, and shall never fail in things necessary, it is not to be doubted but the church shall ever be provided of some good governors, so as, though some "slug and sleep," yet some others*[1] *shall wake, and diligently attend their charge. Priests have their ecclesiastical courts, where their defaults and offences may duly and canonically be punished, and the offenders by priestly discipline be redressed. Neither is it convenient for a king to come into priests' consistories,* [d] *nor to call priests before him to his own seat of judgment.*

[c] Your prelates be as blameworthy and as negligent as the priests.

[d] Untruth, reproved by the ancient practice of the church, as it shall appear.

So many as be necessary to minister, and perform those things that appertain to the building up of Christ's body the church, until it come to his perfection, St Paul reckoneth by name in his epistle to the Ephesians, saying, that Christ hath to that end placed in his church [e] *"some apostles, some prophets, some evangelists, some shepherds and teachers." Kings and princes be not there named, as they who have their proper rank.... That the people be to be stirred by us to more fervent devotion to worship God, and some perhaps to be warned of some cases of superstition, we grant. But that any other manner or kind of worshipping of God is, either by us or by temporal princes, to be set up in Christ's church, that we deny.* Eph. iv.[2]

[e] Mark, that popes and cardinals in this rank are not named.

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

We confound not these offices, M. Harding, as ye best know; but rather we teach[3] each man carefully to attend his own office. You and your fathers have brought confusion of offices into the church of God, in that ye have made your pope heir-apparent unto the empire, and have armed him with all manner authority, spiritual and temporal, and have given him the right of both swords.

Dist. 22. Omnes.

For thus your own pope Nicolas telleth you stoutly in his own behalf: *Christus Petro, æternæ vitæ clavigero, terreni simul et cœlestis imperii jura commisit*[4]: "Christ hath committed unto Peter, the key-bearer of everlasting life, the right as well of the earthly as also of[5] the heavenly empire." No doubts. For Christ by his commission made Peter a king of this world, and dubbed him accordingly with sword and sceptre, and bade him sit under his cloth of estate[6]. Thus, by your doctrine, priesthood, kingdom, popedom, empire, are all conveyed wholly into one man's hands; and so, by your handling, one man is priest, king, pope, and emperor, all at once. This, perhaps, unto the wise may seem to be some confusion of offices.

2 Chron. xxvi.

Touching that ye write of the rash attempt of king Ozias, ye seem not to understand neither our words nor your own. For we teach not princes to offer up incense in sacrifice, as Ozias did, or by intrusion to thrust themselves into bishops' rooms, or to preach, or to minister sacraments, or to bind, or to loose; but only to discharge their own offices, and to do that duty that David, Salomon, Ezechias, Josias, and other noble and godly kings did, and evermore was lawful for the prince to do. As for right of place and voice in council, it pertaineth no less to the prince than to the pope, as hereafter it shall better appear.

Ye say: "Christ shall always assist his church, and shall evermore provide her of good governors." Thus, be your negligence and careless slothfulness never

[1] Other, Conf. and Def. 1567, 1570.]

[2] This reference is inserted from Conf. and Def. 1567, 1570.]

[3] Rather teach, 1567.]

[4] ...qui beato æternæ &c.—Nicol. Papa in Corp. Jur. Canon. Lugd. 1624. Decret. Gratian. Decr. Prim. Pars. Dist. xxii. can. 1. col. 99.]

[5] As of, 1567.]

[6] These two sentences are not in 1567.]

so great, be your lives never so loose, be you dumb dogs not able to bark, be you lanterns without light, be you salt without savour, yet ye evermore dream sweetly of Christ's promise, and assure yourselves undoubtedly of his assistance; even as he that sometime said, *Pan curat*[7] *oves oviumque magistros*[8]. Would God your bishops would do their duty, and do it faithfully; the world should have less cause to complain. Notwithstanding, Christ is evermore mindful of his promise. For, when he seeth his church defaced and laid waste, he raiseth up faithful magistrates and godly princes, not to do the priests' or bishops' duties, but to force the priests and bishops to do their duties.

A Bishop conventened before the Magistrate.

But ye say: "Christ hath placed in his church 'some apostles, some prophets, some evangelists, some pastors, some teachers.' Kings (ye say) and princes be not there named." Hereof ye conclude; *ergo*, the prince may not cause the abuses of his church to be reformed, nor oversee the priests and bishops, if they be negligent, nor force them to do their duties. Eph. iv.

I marvel, M. Harding, where ye learned so much logic. How frame ye this argument? In what mood? in what figure? With what cement can ye make these silly loose pieces[10] to cleave together? It pitieth me to see your case. For by like form of argument, and with much more likelihood of reason, we may turn the same against yourself, and may say thus: Christ hath placed in his church "some apostles, some prophets, some evangelists, some pastors, some teachers:" the pope and his cardinals are not here named: apostles they are not; for the apostles were but twelve: prophets they are not; for they prophesy nothing: evangelists they are not; for they preach not: pastors or feeders they are not; for they feed not: doctors or teachers they are not; for they teach not; *ergo*, by this authority of St Paul, and by your own argument, the pope and his cardinals be utterly excluded, and may not meddle with the charge of the church of God.

In such good substantial sort pope Paulus III., not long sithence, reasoned against the emperor Charles the fifth: *En ego supra pastores meos*[11]: "Behold, saith God Almighty, I will punish my priests and bishops" for their negligence and wickedness; *ergo*, saith pope Paulus, the prince or emperor may not punish them: as though, when the king or emperor punisheth the wicked by God's appointment, God himself were not the punisher[12]. Epist. Paul. III. ad Carol. V.

In this your manner of reasoning, M. Harding, there are well-near as many errors as there be words. The first is, *ignoratio elenchi;* which is the grossest fallax of all the rest. Secondly, ye conclude without either mood or figure; as a very child may easily see. Thirdly, ye reason *a meris particularibus*, or *a non distributo ad distributum*. Fourthly, these words, "rule" or "charge of the church," are words of double and doubtful meaning. And therefore your syllogismus, such as it is, must needs stand of four terms; which error in reasoning is too simple for a child.

Touching these words, "rule and charge," which I said are double and doubtful, notwithstanding we say both the prince and the bishop have charge of the church, yet the prince and the bishop have not both one kind of charge. The bishop's charge is to preach, to minister sacraments, to order priests, to excommunicate, to absolve, &c. The prince's charge is not to do any of these things himself, in his own person, but only to see that they be done, and orderly and truly done, by the bishops.

I grant there be many special privileges granted, upon great and just considerations, of the mere favour of the prince, that a priest being found negligent, or otherwise offending in his ministry, should be convented and punished, not by the temporal or civil magistrate, but by the discretion of the bishop; yet must you remember, M. Harding, that all these and other like privileges passed unto the clergy from the prince, and not from God, and proceeded only of special favour, and not of right: for from the beginning, you know, it was not so[13].

[7 Curet, 1567, 1570, 1609.]

[8 Virg. Bucol. Eclog. ii. 33.]

[9 This reference is inserted from 1567, 1570.]

[10 Seely loose parts, 1567.]

[11 Dei enim vox est ad malos sacerdotes: Ego ipse (inquit super pastores) requiram gregem meum de manu illorum, quod ut suo tempore penitus facturus est Deus, ita si quis interim quasi de manu ejus præripere hoc tentaverit, is semper pro tali ausu gravissimas pœnas dedit.—Paul. III. Pont. Max. ad Carol. V. Imp. Epist. in And. Dudith. Orat. in Concil. Trident. habit. &c. Offenb. 1610. pp. 162, 3.]

[12 The clause from *them* is not in 1567.]

[13 The clause from *bishop* is not in 1567.]

A Bishop convented before the Magistrate.

And therefore to say that a[1] prince or magistrate may not lawfully call a priest before him, to his own seat of judgment, or that many catholic and godly princes have not so done, and done it lawfully, it is most untrue. The emperor Justinian himself, who of all others most enlarged the church's privileges, saith thus: *Nullus episcopus invitus ad civilem vel militarem judicem in qualibet causa producatur vel exhibeatur; nisi princeps jubeat*[3]: "Let no bishop be brought or presented against his will before the captain or civil judge, whatsoever the cause be; unless the prince shall so command it." Hereby it appeareth the bishop was bound to make his answer before the magistrate, if it had been the prince's pleasure[4].

Cod. Lib. i. de Episc. et Cleric. Null. Cod. de Episc. Audi. Si qui ex consensu.[2]

Addition.

M. Harding, fol. 379. b. [Detect.]

Addition. ☞ M. Harding. "Justinian in the law that you rehearse, M. Jewel, is to be understanded to speak of civil and temporal cases; and that in those cases no bishop should be brought before the lieutenant and civil magistrate, except the prince so command it. It is a maxim[5] and a principle with the lawyers, that such laws speaking indefinitely must be understanded by another law that speaketh specially and particularly, &c. It had been your part to have understanded those words *In qualibet causa*, spoken there indefinitely, by the other laws that speak more specially. But then had you lost a peevish sophistical argument, and men had not known your worthy skill in the law, which no doubt will appear great by your practice." *The answer.* We must take these words, you say, to be spoken of civil or temporal cases only; in which only cases you grant the temporal judge may call a priest before him, by the commandment of the prince. Herein I will not greatly contend against you. Notwithstanding, Justinian's words be general, and include all kinds of cases. For thus he saith, as I have alleged his words: *In qualibet causa*, that is, "Whatsoever the action be;" be it ecclesiastical, be it civil. But, that you may the better conceive both Justinian's meaning, and also the weakness and vanity of your gloss, Photius, the patriarch of Constantinople, saith thus: *Clerici Constantinopolitani, si nolint actores apud patriarcham agere, a solis præfectis prætorio judicantur, sive conveniant sive conveniantur, tam pro privatis quam pro ecclesiasticis*[6]: "The priests of Constantinople, if they will not plead before the patriarch, are judged only before the lord chancellor, whether they plead or be impleaded, and whether it be their own private matter, or ecclesiastical." Howbeit, by this exposition it appeareth, if the case be temporal, that then a priest may be convented before a temporal judge. But what say you then to Thomas Becket? He alone, as you know, withstood all the bishops of this realm, and would never yield that a priest, although he were a thief or a murderer, should submit himself to temporal judgment. Theft and murder doubtless be cases temporal: and it was the express will and commandment of the prince: yet, as I have said, Thomas Becket would never yield that the temporal magistrate should judge of it[7]; and therefore the pope made him a saint. Now, if he did well, why do you by this exposition control his doing? If in so doing he did evil, why was he sainted for the same? Doth the pope make folks saints for evil-doing?

Gul. Neubrig. Lib. ii. cap. xvi.

As for the rest, whereas it pleaseth you to make yourself some pretty sport, and to say, "Men had not known the worthy skill" I have in law, &c.; despise not, M. Harding, lest you yourself be despised. For ought that I know, the law is your profession no more than mine. ☜

The emperor Martianus commandeth, if the cause be criminal, that the bishop be convented before the lieutenant: *Ut coram præside conveniatur.*

Addition.

Addition. ☞ M. Harding. "The law *Cum clericis* hath not these words, *Ut coram præside conveniantur*, nor any clause or sentence sounding to that pur-

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[1 But that a, 1567.]

[2 These references are inserted from 1567.]

[3 Corp. Jur. Civil. Amst. 1663. Cod. Lib. i. Tit. iii. 22. Tom. II. p. 13. Conf. ibid. Auth. Coll. ix. Tit. vi. Novell. cxxiii. cap. 8. p. 170.

Si qui ex consensu apud sacræ legis antistitem litigare voluerint, non vetabuntur.—Impp. Arcad. et Honor. in eod. Cod. Lib. i. Tit. iv. 7. Tom. II. p. 25.]

[4 This sentence is not in 1567.]

[5 Maxima, 1570.]

[6 Phot. Nomocan. Lut. Par. 1615. Tit. ix. cap. 1. p. 73.]

[7 Gul. Nevbrig. Rer. Anglic. Libr. Quinque, Antv. 1567. Lib. ii. capp. xvi. &c. pp. 136, &c. See Vol. III. page 575, note 7.]

pose. For trial whereof I refer me to the book." *The answer.* The book will condemn you, M. Harding. The words there are plain: *Cum clericis in judicium vocatis pateat episcopalis audientia, volentibus tamen actoribus, si actor discepta-tionem sanctissimi archiepiscopi noluerit experiri, eminentissimæ tuæ sedis examen... tam de suis, quam de ecclesiasticis negotiis sibimet noverit expetendum; qui in nullo alio foro, vel apud quenquam alterum judicem, eosdem clericos litibus irretire, et civilibus vel criminalibus negotiis tentet*[8] *innectere*[9]: "Whereas priests, when they be sued in law, may have access to the bishop's audience" (if the plaintiff think it good, and none otherwise), "if the plaintiff will not yield himself to stand to the most holy archbishop's judgment, then let him know that he must come to the trial of your most high court, whether it be in his own or in ecclesiastical cases. Neither shall it be lawful to the said plaintiff to implead the said priests in any other court, or before any other judge (saving only before the archbishop, or before thee, being the president or lieutenant there), whether the matters[10] be civil or else criminal." Here you see that the plaintiff, if he thought it good, might sue a priest before the lieutenant, yea, and that in causes ecclesiastical; and that the priest was bound to make his appearance, and to stand to his judgment: yet will you tell us, M. Harding, that in this law there are no such words, nor any clause or sentence to that purpose? Or can you without blushing so vainly blaze your margin with M. Jewel's forgeries? ☞

A Bishop conventened before the Magistrate.

Cod. de Episc. et Cleric. L. Cum Cleric.

If the plaintiff think it good.

To the trial of your court.

In causes ecclesiastical.

Pope Innocentius III. himself confesseth that the pope may make a layman his delegate, to hear and determine in priests' causes. The like thereof[11] ye may find in your own gloss: *Papa laico delegat causam spiritualem*[12]: "The pope committeth the hearing of a spiritual matter unto a layman."

De Major. et Obed. cap. 2. Innocent.[12]

xi. Quæst. Cleric. Null.

Addition. ☞ But forasmuch as M. Harding saith, It is not written *papa delegat*, but *si papa delegat*, (which, nevertheless, is nothing else but an empty quarrel,) he may also find this self-same sentence in the same place specially noted, without any *si* or condition at all. The words there are these: *Clericus coram seculari quandoque convenitur*[13]: "A priest sometimes is called to make answer before a temporal judge." ☞

Addition. ☞

Yea, further, ye shall find even in the pope's own decrees, that the pope hath committed a spiritual matter, in a cause of simony, to be heard and ended by a woman; and that Brunichildis, being a woman, by virtue of the pope's commission summoned a bishop to appear, and solemnly to make his purgation before her. Notwithstanding, in your gloss upon the same it is noted thus: *Fuit tamen hic nimium papaliter dispensatum*[14]: "The pope was too popelike in this dispensation."

ii. Quæst. 4. Menna.

Addition. ☞ M. Harding. "But what if we cannot find in the pope's decrees, to which you refer us, that the pope ever committed a spiritual matter in a cause of simony to be heard and ended by a woman, and that Brunichildis had neither commission from the pope to summon a bishop, nor ever summoned a bishop to appear, and solemnly to make his purgation before her? What then shall we say, but that M. Jewel is a shameless falsifier, and a deceiver of all that believe him?" &c.

Addition. ☞ M. Harding, 382. a. [Detect.]

"I beseech you, sir, where is it said in all this decree, that the pope committed a spiritual matter in a cause of simony to be heard and ended by a woman? &c. In the text it is not, nor in the gloss, that you so solemnly allege. Had your lawyer forgotten to tell you, or were you so simple that you could not conceive that which is commonly said, *Maledicta glossa quæ corrumpit textum? &c.* To let pass your scoffing and your minister-like interpretation, let us come to the matter, &c. You say the pope committed a spiritual matter in a cause of simony to be heard and ended by a woman. And this is a vain tale and untrue fancy of yours, not able to be gathered by any word of that decree. For

M. Harding, 383. a. [Detect.]

M. Harding, 383. b. [Detect.]

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[8] Tenet, 1609, 1611.]

[9] Imp. Marcian. in Corp. Jur. Civil. Lib. I. Tit. iii. 25. p. 13.]

[10] Matter, 1570, 1609.]

[11] Hereof, 1567.]

[12] Si papa delegat laico &c.—Corp. Jur. Canon. Lugd. 1624. Decret. Gratian. Decr. Sec. Pars, Caus. XI. Quæst. i. Gloss. in can. 17. col. 905.]

[13] Not. ibid.]

[14] Ibid. Caus. II. Quæst. v. Gloss. in cap. 7. col. 642.]

A Bishop conventened before the Magistrate.

the cause of simony was heard and ended by the pope, and the bishop was absolved and sent home" (or else M. Harding over-boldly reporteth untruth, as his manner commonly is to do). "And a cause once heard and determined by the pope is not wont to be committed afterward to the hearing and determination of a woman. After this, as though this lie had not been loud enough, you tell us that Brunichildis summoned the bishop to appear before her, &c. Brunichildis being so holy, so virtuous, so religious a lady, as St Gregory reported she was, it is to be presupposed that she would not disquiet a good and innocent man, nor put him to further trouble." *The answer.* "A shameless falsifier (you say), a deceiver of them that believe him;" "scoffing and minister-like interpretation;" "as though this lie had not been loud enough," &c. This eloquence, M. Harding, becometh no man but yourself. It is reason ye should have the whole glory of it without co-partner. Howbeit, such intemperance of speech and such uncivil dealing will win small credit to your cause in the judgment of the wise. You say, "It cannot be found that queen Brunichildis had any such commission from the pope." You hunt wantonly, and rove at pleasure, M. Harding, and will find nothing but that may like you. But pope Gregory's commission is so plain, that I marvel with what good countenance you could deny it; saving that I see you are armed with boldness to deny what you list.

ii. Quæst. 4. Menna.

These be pope Gregory's own words: *Purgationem ... ante te, duobus sibi sacerdotibus junctis, ... eundem ex se præbere tuo commisimus arbitrio*[1]: "I have given commission to your discretion, that the said bishop, taking to him two other priests or bishops, shall make his purgation before you." And thus he said to Brunichildis, being the queen of France. Is not this enough to prove that the pope gave commission that the bishop should make his purgation before the queen? Is not here the plain and express word *purgatio?* Are not here two other priests or bishops appointed to be compurgators? Is not here the Latin word *commisimus*, whereby the pope gave the queen to understand that he had sent her his special commission? Are not here these other two Latin words, *ante te*, that is to say, "before thee," or "in thy presence?" Are not here these other two Latin words, *tuo arbitrio*, whereby it is signified that the matter was committed to her discretion? Doth not the same pope immediately afterward, in the same decree, straitly charge the said queen Brunichildis, that she should not require the said bishop to clear himself by any vulgar purgation, as by standing in scalding water, or by bearing a gad of burning iron in his bare hand, as many then used to try their innocency, and to purge themselves[2]? Sought you so busily for these things, M. Harding, and could you not find them? Or could you see all these things in a heap together, and yet could you[3] see nothing? Or, all this notwithstanding, can you so assuredly tell us that the pope never committed any spiritual matter to be heard by a woman? or that the queen had no commission to any such purpose from the pope? The pope himself saith, Yea; you only say, Nay. And may we safely give credit to you alone against the pope?

Purgation.

Compurgators.

Commisimus.

Ante te.

Vulgaris purgatio.

M. Harding, fol. 383. b. M. Harding. 384. a. [Detect.]

"It is not likely (you say) that, being once purged before the pope, he should afterward be purged again before a woman. It is not likely (you say) that Brunichildis, being so holy, so virtuous, and so religious a lady, would disquiet a good and an innocent man, or put him to any further trouble," after his cause had been heard and ended by the pope. And are not these good and substantial and likely reasons, M. Harding? Or were it not well worth the while that your reader, contrary to the pope's plain words, should believe you, and rather yield to such pretty likelihoods? Is it[4] not likely that M. Harding, so boldly maintaining manifest falsehood[5], will ever give place to any truth? I beseech you, how had this bishop made his sufficient purgation before the pope? By what words of

[1] Ex Registr. Gregor. ibid. where *committimus.*]

[2] Vulgarem denique, ac nulla canonica sanctione fultam legem, ferventis scilicet sive frigidæ aquæ ignitique ferri contactum, aut cujuslibet popularis inventionis (quia fabricante hæc sunt omnino ficta invidia) nec ipsum exhibere, nec aliquo modo te volumus postulare, imo apostolica auctoritate prohibemus firmissime. — Ibid. See Vol. I. page 396, note 10.]

[3] Ye, 1570.]

[4] It is, 1570.]

[5] Falsehead, 1570.]

Gregory can you learn it? Indeed, he offered an oath for himself; and so far forth only, and none otherwise, he was purged. But there was no proclamation given out unto his accusers, if any man had to allege against his purgation; neither had he any man there to be his compurgator: nor was he fully restored unto[6] his fame; nor had the pope thoroughly concluded and ended the matter; and therefore he committed it over to be ended at home before the queen. For the law saith: *Ibi fieri debet purgatio, ubi quisque est infamatus; ut ibi moriatur malum, ubi contigit*[7]: "There ought every man make[8] his purgation where he is defamed; that the evil may die and have an end where it began to spring first." To be short, whereas you tell us, M. Harding, that queen Brunichildis had no such commission from the pope, the expositor of that decree, if it might have pleased you to have seen him, would have taught you the contrary. For thus he saith: *Papa mandat reginæ, ut indicat eidem episcopo purgationem cum duobus sacerdotibus: Et, Delegatur hic laico negotium spirituale: Et, Episcopus, expurgatus coram papa, cogitur adhuc coram muliercula se purgare*[9]: "The pope giveth commission to the queen to appoint the said bishop to make his purgation together with two other priests:" again: "Here a spiritual matter is committed over to a lay-person:" and again: "A bishop, being purged (in part and after a sort) before the pope, yet nevertheless is compelled afterward to purge himself before a woman." I know not what I should say further. *Committere* is Latin "to give commission:" *purgatio* in English is a "purgation:" simony is a spiritual cause: queen Brunichildis was a lay-person: *ante reginam* is "before the queen:" the text is plain: the gloss is plain: the words are plain: the sense is plain. The pope himself saith: "I have given out my commission that the bishop should appear before the queen." The expositor saith: "A spiritual cause is committed to the judgment of a person temporal."

A Bishop conventened before the Magistrate.

In Margarita.

ii. Quæst. 4. Menn.

Yet, M. Harding, it is lawful for you to say, "M. Jewel is a loud liar, and a shameful[10] falsifier, and a deceiver of all them that will believe him." Thus may you lawfully and boldly say; for full well it becometh you thus to say, as a man that reckoneth[11] not what he say.

The emperor Constantinus wrote thus unto the bishops that had been at the council of Tyrus: *Cuncti quotquot synodum Tyri complevistis, sine mora ad pietatis nostræ castra properate; ac re ipsa, quam sincere ac recte judicaveritis, ostendatis, idque coram me, quem sincerum esse Dei ministrum ne vos quidem negabitis*[12]: "All ye that have been at the council of Tyrus come without delay unto our camp, and shew me plainly and without colour how uprightly ye have dealt in judgment; and that even before myself[13], whom you cannot deny to be the true servant of God."

Socrat. Lib. i. cap. xxxiv.

Justinian the emperor, in the law that he maketh touching the public prayers of the church, saith thus: "We command all bishops and priests to minister the holy oblation, and the prayer at the holy baptism, not under silence, but with such voice as may be heard of the faithful people, to the intent that the hearts of the hearers may be stirred to more devotion, &c." Afterward he addeth further: "And let the holy priests understand that, if they neglect any of these things, they shall make answer therefore at the dreadful judgment of the great God and our Saviour Jesus Christ. And yet nevertheless we ourselves, understanding the same, will not pass it over, nor leave it unpunished[14]."

Auth. Const. 123.

Hereby we see that godly princes may summon bishops to appear before them even in causes ecclesiastical, to receive such punishment as they have deserved. Likewise the emperor Constantinus, in his letters unto the people of Nicomedia, speaking of the wilful errors and heresies of priests and bishops, saith thus:

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[6] To, 1570, 1609.]

[7] Item debet fieri purgatio, apud quos est &c. contingit.—Marg. Decr. in Corp. Jur. Canon. Lugd. 1624. ad calc. Decret. Gratian. p. 59.]

[8] Man to make, 1570, 1609.]

[9] ... mandat Gregor. eidem reginæ, ut ... indicet &c. spirituale negotium, &c.—Gloss. ubi supra, col. 642.]

[10] Shameless, 1570.]

[11] Recketh, 1570.]

[12] Socr. in Hist. Eccles. Script. Amst. 1695-1700. Lib. I. cap. xxxiv. p. 58.]

[13] Meself, 1567, 1570.]

[14] Corp. Jur. Civil. Amst. 1663. Auth. Coll. IX. Tit. xx. Novell. cxxxvii. 6. Tom. II. pp. 196, 7. See Vol. I. pages 8, 9, note 6; 287, note 10.]

A Bishop conventued before the Magistrate.

Illorum temeraria præsumptio mea, hoc est, ministri Christi, manu coercebitur[1]: "Their rash attempts shall be repressed by my hand, that is to say, by the hand of Christ's servant."

Theodor. Lib. i. cap. xix. Addition.

Addition. ☞ M. Harding. "Where you say that the emperor spake of the wilful errors and heresies of the priests and bishops, and add not Arian priests and Arian bishops, you declare your malicious heart against priests and bishops. But I will leave that cankered spite of yours, &c. Why do you not report the emperor's words as they are in your author? will you never leave this accustomed[2] vile corruption?"

☞ M. Harding, 387. [Detect.]

The answer. And will you never leave this vanity, M. Harding? You say I speak of errors and heresies of priests and bishops, but I add not Arian priests and Arian bishops; and therein you say I declare my "malicious heart." Of such good words your gentle heart wanteth no store. It is your skill with such terrors and outcries to amaze the simple. For no wise man, I trow, would thus demean himself without some cause. I said not, "the errors and heresies of Arian priests and of Arian bishops." What then? Think you therefore I meant the errors and heresies of catholic priests and godly bishops? Or can any man imagine heresies without an heretic? Fie, M. Harding; such wantonness is not fit for your gravity: when I spake of errors and heresies, a very babe might well know I spake only of heretics, and of none others.

But I have not reported the emperor's words as I found them. And this, in your accustomed courteous speech, you call my "accustomed vile corruption." Howbeit indeed I corrupt no part of the emperor's words: he speaketh none otherwise but as I report him. Add hardly the words that you would seem to miss: you can add nothing to the meaning. Thus saith Theodoretus, even as you have translated him yourself: "If any man be inflamed boldly and uncircumspectly at the remembrance and commendation of those wicked and pestilent heretics, his boldness shall be repressed straightway by my working, that is to say, by the minister of God." This is all that I say, M. Harding: I say no more. ☜

August. contr. Epist. Parm. Lib. i. cap. vii.

So likewise saith St Augustine unto the Donatists: *An forte de religione fas non est ut dicat imperator, vel quos miserit imperator? Cur ergo ad imperatorem legati vestri venerunt*[3]*?* "Is it[4] not lawful that the emperor, or the emperor's deputy, should pronounce in a case of religion? Wherefore then went your own ambassadors to the emperor?"

Addition.

Addition. ☞ M. Harding. "St Augustine, reasoning against Parmenian the Donatist, took advantage of his own doings, not as allowing the appeal to the emperor, but as proving him unreasonable, who for advantage would appeal to the emperor, and, when the emperor had pronounced sentence against him, would strive and repine at the sentence, and say that he being a temporal prince ought not to punish bishops, &c. St Augustine, in his[5] talk against the Donatists, cannot be said to allow the emperor's authority in condemning of bishops and other ecclesiastical causes: for he, answering another Donatist that said, *Non debuit episcopus proconsulari judicio purgari*, said, "If he be worthy to be blamed whom the temporal judge hath absolved, where as he himself did not require it, how much more are they to be blamed which would have a temporal prince to be judge in their cause[6]!" By this it appeareth that he thought that princes could not be judges over bishops. Moreover, he reporteth that Constantine, who appointed judges to hear their cause, did it *a sanctis antistitibus veniam petiturus*[7], as minding

☞ M. Harding, 388. a. [Detect.]

[1 Εἴ τις δὲ πρὸς μνήμην τῶν λυμεώνων ἐκείνων ἢ πρὸς ἔπαινον ἀπρονοήτως ἐξαφθῆναι τολμήσει, παραχρῆμα τῆς ἰδίας τόλμης δικὰ τῆς τοῦ θεράποντος τοῦ Θεοῦ, τουτέστιν ἐμοῦ, ἐνεργείας ἀναταλήσεται.—Theodor. in Hist. Eccles. Script. Amst. 1695-1700. Lib. I. cap. xx. p. 51.]

[2 This your accustomed, 1570.]

[3 August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. Contr. Epist. Parmen. Lib. I. cap. ix. 15. Tom. IX. col. 20; where *vestri venere legati.*]

[4 It is, 1567, 1570.]

[5 This, 1570, 1609.]

[6 Ait enim quidam, Non debuit episcopus proconsulari judicio purgari: quasi vero ipse sibi hoc comparaverit, ac non imperator ita quæri jusserit; ad cujus curam, de qua rationem Deo redditurus esset, res illa maxime pertinebat. Arbitum enim et judicem caussæ traditionis et schismatis illi eum fecerant, qui ad eum etiam preces miserant, ad quem postea provocarunt; et tamen judicio ejus adquiescere noluerunt. Itaque si culpandus est, quem judex terrenus absolvit, cum ipse sibi hoc non poposcisset; quanto magis culpandi sunt, qui terrenum regem suæ caussæ judicem esse voluerunt!—Id. ad Glor. et cet. Epist. xliii. cap. iv. 13. Tom. II. cols. 93, 4.]

[7 Id. ibid. cap. vii. 20. col. 97. See below, page 966, note 1.]

to ask pardon of the holy bishops for his fact. And the same emperor, seeing their importunity in repairing to him as judge, said: *O rabida furoris audacia! Sicut in causis gentilium solet fieri, appellationem interposuerunt." The answer.* The very story hereof is this: The Donatian heretics, being condemned by an assembly of bishops in Africa, and appealing for aid unto the emperor, were by his authority appointed over by special commission to be judged by Miltiades the bishop of Rome, with certain others. Wherein two things are especially[8] to be noted: first, that the pope in those days thought not himself to be superior to the emperor, but could be contented to be his delegate, and to receive authority by his commission; again, that the pope was not appointed to judge alone, but had other bishops joined with him[9]. The Donatians, being condemned before the pope and the other commissioners, and once again appealing to the emperor, were eftsoons appointed over by like commission to be judged by the bishop of Arle in France, with certain others. And here also it is to be noted, that in those days it was lawful to appeal from the pope, and that an inferior bishop might lawfully judge of his judgments. But the Donatians, seeing themselves condemned by the bishop of Arle, as they were before by the bishop of Rome, last of all appealed to the emperor's own person, complaining of the partiality of the bishop of Rome and of the bishop of Arle, as at whose hands they could find no justice. In the end, being likewise condemned by the emperor himself, they found themselves also grieved with his majesty, and condemned his judgment too, as they had done the others'. Hereof St Augustine saith thus: *Judex eligitur imperator: judicans contemnitur imperator*[10]: "They choose the emperor to be their judge; and after judgment they despise the emperor." This is it that the emperor so much misliked in the Donatists. Therefore he abhorred them as impudent and perverse wranglers, that, seeing judgment so many ways and so clearly pass against them, yet would not submit themselves to any order. Such this day, M. Harding, is the perverseness and impudency of all them that, seeing their follies laid open to the world by God's holy word, and so many kingdoms and countries departing from them, yet nevertheless have hardened their faces against all shame, and will never yield to the confession of any one error. Therefore St Augustine saith unto the Donatists, as we likewise may say unto you: *Quid vultis amplius, homines, quid vultis amplius*[11]*?* "O ye men, tell me what would ye have more? What more would ye have?"

A Bishop conventued before the Magistrate.

Euseb. Lib. x. cap. v. The pope the emperor's delegate.

Appeal from the pope.

August. Epist. 162.

August. in ead. Epist.

As touching the matter that lieth between us, the question is this, Whether a prince may be judge[12] in ecclesiastical causes or no. He may not, say you. Here we allege the example of the godly christian emperor Constantinus, who, being only a temporal prince, nevertheless took upon him to judge in causes ecclesiastical between the Donatian heretics and the catholics. Unto this you answer: "Thus he did, *a sanctis antistitibus veniam petiturus,* as minding to ask pardon of the holy bishops for his fact." For what his fact, M. Harding? Why deal you so darkly? Will you tell us that Constantinus knew in his conscience he did ill, and committed sacrilege, and wickedly intruded upon the bishops' offices, and wilfully deserved God's vengeance, as did Ozias or Oza, and yet would do it notwithstanding upon the hope of pardon? Verily this had been the sin of presumption, which some men have reckoned as the sin against the Holy Ghost, that shall never be forgiven, neither in this life, nor in the life to come. Or do you think that these holy fathers would so easily have forgiven so great an offence, so presumptuously committed against God? Or is it likely that the emperor Constantinus, for thus doing, stood excommunicate *ipso facto,* and was therefore divided from the sacraments and prayers, and all other communion and comfort of the church? or that afterward he waited three days together bareheaded and barefoot, as did that noble emperor Henry IV. upon pope Gregory VII. to receive absolution for his sins[13]? I know you dare to say many things;

Sabell. Ennead. ix. Lib. iii.

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[8] Specially, 1570, 1609.]

[9] Euseb. in Hist. Eccles. Script. Lib. x. cap. v. pp. 319, &c.]

[10] August. Op. Ad Glor. et cet. Epist. xliii. cap. ix. 25. Tom. II. col. 99.]

[11] Id. ibid. cap. iii. 6. col. 90.]

[12] Judged, 1570.]

[13] Sabell. Rapsod. Hist. Par. 1509. Ennead. IX. Lib. III. Pars III. fol. 84. 2.]

A Bishop convented before the Magistrate.

but thus much I trow you dare not say. What pardon then was it that the emperor minded to seek at the bishops' hands? Indeed, the place itself is very dark, and such as whereof it is hard to gather a ready and perfect[1] sense. Thus stand the words: *Atque utinam, saltem ipsius judicio, insanissimis animositatibus... finem posuissent, atque, ut eis ipse cessit, ut de illa causa post episcopos judicaret, a sanctis antistitibus postea veniam petiturus, dum tamen illi quod ulterius dicerent non haberent, si ejus sententiæ non obtemperarent, ad quem ipsi provocaverunt, sic et illi aliquando cederent veritati*[2]*?*

If ye understand this sentence thoroughly, M. Harding, ye are more than Davus, ye are as good as Œdipus. Notwithstanding, that silly sense that you have imagined cannot possibly be gathered hereof by any reasonable order of construction. This only is it that St Augustine saith, The emperor minded to excuse himself unto the bishops, not for that he had dealt in a cause ecclesiastical, but for that he had dealt therein after that it had been twice heard and determined by the bishops. These are his words: *Ipse eis cessit, ut de illa causa post episcopos judicaret, a sanctis antistitibus postea veniam petiturus.* You know right well, M. Harding, *veniam petere* is not always to ask absolution, as for some heinous offence against God. *Bona*[3] *tua venia dicam, Dabis mihi hanc veniam, &c.* are phrases commonly used among the learned. In this place St Augustine saith the emperor minded courteously to excuse his doing unto the bishops, for that, calling the matter before himself, that had been before thoroughly considered and debated by them, he might seem to judge of their judgments, and to call their doings into question. This only was the thing that he would have excused. And this was his courtesy only, and not his duty.

As for the hearing of ecclesiastical causes, which is the matter that lieth between us, he neither thought he offended God therein, for any thing that may appear, nor minded to ask pardon for the same. For he did no more therein than was lawful for him to do, nor ever was there any pope so uncivil that durst to condemn him for so doing. St Augustine saith plainly in the same epistle: *Diximus, Felicem Aptungitanum ad Constantini jussionem proconsularibus gestis... fuisse purgatum*[4]*. Ait... quidam, Non debuit episcopus proconsulari judicio purgari: quasi vero ipse sibi hoc comparaverit, ac non imperator ita quæri jusserit; ad cujus curam, de qua rationem Deo redditurus esset, res illa maxime pertinebat*[5]*:* "We told you that Felix, the bishop of Aptungita, was purged before the lord lieutenant by the commandment of the emperor." "But one of the Donatian heretics saith, A bishop should not have made his purgation before the lieutenant: as though it had been the lieutenant's seeking, and not rather the emperor's commandment; to whose charge, whereof he shall yield account unto God, that matter specially did belong." Behold these words, M. Harding: lay them abroad: cast no cloud over them: St Augustine telleth you that the purgation of a bishop, notwithstanding it were an ecclesiastical matter, yet belonged specially to the emperor's charge. And thus he saith even in the self-same epistle and place that you have alleged. And yet must we believe you upon your word, that the emperor could not deal herein without offending of God and craving of pardon? Again, St Augustine saith: *An forte de religione fas non est ut dicat imperator?... Cur ergo ad imperatorem legati vestri venerunt*[6]*?* "What, is it not lawful perhaps that the emperor should give sentence in a case of religion? Wherefore then did your legates sue to the emperor?" Here, M. Harding, mark this by the way: they that said the emperor might[7] not be judge in ecclesiastical cases were Donatian heretics: for St Augustine and the catholics said the contrary. Again, St Augustine saith: *Si... criminis non est provocare ad imperatorem, non est criminis audiri ab imperatore: ergo nec ab illo cui causam delegaverit imperator*[8]*:* "If it be no fault to appeal to the emperor, then is it no fault to be heard or judged by

August. Epist. 162.

Ad cujus curam res ea maxime pertinebat.

Specially belongeth to the emperor's charge.

August. contr. Epist. Parm. Lib. i. cap. vii.

August. Epist. 162. Non est criminis.

[1] Perfite, 1570.]

[2] August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. Ad Glor. et cet. Epist. xliii. cap. vii. 20. Tom. II. col. 97.]

[3] Bono, 1570.]

[4] Deinde diximus,...Nec de Felicis Aptungitani caussa negligentiam consequuntam, sed ad ejusdem principis jussionem &c.—Id. ibid. cap. ii. 4. col. 90.]

[5] Id. ibid. cap. iv. 13. cols. 93, 4.]

[6] Id. contr. Epist. Parmen. Lib. i. cap. ix. 15. Tom. IX. col. 20. See before, page 964, note 3.]

[7] Mought, 1570.]

[8] Id. ad Glor. et cet. Epist. xliii. cap. iv. 13. Tom. II. col. 94.]

the emperor. And so consequently it is no fault to be judged before him to whom the cause was committed by the emperor." St Augustine presupposeth and layeth it as a ground, that it is no fault, neither to appeal to the emperor, nor to be judged before his majesty, be the cause never so much ecclesiastical.

A Bishop conventened before the Magistrate.

Now, M. Harding, if there were no fault committed by the emperor, why should you thus force him to crave pardon?

Photius, the patriarch of Constantinople, saith thus: *Clerici Constantinopolitani, si nolint actores apud patriarcham agere, a solis præfectis prætorio judicantur, sive conveniant sive conveniantur, tam pro privatis quam pro ecclesiasticis*[9]: "The priests of Constantinople, if they will not plead their matters before the patriarch, then are they judged only before the lord-chancellor, whether they be plaintiffs or defendants, and whether their causes be private or ecclesiastical." Again he saith: "Bishops, priests, and monks are to be sued before the lord deputy or president of the country; or, if they be found in the city of Constantinople where the emperor hath his court, then are they to be sued only before the lord-chancellor[10]."

Phot. de Pecc. et Judic. Episc. Tit. 9. In eod. Tit. Apud præsides provinciarum. Apud solos præfectos prætorio.

Likewise Balsamon, expounding a canon of the council of Antioch, allegeth this sentence of Justinian: *Patriarcha debet rationem reddere imperatori, et ab eo corrigi*[11]: "The patriarch is bound to make his answer before the emperor, and of him to receive correction." And thus he speaketh of a cause ecclesiastical, as by the place it may appear. Again he saith: *Patriarcha ab imperatore, qui ecclesiæ habet potestatis scientiam, judicabitur forte ut sacrilegus, vel male de fide sentiens, vel alicujus alius criminis reus. Hoc enim nos judicialiter factum esse vidimus diversis temporibus*[12]: "The patriarch shall be judged of the emperor, having the knowledge of the ecclesiastical power, whether the matter be of sacrilege, or of heresy, or of any other crime. For this have we seen done oftentimes in form of judgment."

Balsam. Concil. Ant. can. 12.

Balsam. eod. loc.

What would ye have more, M. Harding? Heresy is a cause ecclesiastical: the patriarch is a bishop: the emperor is a civil or lay-magistrate. Yet Balsamon telleth you that this bishop in this cause is to be tried before the emperor; and that he himself hath oftentimes seen the same judicially put in practice, no restraint or law being to the contrary.

Gerson, standing before the French king, and answering his adversaries in a cause ecclesiastical, said thus unto him: *Loquimur ... sic ad eos, rex serenissime, te audiente, te judice*[13]: "Thus we say to them, O most gracious king, in your hearing: your grace shall be judge." Here you see, M. Harding, the cause is ecclesiastical, and the judge is the king.

Gerson. Trilog. in Mater. Schism.

But what speak we of other priests and inferior bishops? The popes themselves, notwithstanding all their universal power, have submitted themselves and made their purgations before kings and emperors. Pope Liberius made his humble appearance before the emperor Constantius[14]: pope Sixtus was accused and made his purgation before the emperor Valentinian[15]: pope Leo III. being accused by Paschalis and Campulus, pleaded his cause before Carolus Magnus at Rome, not yet chosen emperor[16]. Pope John XXII. was accused of heresy, and forced to recant the same unto Philip the French king[17].

Theodor. Lib. ii. cap. xvi. ii. Quæst. 4. Mandastis. ii. Quæst. 4. Auditum. Gerson. in Serm. Pasch.

Pope Leo IV. in this wise humbly submitted[18] himself unto the judgment of Lewis the emperor: *Nos, si incompetenter aliquid egimus, et in subditis justæ legis tramitem non conservavimus, vestro admissorum nostrorum cuncta volumus emendare judicio*[19]: "If we have done any thing out of order, and if we have not

ii. Quæst. 7. Nos si.

[9 Phot. Nomocan. Lut. Par. 1615. Tit. IX. cap. i. p. 73.]

[10 Φησὶν, ὅτι οἱ ἐπίσκοποι καὶ οἱ κληρικοὶ καὶ οἱ μοναχοὶ διώξιμοι οὐ γίνονται, ἀλλὰ παρὰ ἄρχουσι τῶν ἐπαρχιῶν αὐτῶν ἐνάγονται. ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει δὲ εὑρισκόμενοι παρὰ μόνοις τοῖς ὑπάρχοις ἐνάγονται.—Ibid. p. 75.]

[11 Theod. Balsam. in Synod. Ant. can. 12. in Canon. Apostol. Concil. &c. cum Comm. Lut. Par. 1620. p. 820.]

[12 Id. ibid. p. 821.]

[13 J. Gerson. Op. Antw. 1706. Trilog. in Mater. Schism. Tom. II. Pars I. cols. 88, 9.]

[14 Theodor. in Hist. Eccles. Script. Amst. 1695-1700. Lib. II. cap. xvi. pp. 92, &c.]

[15 Sixt. Papa III. in Corp. Jur. Canon. Lugd. 1624. Decret. Gratian. Decr. Sec. Pars, Caus. II. Quæst. v. can. 10. cols. 643, 4.]

[16 De Leon. ibid. can. 18. col. 647.]

[17 J. Gerson. Op. Serm. in Fest. Pasch. Tom. III. Pars III. col. 1205. See before, page 931.]

[18 Submitteth, 1567.]

[19 Corp. Jur. Canon. Decret. Gratian. Decr. Sec. Pars, Caus. II. Quæst. vii. can. 41. col. 702; where *vestro ac missorum vestrorum.*]

A Bishop conventued before the Magistrate.

followed the right course of the law over our subjects, we will amend all our faults by your majesty's judgment."

Addition. ☞ M. Harding, fol. 389, a. [Detect.]

Addition. ☞ M. Harding. "If this submission had not been made voluntarily by them, not king nor Cæsar could have had authority or power to be judges over them. The good emperor Constantine said to the bishops: *Vos non potestis ab hominibus judicari*[1]: 'You cannot be judged of men,' that is, of laymen." *The answer.* This is wisely considered, M. Harding, and for good advantage. Laymen be men: all others be angels. Otherwise, if bishops were men, as others be, then could no priest or bishop be judged before them; for Constantinus saith: *Vos non potestis ab hominibus judicari:* "You cannot be judged by men." And yet in the self-same place he seemeth to say, that a bishop may not be judged, neither before any other bishop, nor before the pope himself, or any other creature, but only before God alone. For thus he saith unto the bishops: *Istæ accusationes vestræ opportunum tempus habent, magni judicii diem, et judicem tunc omnibus judicaturum*[2]: "These quarrels of yours have a meet time of trial, I mean the day of great judgment, and a meet Judge that shall judge over all." Happy are you, M. Harding, that may do what you[3] list, and never come to answer before the day of our Lord.

Sozom. Lib. i. cap. xvii.

M. Harding, 389. b.[4] [Detect.]

M. Harding. "Pope Liberius, you say, made his humble appearance before Constantius. It is true. But Liberius' dealing with the emperor Constantius was such as became a bishop of the apostolic see." "For in that cause he would neither be overborne by the authority of the emperor, nor yield unto his wickedness against Athanasius for a long time" (yet at length he yielded, and subscribed too, 'as it became a bishop of the apostolic see'), "much less acknowledge him for his superior, or judge." (And yet pope Gregory, that followed long after pope Liberius, called the emperor his lord and master: *Ego sum vester servus, [O imperator]: ... ego ... [sum vestræ] jussioni subjectus: ... imperatori obedientiam præbui*[5]: These be his words.) "As for pope Sixtus, it is certain he made his purgation before the emperor Valentinian. But he did it of humility, &c. The emperor of himself had no power to summon the pope to his judgment-seat, nor any jurisdiction to force him to make his purgation before his majesty. He gave him licence to hear his purgation concerning Leo the III. and Leo the IV.: their case is like, &c. And therefore we say the emperor was not their judge nor[6] superior by any princely authority, but by these popes' permission and appointment." *The answer.* O what a blessed thing it is to be a pope! Be he never so wicked, yet, if he be also stout and wilful, and refuse judgment, then may he not be judged by any creature under heaven, neither by king, nor by emperor, nor by the church, nor by the whole people of God[7]: for so it is enacted by pope Innocentius himself. Kings and emperors live under laws; but the pope's prerogative is, to do what him listeth, without controlment, or fear of laws. And so is it true that Ennodius saith, *Successores Petri, una cum sedis privilegiis, peccandi quoque licentiam accepisse*[8]; "That the successors of Peter, together with the privileges of their see, have also gotten free liberty to do ill." ☞

Gregor. Lib. iii. Epist. 61.

ix. Quæst. 3. Nemo.

Ennodius. Concil. Tom. i.

☞ Dist. 63. In Synod. in Gloss. ☜

Your own gloss saith: *Papa potest dare potestatem imperatori ut deponat ipsum, et sese in omnibus illi subjicere*[9]: "The pope may give the emperor power to depose himself; and may in all things submit himself unto him." Now, M. Harding, if the pope may give the emperor this authority, what scripture find you to the contrary, why the emperor may not take it of himself[10]? To be

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[1 ... ἐμοὶ δὲ οὐ θεμιτὸν ἀνθρώπῳ ὄντι τοιαύτην εἰς ἑαυτὸν ἔλκειν ἀκροάσιν, ἱερέων κατηγορούντων καὶ κατηγορουμένων· ἥκιστα γὰρ χρὴ τοιούτους ἑαυτοὺς παρέχειν, ὡς παρ' ἑτέρου κρίνεσθαι.—Soz. in Hist. Eccles. Script. Amst. 1695-1700. Lib. I. cap. xvii. p. 351. Conf. Hist. Eccles. Par. Lib. x. cap. ii. fol. 105. 2.]

[2 Ibid.]

[3 Ye, 1570.]

[4 This reference is inserted from 1570.]

[5 Gregor. Magni Papæ I. Op. Par. 1705. Epist. Lib. III. Indict. XI. Ad Mauric. August. Epist. lxv. Tom. II. cols. 676, 7; where *ego indignus famulus vester.*]

[6 No, 1570.]

[7 Innoc. Papa in Corp. Jur. Canon. Lugd. 1624. Decret. Gratian. Decr. Sec. Pars, Caus. IX. Quæst. iii. can. 13. col. 877. See Vol. I. page 68, note 8.]

[8 Ennod. Op. Par. 1611. Lib. Apolog. pro Synod. p. 324. See before, page 834, note 7.]

[9 Sed nunquid papa posset ei potestatem dare, ut deponeret ipsum? sic in hæresi. et de consensu cardinalium: imo in omnibus se potest subjicere ei. —Corp. Jur. Canon. Decret. Gratian. Decr. Prim. Pars, Dist. lxiii. Gloss. in can. 23. col. 323.]

[10 This sentence is not in 1567.]

short, Franciscus Zabarella[11] saith: *Papa accusari potest coram imperatore de quolibet crimine notorio; et imperator requirere potest a papa rationem fidei*[12]: "The pope may be accused[13] before the emperor of any notorious crime; and the emperor may require the pope to yield an account of his faith." A Bishop conventued before the Magistrate.

Addition. ☞ M. Harding. "Zabarella saith not, as you report, *Papa potest accusari coram imperatore, &c.* These words, *coram imperatore,* are of your own interlacing, and be not in the author. You ought to be ashamed so foully to corrupt your authors, and deceive the people. Again, Zabarella saith not, *Imperator requirere potest a papa rationem fidei.* They are your words, M. Jewel. That which Zabarella saith is this: *Si papa erit suspectus de hæresi, potest imperator ab eo exigere, ut judicet quid sentiat de fide*[12]. Now, sir, to require a man to yield an account of his faith, and to require him to declare what he thinketh touching the faith, are two divers things." *The answer.* "You ought to be ashamed," you say: verily, and so I am; and so ought I to be in your behalf, M. Harding, to see your vanity. These words, *coram imperatore,* are not interlaced by me: you may easily find them in the author. Wherein I will use no other proof but only the very same words that you yourself have alleged. These they be: *Nec quenquam moveat, quod imperator est laicus, ut ex hoc putet* [*esse*] *inconveniens, quod se intromittat de clericis. Non enim semper prohibetur judicare de clericis; sed tunc prohibetur, quando non subest ratio specialis*[14]: "Let no man be moved for that the emperor is a layman, to think it therefore a thing unconvenient that he should intermeddle with priests' causes. For he is not always forbidden to judge of priests; but then is he forbidden, when there is no special cause."

Francis. Zabarel.[11] de Schism. et Concil. Addition. ☞ M. Harding, 391. b. [Detect.]

M. Harding, 392. [Detect.]

You see therefore, M. Harding, that upon some cause him specially moving the emperor may lawfully judge in ecclesiastical matters. Again you say: "Zabarella saith not, *Imperator requirere potest a papa rationem fidei;* but thus he saith: *Imperator exigere potest a papa, ut judicet quid sentiat de fide*[15]." Here have I put *requirere* instead of *exigere,* and *rationem fidei* instead of *quid sentiat de fide.* "To require a man to yield an account of his faith, and to require a man to declare what he thinketh touching the faith (say you), are two divers things." Is not here a wonderful difference, and a foul corruption of authors, M. Harding? Is not this a foul deceiving of the people? Are not these weighty and worthy matters to be proclaimed and published to the world? I marvel if you be not ashamed in your own behalf.

The words of Zabarella are plain: *Imperator exigere potest a papa, ut judicet quid sentiat de fide:* "The emperor may require the pope to shew him what he thinketh of the faith." That is to say, the emperor may require the pope to yield a reckoning of his faith. Where also it is to be noted, that the pope may be an heretic, or at least suspected of heresy: for thus saith Zabarella: *Si papa erit suspectus de hæresi.* Cry out therefore, M. Harding, no more of deceiving the people: for, as it appeareth, the pope himself may be an heretic, and a deceiver of the people. ☞ ☞

Now therefore, M. Harding, I report me to your own indifferent judgment, how true it is that ye say, "It is not convenient for a king to call priests before him to his own seat of judgment." Verily, this note ye might have found glossed in your own decretals: *Quæritur, quis exemit clericum de jurisdictione imperatoris, cum prius esset illi subjectus? Dicit Laurentius, quod papa de consensu principis*[16]: "A question is moved, Who hath exempted a priest from the jurisdiction of the emperor, whereas before he was subject to the emperor's court? Laurence saith, The pope hath exempted him by the consent of the prince." Ye see therefore, M. Harding, your priests, abbats, and bishops, have their privileges and exemptions, not by any right of God's word, but only by the pope's policy, and by the special favour of the prince.

Extr. de Major. et Obed. cap. 2. in Marg.

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[11] Zarabella, 1567.]

[12] ... si papa est de hæresi suspectus, potest [imperator] ab eo exigere ut indicet, quid &c.—Francis de Zabarell. De Schism. Pont. in Auth. Var. de Jurisd. Autor. et Præem. Imper. a Schard. Basil. 1566. p. 691. The words *coram imperatore* do not appear here, but the jurisdiction of the emperor is fully to be inferred. Conf. pp. 692, 7.]

[13] Accursed, 1570.]

[14] Nec quempiam moveat &c.—Ibid. p. 692.]

[15] See above, note 12.]

[16] Decretal. Gregor. IX. Lugd. 1572. Lib. I. Tit. xxxiii. Not. in cap. 2. col. 392. In the later editions this note does not appear.]

THE APOLOGY, Chap. ix. Division 3.

They will say to this, I guess, Civil princes have learned to govern a commonwealth, and to order matters of war; but they understand not the secret mysteries of religion. If that be so, what is the pope, I pray you, at this day other than a monarch or a prince? Or, what be the cardinals, who must be none other[1] now but princes' and kings' sons? What else be the patriarchs, and, for the most part, the archbishops, the bishops, the abbats? What be they else at this present in the pope's kingdom but worldly princes, dukes[2] and earls, gorgeously accompanied with bands of men whithersoever they go; oftentimes also gaily arrayed with chains and collars[3] of gold? They have at times, too, certain ornaments by themselves, as crosses, hats[4], mitres, and palls; which pomp the ancient bishops, Chrysostom, Augustine, and Ambrose, never had. Setting these things aside, what teach they? what say they? what do they? how live they—I say not, as may become a catholic bishop[5], but, as may become a[6] christian man? Is it so great a matter to have a vain title, and by changing a garment only to have the name of a bishop?

M. HARDING.

The duty of civil princes consisteth in civil matters; the duty of bishops, in spiritual things: that serveth to the preservation of men's persons; this, to the salvation of their souls. "Every high priest," saith St Paul, "that is taken from among men, is ordained for men in things appertaining to God." [7] *Hebr. v.*

[a] Untruth, manifest. For we move no prince to take upon him the [8] bishop's office.

[a] Ye move temporal princes to take upon them the office of the pope and bishops, as though it were a thing so indifferent, and so common, that, when bishops be negligent, temporal men may do their stead. But the reason which to this end ye make is so slender, as (I ween) few princes that fear God will be greatly moved to adventure that thing so much subject and thrall to God's revenge. [b] Untruth. For this is our reason: a temporal prince, say you, may not meddle in ecclesiastical causes; but the pope, say we, is nothing else but a temporal prince; *ergo*, by your judgment the pope may not meddle in ecclesiastical causes.

[b] In effect your reason is this, consider it who will: They of the clergy be no other but civil princes; ergo, *temporal princes may bear the office of bishops. Sir, both your argument is naught, and your antecedent is false. For, although bishops had but a title and the name of bishops "by changing a garment only," as you say, yet that defect in them should not give ability to the mere lay, as to kings and queens, to do the office of bishops. Now is your antecedent manifestly false; for the bishops of the catholic church, which in scoff ye call the pope's kingdom, be duly ordinated and consecrated.*

Though the pope have a princely dominion, and some other bishops of Christendom have dukedoms and earldoms, though they ride well accompanied with men and horse, yea, though some of them, otherwise than becometh that vocation, do wear chains and collars of gold, [c] *as you belie them, though they have other ornaments to their states pertaining, which grieveth you much in comparison of the* [d] *beggary of your married estate; yet all this imbarreth them not but that they be bishops....*

[c] Untruth. Read the answer.

[d] O glorious Thraso! Then was the apostles' state much more beggarly.

Though they teach not, though they say not, though they do not, though they live not as becometh bishops, neither as becometh even a christian man, [e] *as you rail; all this notwithstanding, yet be they bishops, though evil bishops. Neither for all this may it be lawful for laymen to take their office upon them.* [f] *Judas was an apostle, till the rope choked him. Neither for his wickedness might Stephen, Matthias, or any other of the disciples, of his own presumption, have stepped into his room. Now, as this is true, so is your railing talk false, which malice hath stirred you to utter....*

[e] This railing is not ours, but St Bernard's.

[f] The pope by M. Harding compared with Judas.

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[1] No nother, Conf.]

[2] Worlikely princes but dukes, Conf.; worldly princes but dukes, Def. 1567.]

[3] Colours, Conf.]

[4] Crosses, pillars, hats, Conf. and Def. 1567; crosses, palls, hats, Def. 1570.]

[5] A bishop, Conf. and Def. 1567.]

[6] Become even a, Conf.]

[7] This reference is inserted from Conf. and Def. 1567, 1570.]

[8] A, 1567.]

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

Bishops entangled in worldly affairs.

Once again we tell you, M. Harding, we confound not these offices; notwithstanding you so often and so lewdly report us, to your own discredit. Our princes never took upon them the office of bishops; but your bishops have taken upon them the office of princes. Of your bishops it is written in your own councils: *Ecce, tam pene nulla est actio seculi, quam non sacerdotes administrent*[9]: "Behold, there is now in a manner no worldly affair but priests and bishops have it in hand." Such bishops be they of whom St Chrysostom writeth thus: *Qui non credunt judicium Dei nec timent, abutentes primatu suo ecclesiastico seculariter, convertunt eum in secularem*[10]: "They, that neither believe nor fear the judgment of God, abusing their ecclesiastical dignity in secular sort, turn the same into secular dignity." Such bishops they be of whom St Hierome saith thus: *Ipsi sibi et laici sunt et episcopi*[11]: "They themselves be to themselves both laymen and bishops too." And again: *Adorant Dominum et Melchom, qui seculo pariter et Domino putant se posse servire, et duobus Dominis satisfacere, Deo et mammonæ; qui militantes Christo obligant se[se] negotiis secularibus, et eandem imaginem offerunt [et] Deo et Cæsari*[12]: "They worship the Lord and Melchom both together, thinking that they may serve both the world and the Lord, and satisfy two masters at once, God and mammon; who, fighting under Christ, bind themselves to worldly affairs, and offer up one image both to God and to Cæsar."

Concil. Macren. Citat. ab Illy. inter Test. Verit. p. 121.

Chrysost. in Matt. Hom. 35.

Hieron. contr. Lucif.

Hieron. in Soph. cap. i.

And therefore cardinal Cusanus saith: *Maxima ex hac re deformitas oritur, quod prælati tantum secularibus curis invigilant:* "Hereof groweth a great deformity, that bishops are bent only to worldly cares." Mark well these words, M. Harding: he saith, "Your bishops are bent only to worldly cares[13]."

If ye will believe none of these, yet your pope's own legates, in your late chapter at Trident, speaking of your priest-like apparel, say thus: *Nihil a laicis, præterquam in vestis genere, ac ne in hoc quidem differunt*[14]: "Our priests differ nothing from laymen, saving only in apparel; nay, indeed, they differ not so much from them as in apparel."

Concil. Trid. Sub Paulo III. Admonitio Legatorum.

Ye say your bishops are gay and gallant, attended and guarded with prince-like routes, both behind and before. And therefore[15] ye make no small account, specially in respect of our estate, which you call beggarly. In such disdain the heathens sometime said, "That Christ was the beggarliest and poorest of all the gods that were in heaven[16]." Howbeit, our bishopricks, saving that certain of your fathers have shamefully spoiled them, are now even as they were before. Certainly the poorest bishoprick in England, as it is reported, is better in revenues than some three of your pope's Italian bishopricks in the kingdom of Naples. Howbeit, the gospel of Christ standeth not by riches, but by truth: in comparison of the one, we make small reckoning of the other.

Aventin. Lib. iii. de Rupert. Christum omnium Deorum esse pauperrimum.

Nevertheless, the wise and godly have evermore found fault with the ecclesiastical bravery of your Roman clergy. St Bernard saith: *Inde est quem quotidie vides meretriceus nitor, histrionicus habitus, regius apparatus. Inde aurum in frenis, in sellis, in calcaribus*[17]: "Therehence cometh their whore-like fineness, their players' weed, their princely apparel. Therehence cometh their gold in their bridles, in their saddles, and in their spurs." Again he saith: *Incedunt nitidi et ornati, circumamicti varietatibus, tanquam sponsa procedens de thalamo suo. Nonne si quempiam talium... eminus procedentem aspexeris, sponsam potius*

Bernard. in Cant. Serm. 33. Holc. in Sap. Lect. 23.

Bernard. in Cant. Serm. 77.

[9 Synod. Macrens. in Catalog. Test. Franc. 1672. N. 110. p. 164; where *seculi actio*.]

[10 Quis enim sapiens ultro se subjicere festinat servituti...nisi forte qui nec credit judicium Dei, nec timet uti abutens primatu suo ecclesiastico seculariter, convertat eum in secularem?—Chrysost. Op. Par. 1718-38. Op. Imperf. in Matt. Hom. xxxv. ex cap. xx. Tom. VI. p. cliii.]

[11 Hieron. Op. Par. 1693-1706. Adv. Lucifer. Tom. IV. Pars II. col. 302.]

[12 Id. Comm. in Soph. Proph. cap. i. Tom. III. col. 1647.]

[13 This paragraph is not in 1567.]

[14 Legat. Admon. in Concil. Trident. Sess. I. in Concil. Stud. Labb. et Cossart. Lut. Par. 1671-2. Tom. XIV. col. 737.]

[15 Thereof, 1567, 1609.]

[16 Aventin. Annal. Boior. Libr. Ingolst. 1554. Lib. III. p. 263.]

[17 Bernard. Op. Par. 1690. In Cantic. Serm. xxxiii. 15. Vol. I. Tom. IV. col. 1393; where *inde is quem*, and *sellis et calcaribus*. Conf. Holkoth. in Lib. Sapient. 1586. In cap. ii. Lect. xxiv. p. 87.]

Ecclesiastical bravery in apparel.

putabis, quam sponsæ custodem?[1] "They go trimly and finely in their colours as if a spouse should come from her chamber. If thou shouldest suddenly see one of them jetting afar off, wouldest thou not rather think it were a spouse, than the keeper of the spouse?"

Laurentius Valla, although bitterly, yet not unpleasantly, thus expresseth your lordly bravery: *Existimo, si qua inter dæmones qui aerem incolunt ludorum genera exercentur, eos exprimendo clericorum cultu, fastu, luxu, exerceri, et hoc scenici lusus genere maxime delectari*[2]: "I think, if the devils in the air have any games among them to make sport withal, they are most busily occupied in counterfeiting the apparel, and attire, and pride, and riot of priests, and have greatest pastime in this kind of of maskery[3]."

Laur. Vall. de Don. Const.

Paralip. Ursperg.

Pope Bonifacius VIII. in a great jubilee, and in a solemn procession, went apparelled in the emperor's robes, and had the crown imperial on[4] his head, and the sword of majesty borne before him, as an emperor[5].

Bernard. de Consid. ad Eugen. Lib. iv.

This spiritual jollity, M. Harding, liketh you well. Notwithstanding, St Bernard saith: *Dæmonum magis quam ovium [sunt] hæc pascua. Scilicet, sic factitabat Petrus; sic Paulus ludebat*[6]: "These be pastures[7] for devils, not for sheep. No doubt even thus did Peter; even such pastime played St Paul."

Ye tell us further: "Though they teach not, though they say not, though they do not, though they live not as becometh bishops, nor as becometh a christian man, yet be they bishops notwithstanding." Hereat we will not greatly strive. For so the wolf, if he once get a sheep-hook and a cloak, may be a shepherd; and a blind man, if he get once into the watch-tower, may be a spy. But miserable are the poor sheep that so are fed; miserable is that poor castle that so is watched.

viii. Quæst. 1. Qui Episc. August.

St Augustine saith: *Episcopatus . . . est nomen operis, non honoris; . . . ut intelligat [se] non esse episcopum, qui præesse dilexerit, non prodesse*[8]: "A bishop's office is a name of labour, and not of honour; that whoso loveth to rule, and not to profit, may understand himself to be no bishop." Again he saith of such a one: *Canis impudicus dicendus est magis quam episcopus*[9]: "He ought rather to be called a shameless dog than a bishop."

ii. Quæst. 7. Qui nec. August.

August. contr. Donat. Lib. vi.

As for that ye say, your bishops "be duly ordinated and consecrated," St Augustine replieth: *Ipsum characterem multi et lupi et lupis imprimunt*[10]: "Touching the outward consecration of a bishop, many give it to wolves, and be wolves themselves."

Bernard. de Consid. ad Eugen. Lib. iii.

St Bernard, speaking of your priests and bishops, saith: *Habitu milites, quæstu clericos, actu neutros exhibent: nam neque ut milites pugnant; neque ut clerici evangelizant. Cujus [ergo] ordinis sunt? Cum utriusque esse cupiunt, utrunque deserunt, utrunque confundunt. Unusquisque, inquit, in suo ordine resurget. In quo isti? An qui sine ordine peccaverunt, sine ordine peribunt? . . . Vereor, . . . non alibi ordinandos*[11], *quam ubi nullus ordo, sed sempiternus horror inhabitat*[12]: "In their apparel they are soldiers; in their gains they are priests and bishops; but in effect and in deed they are neither of both. For neither do they fight in the field, as do soldiers; nor do they preach, as priests and bishops. Of whether order therefore be they? Whereas they would be of both orders, they forsake both, and confound both. St Paul saith, 'Every man shall rise again in his own order.' But in what order shall these rise? Whether, forasmuch as they have sinned without order, shall they perish without order? I fear me they shall be

1 Cor. xv.

[1 Id. ibid. Serm. lxxvii. 1. col. 1538.]

[2 Laur. Vall. Op. Basil. 1540. In Don. Constant. Declam. p. 781; where *existimem.*]

[3 This paragraph is not in 1567.]

[4 One, 1611.]

[5 Rer. Mem. Paraleip. ad calc. Chronic. Abbat. Ursperg. Argent. 1537. pp. 365, 6.]

[6 Bernard. Op. Par. 1690. De Consid. Lib. iv. cap. ii. 5. Vol. I. Tom. ii. col. 437; where *ovium pascua hæc.*]

[7 Pastours, 1567, 1570.]

[8 August. in Corp. Jur. Canon. Lugd. 1624. Decret. Gratian. Decr. Sec. Pars, Caus. viii. Quæst. i. can. 11. col. 853; where *nomen est.* Conf. Op. Par. 1679-1700. De Civ. Dei, Lib. xix. cap. xix. Tom. VII. col. 563.]

[9 Id. ibid. Caus. ii. Quæst. vii. can. 32. col. 698.]

[10 Id. de Baptism. contr. Donatist. Lib. vi. cap. i. 1. Op. Tom. IX. col. 161; where *lupis infigunt.* It is not "the outward consecration of a bishop" that Augustine is here speaking of.]

[11 Ordinandus, 1570, 1609, 1611.]

[12 Bernard. Op. De Consid. Lib. iii. cap. v. 20. Vol. I. Tom. ii. cols. 434, 5, 6; where *actu neutrum exhibent. Nam neque pugnant ut milites,* and *isti in quo.*]

ordered none otherwhere but where as is no order, but disorder, and horror everlasting."

Supreme Head.

Thus plainly speak your own doctors touching your clergy; which plainness it pleaseth you, M. Harding, to call false and malicious railing.

Supreme Governor.

THE APOLOGY, Chap. x. Division 1.

Surely to have the principal stay and effect of all matters committed wholly to these men's hands, who neither know nor will know these things, nor yet set a jot by any point of religion save that which concerneth[13] their belly and riot; and to have them alone sit as judges, and to be set up as overseers in the watch-tower, being no better than blind spies; of the other side, to have a christian prince, of good understanding and of a right judgment, to stand still like a block or a stake, not to be suffered neither[14] to give his voice, nor to shew his judgment, but only to wait what these men shall will and command, as one which had neither ears, nor eyes, nor wit, nor heart, and, whatsoever they give in charge, to allow it without exception, blindly fulfilling their commandments, be they never so blasphemous and wicked, yea, although they command him quite to destroy all religion, and to crucify again Christ himself—this surely, besides that it is proud and spiteful, is also beyond all right and reason, and not to be endured of christian and wise princes. For[15] why, I pray you, may Caiaphas and Annas understand these matters, and may not David and Ezechias do the same? Is it lawful for a cardinal, being a man of war, and delighting[16] in blood, to have place in a council? And is it[17] not lawful for a christian emperor or a king?

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

Hereto M. Harding saith nothing but that he hath oftentimes said before.

THE APOLOGY, Chap. xi. Division 1.

Verily we grant[18] no further liberty to our magistrates than that we know hath both been given them by the word of God, and also been confirmed[19] by the examples of the very best governed commonwealths.

M. HARDING.

If a man should ask you where that word of God is that maketh a temporal prince supreme head of that part of the church which he hath government of in all civil matters, I am sure you can bring forth [a]*no other word of God than that wherein St Peter and St Paul willeth all men to obey the superior powers, especially kings: which thing was written to all christian men, whiles they lived under heathen princes and infidels, as Claudius Cæsar and Nero were, whom (I suppose) ye will not say to have been heads of the whole church, as they were monarchs and princes of the whole world. If, then, by those scriptures which cannot prove Nero (being a* [b]*persecutor*[21] *of Christ's church) to have been head of the same, you will now prove that other princes are supreme heads of the church; it seemeth that either you make Nero head of*

1 *Pet. ii.*[20] *Rom. xiii.*[20]

[a] Untruth. For we allege many other places besides, as it may soon appear.

[b] Then cannot the pope be head of the church; for he hath persecuted the church as[22] Nero.

[13] Concerns, Conf.]
[14] Nother, Conf.]
[15] *For* is not in Conf.]
[16] Delightius, Conf.]
[17] It is, Def. 1570.]
[18] We truly grant, Conf.]
[19] Also confirmed, Conf. and Def. 1567.]
[20] These references are inserted from Conf. and Def. 1567, 1570.]
[21] Being persecutor, Conf.]
[22] Church as much as, 1567, 1570.]

Supreme Head. Supreme Governor.

the church with them, or give more unto them than the word of God will bear. And as for examples of good common-weals, shew us but one since Christ's ascension, wherein before Luther's time any emperor christian or other prince did attribute that title unto himself; and we will say that, when you speak of common-weals in the plural number, you make but one lie; but, in case you shew us no one common-weal that hath so done, then you lie in the plural number. Yea further, if at this day the common-weals in Christendom, not only that are catholic, but the best also of those that are Lutherish[1] *and new-fangled, do abhor from that strange and unheard title of* [c] *supreme head of the church, why do you say that ye have either word of God for it, or example of approved common-weals?*

[c] Much ado about nothing. For our prince hath not this title. But queen Mary had and used the same title of supreme head, as many ways it may be proved.

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

Concerning the title of "supreme head of the church," we need not to search for scripture[2] to excuse it. For first, we devised it not: secondly, we use it not: thirdly, our princes at this present claim it not. Your fathers, M. Harding, first intituled that most noble and most worthy prince, king Henry the eighth, with that unused and strange style, as it may well be thought, the rather to bring him into the talk and slander of the world.

Howbeit, that the prince is the highest judge and governor over all his subjects whatsoever, as well priests[3] as laymen, without exception, it is most evident by that hath been already said, by that shall be said hereafter, by the whole course of the scriptures, and by the undoubted practice of the primitive church. Verily the prince, as it shall afterward better appear, had both the tables of the law of God evermore committed to his charge; as well the first, that pertaineth to religion, as also the second, that pertaineth to civil government.

But now, M. Harding, if a man would ask you by what word of God your priests and bishops have exempted themselves from the judgment and government of their princes; or by what word of God the prince's hand is restrained more from his clergy than from other his subjects; or by what word of God ye would stablish two supreme governors in one realm, I marvel in what scriptures ye would seek to find it. Your own doctors and glossers say, as it is before alleged: *Quæritur, quis exemit clericum de jurisdictione imperatoris, cum prius esset illi subjectus? Dicit Laurentius, quod papa de consensu principis*[4]: "Question is moved, who hath exempted the priest from the jurisdiction of the emperor, whereas before he was his subject? Laurentius saith (not the word of God, but) the pope exempted him by the consent of the prince."

Extr. de Major. et Obed. cap. 2. in Marg.

Further, M. Harding, we beseech you, by what word of God can your pope claim himself to be the head of the universal church of God? Where is it recorded? Where is it written? In what part of the testament, new or old? In what law? In what prophet? In what epistle? In what gospel? Where is his headship? Where is his universal power? If ye can find it, then may ye shew it; if it cannot be found, then should ye not say it. As for that you and other your fellows have alleged before for proof hereof, it is so childish and so weak, that I think ye cannot now come again with the same without blushing.

Touching the right that we say belongeth unto all christian princes, it hath been invested and planted in them from the beginning. For, to leave other authorities of the scriptures, pope Eleutherius himself wrote thus unto Lucius, sometime king of this realm of England: *Vos estis vicarius Dei in regno, juxta prophetam regium*[5]: "You are God's vicar within your own realm, according to the prophet David."

Epist. Eleuth. Citat. inter Leg. Edw. Prim.

Paul the bishop of Apamea writeth thus unto the emperor Justinian, in a cause mere ecclesiastical, touching religion: *Transtulit ipsum Dominus, ut plenitudinem directionis vestræ custodiret serenitati*[6]: "Our Lord hath taken pope Agapetus away,

Quint Synod. Act. 1. Pilssim.

[1 That Lutherish, Def. 1570.]
[2 Scriptures, 1567, 1570.]
[3 Priest, 1611.]
[4 See before, page 969, note 16.]
[5 Vicarius vero Dei estis in &c. prophetam regem.—Eluth. Epist. ad Luc. ap. Leg. Edovard. 17. in Wilkins, Leg. Anglo-Sax. &c. Lond. 1721. p. 201.]
[6 Libell. Episc. ad Imp. Justin. in Concil. Constant. sub Menna, Act. v. in Concil. Stud. Labb. et Cossart. Lut. Par. 1671-2. Tom. V. col. 105.]

that he might leave the fulness of order (concerning these heretics Dioscorus and Eutyches) unto your majesty."

Supreme Head. Supreme Governor.

Tertullian saith: *Colimus... imperatorem, ... ut hominem a Deo secundum, ... solo Deo minorem*[6]: "We worship the emperor as a man next unto God, and inferior only unto God."

Tertull. ad Scapul.

And, notwithstanding the name of head of the church belong peculiarly and only unto Christ, as his only right and inheritance (for, as the church is the body, so Christ is the head); yet may the same sometimes also be applied in sober meaning and good sense, not only unto princes, but also unto others far inferior unto princes. Chrysostom saith: *Videntur mihi istæ mulieres caput fuisse ecclesiæ quæ illic erat*[7]: "It seemeth unto me that these women were the head of the church that was at Philippi." Likewise again, speaking of the emperor, he saith thus: *Læsus est qui non habet parem ullum super terram, ... summitas et caput omnium super terram hominum*[8]: "We have offended him that in the earth hath no peer, the top and the head of all men in the world." If he were the head of all men, then was he the head, not only of bishops and cardinals, but also of the pope himself, unless the pope were no man.

Chrysost. in Epist. ad Phil. Hom. 13. A woman head of the church. Chrysost. ad Pop. Ant. Hom. 2.

To conclude, our princes need no more to claim their lawful authority and imperial right by the example of Nero, whereof ye have moved much untimely and wanton talk, than your pope needeth to claim his usurped and coloured power by the examples of Annas and Caiaphas.

The Apology, Chap. xi. Division 2.

For, besides that a christian prince hath the charge of both tables committed to him by God, to the end he may understand that not temporal matters only, but also religious and ecclesiastical causes, pertain to his office, &c.[9]

M. HARDING.

You will prove that ecclesiastical causes pertain to a king's office, because he hath the charge of both tables. If you mean that a king is bound to keep both tables of the law, so is also every private man. And yet, as no private man is supreme head of the church by keeping them, so neither the king is proved thereby the [a]*supreme head. If you mean that the king ought to see others to keep both tables of the law, that may he do either in appointing temporal pains for the transgressors of them, or in executing the said pains upon the transgressors. But, as he cannot excommunicate any man for not appearing when he is called, so can he not judge all causes of law*[10]*. For, if a man sin only in his heart, as for example, in murder, or advoutry, the king cannot have to do with him; and yet the true supreme head of the church shall have to do with him. For that malicious and sinful thought* [b]*shall never be forgiven, except the party come to be absolved of their successors, to whom Christ said, "Whose sins ye forgive, they are forgiven; and, whose sins ye retain, they are retained." To commit murder in heart is a sin, and it is retained until it be forgiven.* [c]*Neither can it be forgiven, until he that is judge, by the key of discretion, perceive that it is to be forgiven; which he cannot know until it be confessed with a contrite heart by him who only knoweth it, and is bound to tell it for absolution's sake. If, then, there be a judge who can see the law kept in an higher point, and beyond the reach of a king*[11]*, surely the king shall not be supreme head, sith another is more like to God than he; as who is judge of the inward conscience, whereunto no king reacheth, but* only the minister of Christ, who is the spiritual king*, and hath given the keys of his kingdom to his minister.*

John xx.

Matt. xvi.

[a] A grave disputer. Ye conclude against that that is not avouched.

[b] Untruth, fond and manifest, and leading directly to desperation.

[c] Untruth, joined with blasphemy. Read the answer.

* A fond folly. For this key is given no more to the pope than to any other simple priest.

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[6] Tertull. Op. Lut. 1641. Ad Scap. ii. p. 86.]

[7] Chrysost. Op. Par. 1718-38. In Epist. ad Philip. cap. iv. Hom. xiii. Tom. XI. p. 301.]

[8] Id. ad Pop. Ant. Hom. ii. Tom. II. p. 23.]

[9] Conf. has not *&c.*]

[10] Of the law, Conf. and Def. 1567, 1570, 1609.]

[11] Of the king, Conf. and Def. 1567, 1570, 1609.]

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

Supreme Head. Supreme Governor.

Here, M. Harding, ye rove and wander without a mark, and reply to that that was not spoken. I marvel whereof you[1] can spin yourself such idle talk. For we neither call our princes the heads of the church of Christ (it was your fathers' invention, and not ours), nor say we they have power either to excommunicate, or to bind, or to loose; nor have we leisure to make such vain conclusions.

Thus we say, the prince is put in trust, as well with the first as with the second table of the law of God, that is to say, as well with religion as[2] with temporal government; not only to keep and perform the contents of both tables in his own person (for so much every private man is bound to do), but also to see that all others his subjects, as well priests as laymen, each man in his calling, do duly keep them. This is it that no private man is able to do. Therefore St Augustine saith: *In hoc ... serviunt Domino reges, in quantum sunt reges, cum ea faciunt ad serviendum illi, quæ non possunt facere nisi reges*[3]: "Herein kings serve the Lord, in that they be kings, when they do those things to serve him that no man can do but only kings." We say not the prince is bound to do the bishop's duty. And therefore it is the greater folly of your part, M. Harding, to object it so often. Wise men use not so to adventure their words in vain. But thus we say, The prince is bound to see the bishops to do their duties.

August. in Epist. 50. ad Bonif.

But what meant you, so far out of season, to talk so fondly of your privy confession[4], of binding and loosing, and power of keys? For, as it is said before, we say not that princes may either bind or loose, or minister sacraments, or preach the gospel, or sit down and hear confessions. Therefore, with all this great ado, ye foin only at your own shadow, and hit nothing.

Ye say full discreetly, "If a man sin only in his heart, the king cannot have to do with him, for that he cannot enter to know his secrets." Here, I beseech you, M. Harding, what entrance then[5] hath the pope to know the secrets of the heart? Perhaps ye will say, the pope may know all the world by confession. But St Augustine saith: *Quid mihi ... est cum hominibus, ut audiant confessiones meas, &c.? Unde sciunt, cum a me ipso de me ipso audiunt, an verum dicam? quandoquidem nemo scit hominum quid agatur in homine, nisi spiritus hominis qui in ipso est*[6]: "What have I to do with these men that they should hear my confessions, &c.? How know they, when they hear me report of myself[7], whether I say true or no? For no man knoweth that is in man, but the spirit of man that is within him." Again, he saith unto the people: *Intrantes vos, et exeuntes possumus videre. Usque adeo autem non videmus, quid cogitetis in cordibus vestris, ut neque quid agatis in domibus vestris videre possimus*[8]: "We may see you coming in and going forth; but we are so far from seeing the thoughts of your hearts, that we cannot see what you do at home in your houses." Likewise again he saith: *Quid singulorum quorunque modo conscientiæ dixerint, ad aures meas, quia homo sum, pervenire non potuit. Ille, qui absens est præsentia corporis, sed præsens est vigore majestatis, audivit vos*[9]: "What every of your consciences hath said, it could not enter into my ears, for that I am but a mortal man. Notwithstanding, Christ that is absent, as touching the presence of his body, but present by the power of his majesty, hath heard you well." It is not the pope, but God only, "that trieth the reins and searcheth the heart."

August. Conf. Lib. x. cap. iii.

August in Psal. cxxvi.

August. in Psal. cxxvii.

Yet ye say, "the true supreme head of the church shall have to do with him that sinneth only secretly in his heart; for that malicious and sinful thought (you say[10]) shall never be forgiven, except the party come to be absolved of their successors, to whom Christ said, 'Whose sins ye forgive, &c.'" This, M. Harding, is the supreme folly of all other[11] follies. For first, where ever heard you that the pope would once vouchsafe to hear confessions? and, if he

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[1] Ye, 1567, 1570, 1609.]
[2] And, 1567.]
[3] August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. Lib. ad Bonif. seu Epist. clxxxv. cap. v. 19. Tom. II. col. 651.]
[4] Confessions, 1567, 1570.]
[5] *Then* is not in 1567.]
[6] Id. Confess. Lib. x. cap. iii. 3. Tom. I. col. 171.]
[7] Meself, 1567, 1570.]
[8] Id. in Psalm. cxxvi. Enarr. 3. Tom. IV. col. 1429.]
[9] Id. in Psalm. cxxvii. Enarr. 8. col. 1440.]
[10] Say you, 1567, 1570.]
[11] Others, 1567, 1570.]

would, yet, by your own doctors' judgment, the pope hath no more power to bind and to loose than any other poor simple priest. As I have shewed you before, Alphonsus de Castro saith: *Quando absolvit simplex sacerdos, tantum absolvit de culpa, sicut papa*[12]: "When a simple priest absolveth, he absolveth as much touching the fault as if it were the pope himself." Origen saith: *Quæ sequuntur, velut ad Petrum dicta, sunt omnium communia, &c. Quod si nos idem loquimur, quod Petrus loquutus est, ... efficimur Petrus*[13]: "The words that follow, as spoken unto Peter, are common unto all. If we speak the same that Peter spake, then are we made Peter." Even in the pope's own gloss upon his decretals it is noted thus: *In necessitate laicus potest et audire confessiones et absolvere*[14]: "In case of necessity a layman may both hear confessions and also give absolutions[15]." Yet will ye not say that every layman is Peter's successor.

Supreme Head. Supreme Governor.

Alphons. de Hær. Lib. ii. de Absolut. Orig. in Matt. Tract. 1.

Extr. de Offic. Judic. Ord. Past. In Gloss.

To what purpose then serveth all this your vain talk, M. Harding, "The true supreme head of the church shall have to do with him that sinneth only in his heart?" For every simple priest, having the key of God's word, entereth into the heart, and hath to do with the same as well, and as much, and as deeply[16] as the pope; and, in respect of being judge of the conscience, is above kings and princes, no less than he.

But where ye say, "The malicious and sinful thought shall never be forgiven, except the party come to be absolved of their successors, to whom Christ said, 'Whose sins ye forgive, &c.';" this doctrine is not only strange and false, but also full of desperation. Your own Gratian saith: *Latentia ... peccata non probantur necessario sacerdoti confitenda*[17]: "It is not proved (by any sufficient authority of[18] scriptures or of doctors) that secret sins are of necessity to be uttered in confession unto the priest." Again he saith: *Datur intelligi, quod etiam ore tacente veniam consequi possumus*[19]: "It is given us to understand that we may obtain pardon, although we utter nothing with our mouth." And again: *Non sacerdotali judicio, sed largitate divinæ gratiæ peccator emendatur*[20]: "The sinner is cleansed, not by the judgment of the priest, but by the abundance of God's grace." Again he saith: *Confessio sacerdoti offertur in signum veniæ .... non in causam remissionis accipiendæ*[21]: "Confession is made unto the priest in token of forgiveness already obtained, not as a cause of forgiveness to be obtained." Your very gloss saith: *Apud Græcos confessio non est necessaria; quia non emanavit ad illos traditio talis*[22]: "Among the Christians in Græcia confession of sins is not necessary; for that this tradition never came among them." Yet, M. Harding; I trow, ye will not say but their sins may be forgiven.

De Pœn. Dist. 1. Quis aliquando.

De Pœn. Dist. 1. Convertimini.

In eod. cap.

De Pœnit. Dist. 1. Omnis qui.

De Pœn. Dist. 5. In Pœn. in Glossa.

Certainly Chrysostom saith: *Solus te Deus confitentem videat*[23]: "Let God only see thee making the confession of thy sins."

Chrysost. de Conf. et Pœn.

It was very much therefore, M. Harding, for you so assuredly and so precisely to say, that sins can never be forgiven without your privy confession, and specially thereby to prove the universal headship of the pope.

The Apology, Chap. xi. Division 3.

Besides, also, that God by his prophets often and earnestly commandeth the king to cut down the groves, to break down the images and altars of idols, and to write out the book[24] of the law for himself

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[12] Alfons. de Castro adv. Hær. Col. 1539. Lib. II. Absol. 2. fol. 36.]

[13] Orig. Op. Par. 1733-59. Comm. in Matt. Tom. XII. 10, 11. Tom. III. pp. 523, 5. See before, page 711.]

[14] Corp. Jur. Canon. Decretal. Gregor. IX. Lib. I. Tit. xxxi. Gloss. in cap. 11. col. 408. See Vol. III. page 357, note 15.]

[15] Absolution, 1567, 1570.]

[16] The three preceding words are not in 1567.]

[17] Decret. Gratian. in cod. Decr. Sec. Pars, De Pœn. Dist. i. can. 87. col. 1713; where *sacerdoti necessario.*]

[18] Authority either of, 1567, 1570.]

[19] Ibid. can. 34. col. 1677.]

[20] Ibid.; where *emundatur.*]

[21] Ibid. can. 37. col. 1680.]

[22] ... necessaria est confessio ... apud nos, apud Græcos non: quia &c. apud illos &c.—Ibid. Dist. v. Gloss. in Rubr. col. 1801.]

[23] Chrysost. Op. Lat. Basil. 1547. De Pœn. et Confess. Serm. Tom. V. col. 905. See Vol. I. page 120, note 4; Vol. III. page 360, note 4.]

[24] Books, Conf.]

Supreme Head. Supreme Governor.

and besides that the prophet Esaias saith: "A king ought to be a patron and a nurse[1] of the church," &c.[2]"

M. HARDING.

Your second argument for the ecclesiastical power of kings is, because God bade them to cut down superstitious groves and overthrow idols; [a]*as though this were not an office of executing a commandment, rather than of decreeing any thing. The authority to discern an image of Christ from an idol of the devil belongeth to them who know that an image is a name of art, which is of God; an idol is a name of false worshipping, which is of the devil: so that an image is godly, an*[3] *idol devilish. When the priest hath judged this or that to be an idol, or when it is evident that so it is, then the king shall do well to break it down.* [b]*But, if the king will break down the image of Christ when the priest telleth him it is a godly representation, and no idol, then the king doth more than his office requireth, and shall not only not prove his supremacy, but also shall incur danger to be rejected of God, as king Saul was, when he despised to keep the commandment of Samuel the high priest.* 1 Sam. xxviii.

Whereas you allege for a king's ecclesiastical power, that he was commanded to write out the book of the law for himself, why left ye out that which followeth there immediately, Accipiens exemplar a sacerdotibus Leviticæ tribus? *"The king must write out a book of the Deuteronomy; but the example thereof he must receive of the priests that be of the tribe of Levi." If in spiritual matters the king were above the priests,* [c]*why had he not the keeping of the law in his own hands? Why must he take it of the priests? Why did not rather the priests come to him; sith the inferior taketh all his right of the superior? If the priests must give the holy scripture unto the king, then verily must he take such as they give him, and with such meaning as they give unto it. So that, if you had not* [d]*falsified the meaning of God's word by leaving out half the sentence, this place had proved against you. It is to be weighed, to what end a king is required to have and to read that holy book. Verily, not to take upon him the part of a judge in causes of religion; but, as there it is expressed, to the intent he learn to fear his Lord God, and keep his words and ceremonies in the law commanded, and that his heart be not lifted up into pride above his brethren, &c.** *I omit that you read,* librum legis, *whereas the church readeth* Deuteronomium: **it were too long to enter into that disputation. The book of the law signifieth the whole law; the Deuteronomy is but one of the five books.* Deut. xvii. Deut. xvii.

Where Esay calleth a king "a patron of the church," I have not found. But were it he called him so, it betokeneth that he should defend the church from worldly enemies, as in repelling the Turks, in expelling heretics, and such-like[4] *kingly acts: which proveth no spiritual supremacy, but under God a fealty and serviceable power. I find where Esay saith:* Et erunt reges nutricii tui et reginæ nutrices tuæ: *"Kings shall be thy fosterers; and queens thy nurses." But not every nurse or fosterer is above him who is nourished.* [e]*A faithful servant oftentimes fostereth the master; yet is he not above his master. Besides, St Hierome understandeth the kings whom Esay nameth*[5] *to be the apostles; according to which sense it maketh nothing to the purpose as*[6] *it is alleged for.* Cap. xlix.

[a] The king is the priest's executioner.

[b] O vanity of vanities! Aaron the bishop set up the golden calf, and cried unto the people, This is thy God! But Moses, the civil magistrate or prince, brake it down.

[c] Full discreetly. As though kings had not officers to keep their records.

[d] Untruth. For we have falsified no part hereof, as it shall appear.

[e] By this pretty conclusion, the king is the servant, and the priest is the master.

* Here M. Harding would fain say somewhat if he wist what it were. Read the answer.

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

All christian princes are much beholden to you, M. Harding: ye make them so like to Polyphemus the giant, after his eyes were stricken out, that is to say, to a man mighty in body, and great in bones, but stark blind, and no way able to guide himself. A king, ye say, may not take upon him to judge or pronounce in matters of religion, be they never so clear; but only must

[1] And nurse, Conf.]
[2] Conf. has not &c.]
[3] And, Conf. and Def. 1567.]
[4] Such the like, Conf.]
[5] Reges autem nutricii, et reginæ principesque nutrices, manifeste apostolos et apostolicos ostendunt viros.—Hieron. Op. Par. 1693-1706. Comm. Lib. XIII. in Isai. Proph. cap. xlix. Tom. III. col. 357.]
[6] *As* is not in Conf. or Def. 1567, 1570.]

hearken and be ready to execute whatsoever shall be thought good and commanded by your bishops, as if he were only your bishops' man. So saith your holy father pope Bonifacius VIII.: *Gladius .... materialis .... exercendus* [est] *manu regum et militum; sed ad nutum et patientiam sacerdotis*[7]: "The material or temporal sword must be used by the hand of kings and soldiers; but at the beck and sufferance of the priest:" by which priest he meaneth the pope. The Prince judgeth in Ecclesiastical Causes.

But David saith: "Now, ye kings, have understanding: be learned, ye that judge the earth." Good kings have oftentimes reformed religion, and have lawfully controlled and corrected and deposed idle and wicked bishops; as before in place convenient it is largely proved[8]. The emperor Justinian threateneth, if the bishop offended in saying the public service or in the ministration of the sacraments, that then he himself would use his authority over him, and see him punished[9]. Franciscus Zabarellus[10] saith, that "for any crime notorious the emperor may summon the pope to appear before his majesty, and may require him to yield a reckoning of his faith[11]." And yet will ye say, the emperor is still the pope's man, and may judge nothing in causes of religion without him?

De Major. et Obed. Unam Sanct. Psal. ii. Auth. Const. 123. καὶ οὐδὲ ἡμεῖς ταῦτα...ἀνεκδίκητα καταλείψομεν. Franc. Zabar.[10] de Schism. et Concil.

The king, ye say, is not able to judge whether an idol be an idol or no, but by the leading and teaching of the priest. So well ye wish all christian princes were instructed, that they should not be able either to see or to speak without you. But what if your priests say, as it hath often happened, God is an idol, and an idol is God; light is darkness, and darkness is light? What if they say, "Great is Diana the goddess of Ephesus?" What if they condemn the innocent, and say, as they sometime said of Christ, "Unless this man were a malefactor, we would never have brought him to thy hand?" Yet must the prince nevertheless draw his sword, and strike when and whomsoever the priest biddeth, and blindly execute his wicked will? Indeed, M. Harding, you say precisely, "If the matter decreed be spiritual and appertaining to faith, the prince ought to obey without question or grudge." Likewise again ye say, "It shall be enough for you to do as the successors of Peter bid you to do." "Christ now requireth of you not to obey Peter and Paul, but to obey him that sitteth in their chair[12]"—whatsoever he say, true or false. For this, no doubt, must be your meaning.

Isai. v. Acts xix. John xviii. M. Harding, p. 302. a. [Conf.] M. Harding, p. 192. a. [Conf.] p. 192. b.

The king was bound to write out the book of the law. This, ye say, proveth not the king's superiority over the priests. No, verily, M. Harding; neither was it alleged by us to that purpose. Nevertheless hereby it appeareth that God would have the king to be learned in his laws.

But the king must receive the book of the priest, and of none other; therefore, say you, the priest is above the king. Methinketh, M. Harding, even for your credit's sake ye should look better to your logic. For what availeth the delivery of a book to make the priest either higher or lower? When the pope is at his consecration, the cardinal that is his orderer delivereth him a book of the epistles and gospels[13]. Will ye therefore[14] conclude that the said cardinal is above the pope? Marry, God forbid.

Cerem. Lib. i. Sect. 2.

God's meaning touching this ceremony was this, that the king's book should be true and faultless. And therefore God commanded him to take a copy thereof out of the registry or records, which were thought to be void of all corruption, and were evermore kept in the temple under the custody of the priests. Paulus Phagius saith: "Every private man was commanded to have one book severally to himself; but the king was commanded to have two. And,

Paul. Phag. in Deut. cap. xvii.

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[7] Bonifac. VIII. in Corp. Jur. Canon. Lugd. 1624. Extrav. Comm. Lib. I. De Major. et Obed. cap. 1. col. 208.]

[8] See before, pages 957, &c.]

[9] Corp. Jur. Civil. Amst. 1663. Auth. Coll. IX. Tit. XX. Novell. cxxxvii. 6. Tom. II. p. 197. See Vol. I. page 287, note 10.]

[10] Zarabella, 1567; Zabarella, 1570, 1609.]

[11] Francis. de Zabarell. De Schism. Pont. in Auth. Var. de Jurisd. Autor. et Præem. Imper. a Schard. Basil. 1566. p. 691. See before, page 968, note 12.]

[12] See pages 709, 10.]

[13] Tum imponit ei annulum, et demum dat ei librum evangeliorum, &c.—Rit. Eccles. sive Sacr. Cerim. Rom. Eccles. Libr. Col. Agrip. 1557. Lib. I. Sect. ii. cap. iii. fol. 30. 2.]

[14] And will ye thereof, 1567; will ye thereof, 1570.]

Deuteronomy. A copy. A double.

forasmuch as the king was a public person, therefore God willed him to take his copy out of the public records of the temple[1]."

Your own Hugo Cardinalis saith: *Accipiet exemplar a sacerdotibus; non* [*a*] *quibuslibet, sed* [*a*] *bonis: ... ubi nihil fucatum est, nihil corruptum*[2]: "He shall take his copy of the priests, not of every priest whatsoever, but of the good; that in the same copy there be nothing neither coloured nor corrupted."

Hugo in Deut. cap. xvii.

All this, M. Harding, will hardly prove your strange conclusion, that the priest was superior to the king: it seemeth much better to prove the contrary, that the priest was the king's inferior, and his subject, and his clerk of records, as being appointed to keep his books. So St Augustine saith, the Jews this day keep the very true books of the scriptures; albeit not for their own use, but only for ours: and therefore he saith they be not our superiors, but our servants[3].

August. contr. Faust. Lib. xvi. cap. xxi. et in Psal. lviii. et sæpe alibi.

Certainly, concerning the kings and priests of the old law, one of your own friends, whom for many causes ye may not well refuse, saith thus: *In veteri lege sacerdotium indignius erat potestate regia et ei subjectum*[4]: "In the old law the priests' office was inferior to the prince, and subject unto him."

Joh. de Paris. de Pot. Reg. et Pap. cap. v.

Ye say, "If the priest must give the holy scriptures to the king, then verily must he take such as they give him, and with such meaning as they give unto it." Yea, I trow, though they tear their robes against Christ, as Caiaphas did, and cry out, "He blasphemeth," yet must we, by your judgment, evermore seek to them for the sense and meaning of the scriptures. For this is the ground and foundation of your divinity: The scripture of God hath none other sense but as it shall please the priest to give unto it. But St Chrysostom, speaking of the same priests and bishops from whom we have received the self-same scriptures, saith thus: *Literæ quidem legis apud illos sunt; sensus autem apud nos*[5]: "The letters or words of the scriptures are with them; but the true meaning of them is with us."

Chrysost. in Gen. Hom. 8.

Here you much disadvantage yourself, and, as you[6] say, omit that we "read, *librum legis*, whereas the church readeth, *Deuteronomium*, for that," as you[6] say, "it were too long for you to enter into that disputation." Therefore, M. Harding, we will patiently abide your leisure, until ye have found out the whole mystery, and considered it better. In the mean season, it shall not be good for you to be over-rank with your commentaries, until ye better understand the text. Certainly the wise and learned think that herein ye are much deceived. For, whereas the words are these, *Describit*[7] *sibi Deuteronomium legis hujus*, they think that *Deuteronomium* in this place is not put for any one certain several book of the five books of Moses, as it is otherwise commonly used, but rather for a copy or a draught of the whole law. And in this sense, they say that Δευτερονόμιον is none other but Ἀπόγραφον, that is to say, a "copy" or a "double." The Italian translation hath thus: *Esso si scrivera*[8] *questo doppio de la legge*[9]. The French translation hath, *Le double*[10]. Leo Judas translateth it thus: *Describet sibi exemplum legis hujus*[11]: "He shall write out for himself a copy of this law." And,

Questio Doppio. Le Double.

[1 ... statim inito regno sua manu legem describat, præter illam quam privatus descripserat... Cuivis autem præceptum erat, ut legem describeret... Sensus est, quod rex librum legis non ex quolibet exemplari, sed ex eo quod coram sacerdotibus et Levitis erat, describere debeat. Rex publica persona est; ideo ex publico exemplo sibi legem debuit describere.—Tharg. in Sacr. Bibl. add. Annot. aut. P. Fag. Argent. 1546. In Deut. cap. xvii. fol. O 6. 3.]

[2 Hugon. de S. Charo Op. Col. Agrip. 1621. Lib. Deut. cap. xvii. Tom. I. fol. 162; where *accipiens*, and *fuscatum*.]

[3 ... ex manibus inimicorum tanta de Christo testimonia proferuntur; ... in eis libris inveniunt Christum, quibus a tot seculis serviunt qui crucifixerunt Christum ... magnum aliquid actum est in usum nostrum de infidelitate Judæorum, ut iidem ipsi, qui hæc propter se non haberent in cordibus, propter nos haberent in codicibus.—August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. Contr. Faust. Lib. xvi. cap. xxi. Tom. VIII. col. 295. Conf. in Psalm. lvi. Enarr. 9; Psalm. lviii. Enarr. Serm. i. 22. Tom. IV. cols. 534, 69; Serm. v. 5. De Luct. Jacob. Tom. V. cols. 31, 2.]

[4 Johan. de Parrhis. De Potest. Reg. et Papal. cap. v. in Goldast. Mon. Rom. Imp. Hanov. et Franc. 1612-14. Tom. II. p. 113.]

[5 Chrysost. Op. Par. 1718-38. In cap. i. Gen. Hom. viii. Tom. IV. p. 59.]

[6 Ye, 1567, 1570.]

[7 Describet, 1567, 1570.]

[8 Scrivero, 1609, 1611.]

[9 Biblia Sacr. Toscan. Anton. Brucioli, Vineg. 1532. fol. 62. 2; where *si scriverra*.]

[10 La Bible Nouv. translat. par Seb. Chateillon, Bale, 1555. col. 359.]

[11 ...describet sibi exemplar hujus legis.—Bibl. Sacros. Tig. 1543. fol. 84.]

for some proof hereof, it is thus written in the book of Joshua: "Afterward Joshua read out of the words of the law both the blessings and the curses, according to every thing that is written in the book of the law. And there was not one word of all the things that Moses commanded, but Joshua read the same before the whole congregation of Israel." Thus ye see, M. Harding, that this word *Deuteronomium* in this place signifieth not the fifth book of Moses, as you imagine, but a full copy of all the law. And therefore eftsoons I tell you ye are much deceived[12]. Josh. viii.

Where we allege the words of the prophet Esay, "Kings shall be thy fosterers, and queens thy nurses;" ye say, "Every nurse or fosterer is not above him that is nourished. A[13] faithful servant oftentimes fostereth his master: yet is not he above his master." So loth ye are the king should be superior to a priest. And thus have ye brought about by your handsome conclusions, that your priests be the masters, and kings their servants. And therefore it is discreetly noted in your gloss: *Imperator Romanus est procurator sive defensor Romanæ ecclesiæ*[14]: "The emperor of Rome is the steward or bailiff of the church of Rome." Dist. 98. Si Imp. in Gloss.

THE APOLOGY, Chap. xi. Division 4 and 5.

I say, besides all these things, we see by histories and by examples of the best times, that good princes ever took the administration of ecclesiastical matters to pertain to their duty[15].

Moses, being[16] a civil magistrate, and chief guide of the people, both received from God, and delivered to the people, all the order for religion and sacrifices, and gave Aaron the bishop a vehement and sore rebuke for making the golden calf, and for suffering the corruption of religion. Exod. xxxii.

M. HARDING.

Moses was not only a civil magistrate, [a]*but also a priest. In that he had both offices,* [b]*it proveth that a priest may have both; but not contrariwise, that a king may have both. For the greater may include the less; but the less cannot include the greater.* [c]*The office of a priest is the highest of all.* [d]*And Christ, coming naturally of the king's line from David in the tribe of Juda, yet esteemed that honour nothing in respect of that he was a priest according to the order of Melchisedech. Therefore Melchisedech also, being both priest and king, was not yet said to be the figure of Christ so much concerning his kingdom as his priesthood: for David said of Christ, "Thou art a priest for ever after the order of Melchisedech." As for his kingdom, it was included in his priest's office. And therefore, when we speak of Christ's kingdom, though in every respect he be the very King indeed of all kings, and Lord of all lords; yet we assign it also to have been upon the cross,* Ubi regnavit a ligno Deus[17], *"where God reigned from the wood." According to the same meaning, whereas the people of Israel were called* Regnum sacerdotale, *"a priestly kingdom," St Peter, writing to the Christians*[18]*, turned the order of the words, calling the church of Christ* sacerdotium regale, *a kingly priesthood. Moses was both a priest and a civil governor, as being a figure of Christ, who joined both together, making the tribe of Juda, which was before kingly, now also to be priestly. Therefore St Augustine, upon those words of David, "Moses and Aaron are in the number of his priests," concludeth that Moses must needs have been a priest: *"*"for," saith he, "if he were not a priest, what was he?"* *Nunquid

[a] Untruth. For at that time he was no priest.
[b] Untruth. For it proveth the contrary. Read the answer.
[c] Untruth, confessed by M. Harding's friends. For in the time of Moses' law the priest was inferior to the prince.
[d] Substantial arguments, whereby to prove the pope a king.

Psal. cx.
Justin. in Dial. advers. Tryph.
Exod. xix.
1 Pet. ii.
Psal. xcix.

* Discreetly reasoned. For all this pertaineth as well to a simple priest as to the pope.

[12] The last two sentences are not in 1567.]
[13] *A* is not in 1611.]
[14] Corp. Jur. Canon. Lugd. 1624. Decret. Gratian. Decr. Prim. Pars, Dist. xcvi. Gloss. in can. 11. col. 469. See before, page 836, note 17.]
[15] Harding's reply to this paragraph is omitted by Jewel. It is very short.]
[16] *Being* is not in Conf.]
[17] ...ὁ Κύριος ἐβασίλευσεν ἀπὸ τοῦ ξύλου.— Just. Mart. Op. Par. 1742. Dial. cum Tryph. 73. p. 170.]
[18] To Christians, Conf.]

The Pope is a King[2]; Moses a Priest.

major sacerdote esse potuit[1]? "*Could he be greater than a priest?*" *As who should say, there is no greater dignity than priesthood. And, seeing Moses had the greatest dignity, for he ruled all, and consecrated Aaron high bishop, and his sons priests, therefore himself must needs have been a priest.* [e]*Now, if Moses were both, and his chief office was priesthood, it followeth by that example that the pope may rule temporally, but not that a king may rule spiritually. Thus*[3] *you have gained nothing by this example.*

[e] Lovanian logic. Moses consecrated Aaron; *ergo*, the pope is a king.

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

Here M. Harding hath many great words of small weight. The final conclusion and *summa summarum* is this: The pope must needs be a king. And that he proveth, as his manner is, by these his young untidy arguments: "Moses, being a civil magistrate or a prince, had also the priesthood and was a priest;" *ergo*, saith he, The pope, being a priest, must have also the kingdom and be a king. And thus he pieceth these matters handsomely together, as though whatsoever were once in Moses ought of necessity to be also in the pope. But, if a man should desire him to prove his argument, and to make it good, and to shew us how these pieces may be framed together, I think he would be fain to take a day. First, whether Moses were a priest or no, it is not certain. As for that

Psal. xcix.

M. Harding allegeth these words of David, *Moses et Aaron in sacerdotibus ejus*, he himself well knoweth that the Hebrew word there is doubtful, and signifieth as well a prince as a priest. And therefore we[4] cannot necessarily conclude by force of these words that Moses was a priest: it is sufficient that he was the captain and prince, and had the leading of the people[5].

Hieron. in Psal. xcviii.

St Hierome saith: *Unus legis, alter sacerdotii regulam tenuit*[6]*:* "Moses held the rule of the law; Aaron the rule of priesthood."

Hieron. in Mich. cap. vi.

Again he saith: *Emisit... ante faciem nostram Mosen spiritualem legem et Aaron magnum sacerdotem*[7]*:* "God sent out before our faces[8] Moses (not as the priest, but as) the spiritual law, and Aaron the great priest." Even Hugo, your own

Hugo in Psal. xcviii.

doctor, touching the same words, saith thus: *Moses etsi &c.*[9] "Notwithstanding Moses were not a priest, yet, because he hallowed the people's prayers, &c. he was called a priest. For in the scriptures great and noble men are called by the name of priests[10]."

Here your Hugo telleth you that, notwithstanding Moses were called a priest, yet indeed he was no priest[11].

Whoso listeth to know more hereof, let him read Sanctus[12] Pagninus, David Kimchi, Nicolaus Lyra, &c.

But, if Moses indeed were a priest, ye should do well, M. Harding, to resolve us, first, whether he were a priest born, or else afterward made a priest. A priest born, I trow, ye will not say. If ye say he was afterward made a priest, then tell us, by what bishop or other creature was he consecrate? At whose hands received he authority? When, where, and to what purpose? What priest-like apparel ever ware he? Or in what office or ministry ever shewed he

Heb. v.

himself to be a priest? St Paul saith: "A priest is appointed to offer up oblations and sacrifices for sin." What oblations or sacrifices for sin can ye tell us that Moses offered? If he were neither born a priest, nor made a priest, nor ever known by office to be a priest, then was he, I trow, a very strange priest.

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[1] ... de Moyse non ibi dicitur quod sacerdos erat. Sed si hoc non erat, quid erat? nunquid &c. poterat?—August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. In Psalm. xcviii. Enarr. 10. Tom. IV. col. 1066.]

[2] The pope a king, 1567.]

[3] This, Def. 1567, 1570.]

[4] Ye, 1570.]

[5] This sentence is not in 1567.]

[6] Hieron. Op. Par. 1693-1706. Breviar. in Psalt. Psalm. xcviii. Tom. II. Append. col. 386; where *teneat*.]

[7] Id. Comm. Lib. II. in Mich. Proph. cap. vi. Tom. III. col. 1540.]

[8] Face, 1567, 1570.]

[9] ... Moyses vero licet sacerdos non fuit, dicitur tamen sacerdos, quia vota populi obtulit, licet non hostias. Et quia etiam sacerdotes consecravit, mos est et consuetudo scripturæ ut quandoque magnos homines sacerdotes appellet.—Hugon. de S. Charo Op. Col. Agrip. 1621. Psalm. xcviii. Tom. II. fol. 256. 2.]

[10] Priest, 1567, 1570.]

[11] This sentence is not in 1567.]

[12] Sanctes, 1567, 1570.]

If Moses were the highest priest and head of the church, and Aaron likewise the highest priest, and in so much the head of the church too, as well as he, then had the church two highest bishops, and two heads both together: which thing were monstrous, not only in speech, but also in nature. The Pope is a King.

Notwithstanding, whether Moses at any one certain time were a priest or no, it is a matter not worthy the striving. Certain it is that, before the law was written, kings and princes, and the best-born, and inheritors, and the wealthiest of the people, were ever priests. St Hierome saith: *Hebræi tradunt primogenitos functos officio sacerdotum, et habuisse vestimentum sacerdotale; quo induti Deo victimas offerebant, antequam Aaron in sacerdotium eligeretur*[13]: "The Hebrew rabbins say that the first-born children did the office of the priests, and had the priest-like apparel, and wearing the same offered up their sacrifices unto God, until the time that Aaron was chosen into the priesthood." Hieron. in Quæst. Heb. in Gen.

Again he saith: *Privilegium ... offerendi primogenitis, vel maxime regibus debebatur*[14]: "The privilege of offering up sacrifice[15] was due to the first-born of the children, but most of all unto kings." Hieron. in Job. cap. i.

The heathen Roman emperors, as Vespasianus, Trajanus, and others, to increase their majesty towards their subjects, beside the state of the empire, would also be called *pontifices maximi*[16]. Dist. 10. De capit. in Gloss. Inter Act. Gelasii.

Therefore we will grant M. Harding, seeing he hath taken so much pains about a matter not worthy so long talk, that Moses for some little short time bare the office of a priest[17]. Yet nevertheless had he no ordinary priesthood, neither was he a priest more than for the space of two or three hours, only until he had consecrated Aaron and his children, and no longer: immediately afterward all this great priesthood was at an end. Exod. xxix.

One of your own doctors, M. Harding, saith thus: *Non erant sacerdotes legales dignitate et officio, sicut Aaron: ... licet in necessitate, et propter defectum sacerdotum, ... aliquos actus sacerdotum fecerint; ut quod Moses inunxit Aaron: ... propter quod Moses sacerdos dicitur in psalmo*[19]: "The first-born were not priests in office and dignity, as Aaron was: notwithstanding, in case of necessity, and for lack of priests, they did some part of the priests' office; as that Moses anointed or consecrated Aaron; for which thing Moses in the psalm is called a priest." Johan. de Paris.[18] cap. xviii.

This, M. Harding, is that foundation that must needs bear the burden of your whole church of Rome. The pope (ye say) must be a king, because Moses was both prince and priest. And yet your own fellows say, Moses by office and dignity was never priest. Ye say, "The pope being a bishop may be a king; but, of the other side, a king may in no wise be a bishop." And thus, either unwittingly or willingly, ye seem to overthrow your own position. For the example that ye ground upon, of Aaron and Moses, prove[20] quite the contrary. For Moses being a prince did also the office of a bishop; but Aaron being a[21] bishop did never the office of a prince. Therefore hereof ye might better conclude that a prince may be a bishop, but a bishop may not be a king. Straiten[22] your bolts therefore, M. Harding, and shave them better, before ye so suddenly, I will not say, so rudely, shoot them from you.

Nevertheless ye say, "The priesthood, which is the more, may contain the kingdom, being the less." In this respect, I trow, your gloss, as it is said before, compareth the pope to the sun, and the emperor to the moon, and findeth out substantially, by good geometrical proportion, that the pope is just seven and fifty times greater than the emperor[23]; howbeit your own doctors say, as I have like- Extr. de Major. et Obed. Sol. in Gloss. H. Johan. de Paris. de Pot. Reg. et Pap. cap. v.

[13 Hieron. Op. Lib. Quæst. in Gen. Tom. II. col. 531; where *tradunt Hebræi*.]

[14 Id. Comm. in Job. cap. i. Tom. V. col. 679. This commentary is spurious.]

[15 Sacrifices, 1567, 1570.]

[16 ... diabolus ... contendit, ut pagani imperatores iidem et maximi pontifices dicerentur.—Tom. Gelas. Papæ I. in Crabb. Concil. Col. Agrip. 1551. Tom. I. p. 972. Conf. Corp. Jur. Canon. Lugd. 1624. Decret. Gratian. Decr. Prim. Pars, Dist. x. Gloss. in can. 9. col. 34.]

[17 Time was a priest, 1567.]

[18 Hervæus de Potestat. Pp., 1567.]

[19 ... nec etiam fuerunt sacerdotes regales et singulares dignitate &c.—Johan. de Parrhis. De Potest. Reg. et Papal. cap. xx. in Goldast. Mon. Rom. Imp. Hanov. et Franc. 1612-14. Tom. II. p. 135.]

[20 Proveth, 1567, 1570.]

[21 The, 1567, 1570.]

[22 Strengthen, 1609, 1611.]

[23 Corp. Jur. Canon. Decretal. Gregor. IX. Lib. I. Tit. xxxiii. cap. 6. col. 426. See Vol. I. page 14, note 1.]

The Pope is a King.

wise shewed before, that in the law of Moses the prince was greater than the priest[1].

That ye allege of the priesthood and kingdom of Christ serveth you to small purpose. For, I beseech you, what crown, what sceptre, what sword bare Christ? What ecclesiastical priesthood had he, but only that he executed upon the cross? Verily touching any civil shew or outward office, as he was no king, so was he no priest. As he said, "My kingdom is not of this world," so might he also have said, "My priesthood is not of this world." Otherwise, he was both king and priest in power and virtue, but not apparently in outward office.

John xviii.

Johan. de Paris. de Pot. Pap.[3] cap. viii.

One of your fellows saith thus: *Patet per sanctos expositores, quod Christus non habuit in temporalibus auctoritatem vel judicium. Sed dare potuit et dare habuit virtutis documentum*[2]: "It appeareth by the holy expositors that Christ had neither authority nor judgment in things temporal. But he could both give and had to give instructions of virtue."

1 Pet. ii.

As for these two words of St Peter, "Ye are a kingly priesthood," ye would not have alleged them to this purpose, had ye not been in your dream. For think you that St Peter calleth[4] the whole body of the church of Christ "a kingly priesthood," for that you fancy your pope to be together both priest and king? Certainly the church of God was "a kingly priesthood," before either the church of Rome was a church, or the pope of Rome was a pope. Ye should have some care to deal more reverently with the word of God; for it is holy. St Peter's meaning is this, that every faithful christian man is now, after a spiritual or ghostly meaning, not only a priest, but also a king; and therefore he calleth the whole church "a kingly priesthood." Tertullian saith thus: *Nonne et laici sacerdotes sumus? ... Regnum quoque nos et sacerdotes Deo et Patri suo fecit*[5]: "And we that be laymen, are we not priests? Truly Christ hath made even us a kingdom and priests unto his Father." St Augustine saith: *Hoc sacerdotio regali consecrantur omnes pertinentes ad corpus Christi, summi et veri Principis sacerdotum*[6]: "With this royal priesthood all they are consecrate that pertain to the body of Christ, which is the high and true Prince of priests." Again he saith: *Omnes [sunt] sacerdotes, quia membra sunt unius sacerdotis*[7]: "All be priests, because they are the members of one priest." St Ambrose saith: *Omnes filii ecclesiæ sacerdotes sunt*[8]: "All the children of the church be priests."

Tertull. in Exhort. ad Cast.

Rev. i.

August. Quæst. Evang. Lib. ii. cap. xl.

August. de Civ. Dei, Lib. xx. cap. x.

Ambros. in Luc. Lib. v. cap. vi.

St Hierome saith: *Genus sacerdotale et regale sumus omnes, qui baptizati in Christo Christi censemur nomine*[9]: "All we are the[10] priestly and kingly kindred, that, being baptized in Christ, are called Christians by the name of Christ."

Hieron. in Mal. cap. i.

Chrysostom saith: *Et tu in baptismo et rex efficeris et sacerdos et propheta*[11]: "Even thou in thy baptism art made both a king, and a priest, and a prophet."

Chrysost. 2 Cor. Hom. iii.

Now, M. Harding, let us take the view of your priestly conclusions.

Moses once did one part of the bishop's office in consecrating Aaron[12] and his children, and that never at any time else, neither after nor before. Again[13]: Christ hath a spiritual priesthood and a spiritual kingdom; for otherwise ordinary priesthood and earthly kingdom he had none. Again[13]: "St Peter called[14] the whole church of Christ a kingly priesthood;" *ergo*, say you, The pope beareth both the office of a priest, and also the right and state of an earthly king.

To dissemble all other the fond weakness of these follies, Christ himself saith to the pope and to all other priests and bishops: "The kings of nations rule over

Matt. xx.

[1 Johan. de Parrhis. De Potest. Reg. et Papal. in Goldast. Mon. Rom. Imp. Hanov. et Franc. 1612-14. Tom. II. cap. v. p. 113. See before, page 980.]

[2 Id. ibid. cap. viii. p. 117; where *sed dare voluit*.]

[3 Hervæus de Potestat. Pp., 1567.]

[4 Called, 1567, 1570, 1609.]

[5 Tertull. Op. Lut. 1641. De Exhort. Cast. 7. p. 668. See Vol. III. page 335, note 13.]

[6 ... futuri sacerdotii regalis,...quo consecrantur &c.—August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. Quæst. Evang. Lib. II. Quæst. xl. 3. Tom. III. Pars II. col. 268.]

[7 Id. De Civ. Dei, Lib. xx. cap. x. Tom. VII. col. 588; where *quoniam membra*.]

[8 Ambros. Op. Par. 1686-90. Expos. Evang. sec. Luc. Lib. v. cap. vi. 33. Tom. I. col. 1364.]

[9 Hieron. Op. Par. 1693-1706. Comm. in Malach. cap. i. Tom. III. col. 1811.]

[10 That, 1567, 1570, 1609.]

[11 Chrysost. Op. Par. 1718-38. In Epist. II. ad Cor. Hom. iii. Tom. X. p. 454.]

[12 To consecrate Aaron, 1567.]

[13 *Again* is not in 1567.]

[14 Calleth, 1567, 1570, 1609.]

them, and they that are great exercise authority over the people; but it shall not be so amongst you." The Pope is a King.

St Cyprian saith, as he is alleged by Gratian: *Christus... actibus propriis et dignitatibus distinctis officia potestatis utriusque discrevit*[15]: "Christ by several duties and distinct honours hath set a difference between the offices of both powers." Whereupon your own gloss saith: *Hic est argumentum, quod... papa non habet utrunque gladium*[16]: "Here is a good argument that the pope hath not both swords;" that is to say, that the pope is not both priest and king[17]. Dist. 10. Quoniam idem. Glossa.

St Bernard saith thus unto pope Eugenius: *Planum est, [quod] apostolis interdicitur dominatus.... Ergo tu... tibi usurpare aude, aut dominans apostolatum, aut apostolicus dominatum. Plane ab alterutro prohiberis. Si utrunque similiter habere vis, perdes utrumque. Alioqui ne te putes exceptum illorum numero, de quibus [con]queritur Dominus, dicens, Ipsi regnaverunt, et non ex me*[18]: "It is plain that temporal dominion is forbidden the apostles. Now therefore thou, being pope, dare to usurp either the apostleship, being a prince, or the princehood, being the successor of the apostles. Doubtless from the one of them thou art forbidden. If thou wilt indifferently have both, thou shalt lose both. Otherwise, think not thou canst be excepted from the number of them of whom the Lord complaineth, 'They have made themselves kings, and not by me.'" Bernard. de Consid. Lib. ii.

Concerning the place of St Peter, one of your company saith it nothing furthereth the pope's kingdom. Thus he saith: *Sacerdotium... dicitur regale a regno, non hujus mundi, sed cœli*[19]: "St Peter calleth us a kingly priesthood, of the kingdom of heaven, not of the kingdom of this world." Yet is this the self-same kingdom that the pope craveth, and that by the authority of St Peter. Johan. de Paris.[20] cap. xviii.

Notwithstanding, one of your Lovanian company[21] hath sent us home lately other news from Lovaine. His words be these: *Vos estis regale sacerdotium:* "You are a kingly priesthood, as who should say, the priesthood before was not kingly, for that then kings ruled over priests; but now is the priesthood kingly, for that to it be subject even kings themselves[22]." Thus, unless your priests may rule kings and princes and all the world at their pleasure, ye think they have no kingly priesthood. Dorm. fol. 40.

In the council holden at Macra in France it is written thus: *Solus... Dominus noster Jesus Christus vere fieri potuit [et] rex et sacerdos. Post incarnationem vero, et resurrectionem, et ascensionem ejus in cœlum, nec rex pontificis dignitatem, nec pontifex regiam potestatem sibi usurpare præsumpsit*[23]: "Only our Lord Jesus Christ might truly be both priest and king. But sithence his incarnation, and resurrection, and ascension into heaven, neither hath the king presumed to take upon him the dignity or office of a bishop, nor hath the bishop presumed to usurp the power and majesty of a king[24]." Concil. Macrens. Citat. ab Illyr. inter Test. Verit. p. 121.

To be short, M. Harding, we say not, as you so often and so untruly have reported of us, that[25] the king may in any wise execute the bishop's office; but thus we say, and because it is true, therefore we say it: The king may lawfully correct and chastise the negligence and falsehood[26] of the bishop[27]; and that, in so doing, he doth only his own office, and not the bishop's.

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[15] Nicol. Papa I. in Corp. Jur. Canon. Lugd. 1624. Decret. Gratian. Decr. Prim. Pars, Dist. x. can. 8. col. 33. This canon was formerly ascribed to Cyprian.]

[16] Gloss. ibid. cols. 33, 4; where *est hic.*]

[17] The clause from *swords* is not in 1567.]

[18] Bernard. Op. Par. 1690. De Consid. Lib. II. cap. vi. 10, 11. Vol. I. Tom. II. col. 419; where *utrumque simul habere voles, alioquin non te exceptum illorum numero putes*, and *queritur Deus sic ipsi.*]

[19] Johan. de Parrhis. De Potest. Reg. et Papal. cap. xix. in Goldast. Mon. Rom. Imp. Tom. II. p. 133; where *non quidem mundi.*]

[20] Hervæus de Potestat. Pp., 1567.]

[21] Your company, 1567.]

[22] Dorman, A Provfe of Certeyne Articles denied by M. Jvell. Ant. 1564. fol. 40; where *for that that kings.*]

[23] Synod. Macrens. in Catalog. Test. Franc. 1672. N. 110. p. 163; where *atque ascensionem.*]

[24] Prince, 1567, 1570.]

[25] Reported that, 1567.]

[26] Falshead, 1567, 1570.]

[27] Bishops, 1567.]

Josua.

The Apology, Chap. xi. Division 6.

Josh. cap. i. Josua also, though he were none other[1] than a civil magistrate, yet, as soon as he was chosen by God, and set as a ruler over the people, he received commandments specially touching religion and the service of God.

M. HARDING.

There is no doubt but Josua received commission and commandment to worship God, but none to rule priests in spiritual matters. Yea rather he was commanded to go forth and come in at the voice and word of Eleazarus the high priest, he and all the children of Israel. Do not these men prove their matters[3] handsomely?

Numb. xxvii.[2]

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

"Josua was commanded to go in and out, and to be directed by the voice of Eleazarus the high priest." Therefore (ye say) in spiritual causes the priests may not be controlled by the prince. Ye deliver out your arguments, M. Harding, before they be ready. These pieces would have been better tied together.

Though the prince be commanded to hear the priest, yet, if the priest be negligent, or deceive the people, he may by his ordinary authority control the priest.

Exod. xxxii. When Aaron the high priest had consented to the making and worshipping of the golden calf, Moses, being then the temporal prince, rebuked him sharply unto his face; and in so doing did not the bishop's office, but only his own. As touching Josua, whom ye would fain have restrained from all ecclesiastical causes, he caused the people to be circumcised: he caused altars for their bloody sacrifices to be erected[4]: he caused the priests to make their sacrifices: he caused the Deuteronomy to be written in stones: he caused both the blessings and the curses of God to be pronounced: he spake openly to the people, and frayed them from idolatry. All these were cases, not of civil policy, but of religion. St Augustine saith: *In hoc... reges... Deo serviunt, sicut eis divinitus præcipitur, in quantum sunt reges, si in suo regno bona jubeant, mala prohibeant; non solum quæ pertinent ad humanam societatem, verum etiam quæ ad divinam religionem*[5]: "Herein kings serve God, as it is commanded them from above, in that they be kings, if within their kingdom they command good things and forbid evil; not only in things pertaining to human fellowship or civil order, but also in things pertaining to God's religion." Ye may see, therefore, M. Harding, how handsomely soever we prove our matters, that of your part hitherto they are but unhandsomely and coarsely answered.

August. contr. Cresc. Lib. iii. cap. li.

The Apology, Chap. xi. Division 7.

1 Chron. xiii. King David, when the whole religion of God was altogether[6] brought out of frame by wicked king Saul, brought home again the ark of God, that is to say, he restored religion again; and was not only amongst them himself, as a counsellor and furtherer of the work, but he appointed also hymns and psalms, put in order the companies, and was the only doer in setting forth that whole solemn triumph[7], and in effect ruled the priests.

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[1] No nother, Conf.]

[2] This reference is inserted from Conf. and Def. 1567.]

[3] Matter, Conf. and Def. 1567.]

[4] Rejected, 1609, 1611.]

[5] In hoc enim reges, sicut eis divinitus præcipitur, Deo serviunt in quantum reges sunt, si &c.—August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. Contr. Cresc. Donatist. Lib. III. cap. li. 56. Tom. IX. col. 464.]

[6] Religion was altogethers, Conf.]

[7] Shew, Conf.]

M. HARDING.

King David ordereth matters in Religion.

1 Chron. xv.[8] *As David restored all things to good order after the evil king Saul, so did queen Mary redress disorders before committed. But, as queen Mary did it by the consent[9] of priests, so king David in priestly matters called for Sadok and Abiathar. Indeed David passed other princes herein, because he had the *gift of prophecy, whereby he wrote psalms, which to this day we sing. But all this maketh nothing to prove him judge in[10] spiritual matters. He did not usurp the authority to sacrifice, to discern the leper, and to do the like things of priestly charge.*

* An ill comparison; for that the one set up, the other plucked down.

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* A simple shift, God wot. For other kings that did the like were no prophets.

"King David (ye say) restored religion by mean of the priests." Nay verily, M. Harding; for by mean of the priests the religion utterly was decayed. Therefore ye spoil that most noble prince of his worthy praises, and give them to others that never deserved them. The holy tabernacle was broken and lost: the ark of God was kept, not in the temple, but in a private man's house: the people had no common place to resort unto to hear God's will: they had each man his own private chapel in their hills and groves. And all this was done by the slothfulness and negligence of the bishops[11].

David therefore called the bishops and priests together: he shewed them in what sort the religion of God was defaced: he willed them to bring the ark into Sion: he was present himself: he appointed and ordered the whole triumph: he assigned which of the Levites, and in what order they should serve before the ark: he allotted Aaron's children, which were the priests, to walk each man in his several office. 1 Chron. xvi. 1 Chron. xxiv.

So likewise it is written of king Salomon touching the same: "King Salomon, according to the decree and order of his father David, appointed the offices of the priests in their several ministries, and the Levites each man in his order, that they should praise God, and minister before the priests. For so David the man of God had commanded." Likewise it is written of king Josaphat: "He appointed and ordered the Levites and priests." 2 Chron. viii. 2 Chron. xix.

Thus then did these godly princes; and thus doing they usurped not the bishops' office, but only did that they lawfully might do, and appertained wholly unto themselves.

Where ye say, "David was a prophet, and not only a king," as though he had done these things by virtue[12] of his prophecy, and not by the right of his princely power, this poor shift is very simple: for, notwithstanding king David were a prophet, yet king Josaphat, and other princes that did the like, were no prophets; neither do we read of any other prophet that ever attempted to do the like; nor did David these things as a prophet, but as a king.

THE APOLOGY, Chap. xi. Division 8.

King Salomon built unto the Lord the temple, which his father David had but purposed in his mind to do; and after the finishing thereof he made a godly[13] oration to the people concerning religion and the service of God. He afterward displaced Abiathar the priest, and set Sadok in his place. 2 Chron. vi. 1 Kings viii.

M. HARDING.

*Salomon's building of the temple and praying therein proveth no supremacy over the priests in spiritual things. His putting of Abiathar out of his dignity and room *was like to that queen Mary did to Cranmer; whom she might have removed for*

* Untruth. For what

[8] This reference is inserted from Conf. and Def. 1567.]
[9] Mean, Conf. and Def. 1567.]
[10] Of, Conf. and Def. 1567.]
[11] This sentence is not in 1567.]
[12] By the virtue, 1567, 1570.]
[13] Goodly, Conf.]

King Salomon judgeth in spiritual cases.

*treason, as Salomon laid the like to Abiathar: yet she chose rather to burn him for heresy. But this proveth *only an outward execution of justice without any prejudice to the substance of our question; which is, whether a temporal prince may determine the causes of religion or no.* 1 Kings ii.

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superior bishop's authority used Salomon in the deposition of Abiathar?

* Untruth manifest. Read the answer.

The deposing of Abiathar, ye say, was only the execution of outward justice, like to that queen Mary did to Doctor Cranmer, the archbishop of Canterbury. Wherein ye shew yourself to be much overseen: for these comparisons are in no wise like. Salomon by his princely authority lawfully deposed the high priest Abiathar; but queen Mary deposed not, nor could she by your canons lawfully depose, the archbishop of Canterbury; nor do you think it in any case lawful that a bishop should be deposed by a prince. For deposition (ye say) is a spiritual punishment, and only belongeth unto a bishop. And your law saith: *Ejus est destituere, cujus est instituere:* "He may depose a priest that hath authority to place a priest." Therefore these two princes' doings were not like. But, touching the high priest Abiathar, king Salomon summoned him to appear before him; king Salomon sat in judgment, and heard the accusations wherewith he was charged; king Salomon pronounced sentence against him; king Salomon deposed him; king Salomon appointed Sadok to succeed him. If all this be not sufficient, over and besides these things, king Salomon placed the ark of God; king Salomon sanctified and hallowed the temple; king Salomon offered up burnt sacrifice; king Salomon directed and ordered the priests in their several offices; king Salomon blessed the whole people: and, as it is written, "The priests and Levites left nothing undone of all that was commanded them by the king." If these cases be not spiritual, tell us then what cases may be allowed for spiritual? Thus the godly king Salomon thought it lawful for him to deal not only in matters of temporal government, but also in ecclesiastical or spiritual cases of religion. Therefore, M. Harding, it is but a toy that ye tell us of the execution of outward justice.

2 Chron. v. vi. vii. viii.

2 Chron. viii.

Concerning that most grave and godly and learned father the archbishop of Canterbury, with whom ye did whatsoever your pleasure was, God grant his blood be never required at your hands!

THE APOLOGY, Chap. xi. Division 9.

After this, when the temple of God was in shameful wise polluted through the naughtiness and negligence of the priests[1], king Ezechias commanded the same to be cleansed from the rubble and filth, the priests to light up candles, to burn incense, and to do their divine service according to the old and allowed order[2]: the same king also commanded the brasen serpent, which then the people wickedly worshipped, to be taken down and beaten to powder.

2 Chron. xxix.

2 Kings xviii.

M. HARDING.

* Untruth. For the priests did nothing but against their wills. Read the answer.

* This is far

*... How often shall I tell you that this proveth no more but that good kings do good deeds, maintaining[3] true religion, and pull down the false, as the constable of France burned the pulpits of the Huguenots in Paris? But these facts prove not that kings and constables be judges of religion, which is good and which is evil, which true, which false: for therein they *follow the judgment and advice of priests and prophets who be about them; as *Esaias was at hand with good king Ezechias to direct his doings; and so was Elizeus with king Jehu.* 2 Kings xx.[4] 2 Kings ix.[4]

[1 Of priests, Def. 1567.]
[2 Old allowed custom, Conf. and Def. 1567.]
[3 Maintain, Conf. and Def. 1567.]
[4 These references are inserted from Conf. and Def. 1567, 1570.]

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Ezechias.

"King Ezechias (ye say) and other kings followed the advice and judgment of the priests and prophets." This tale, M. Harding, is not only unlikely, but also untrue. For ye know that Esaias and Elizeus, notwithstanding they were the prophets of God, yet were they neither priests nor bishops, nor had any manner of ordinary ministration in the church. The bishops and priests of whom ye speak had disordered and wasted God's whole religion. The holy place of God was full of filthiness: the gates of the temple were shut up, that no man might enter in: the people had turned away their faces from the tabernacle of the Lord: there was no incense: there was no sacrifice. All these things had happened through the negligence and wickedness of the priests. In the old Latin text it is written thus: *Sacerdotes et Levitæ, tandem sanctificati, obtulerunt holocausta*[5]: "The priests and Levites at the last, or with much ado, were sanctified and offered up sacrifices:" upon which place the latter[6] translation saith thus: *Sacerdotes et Levitæ, pudore suffusi, sanctificaverunt se*[7]: "The priests and Levites even for very shame sanctified themselves." So ready were they to call upon and to further the king in his godly purpose! They held back what they could, and yielded to nothing but "with much ado" and "for very shame." They did nothing but by the king's commandment, and made him a reckoning of their doings.

from the purpose. For Esaias and Elizeus neither were priests, nor had the execution of priestly offices.

2 Chron. xxx.

2 Chron. xxx.

Howbeit, perhaps ye will discharge this whole matter with one ordinary excuse, and tell us that all these were but temporal cases.

THE APOLOGY, Chap. xi. Division 10.

King Jehosaphat overthrew and utterly made away the hill-altars and groves, whereby he saw God's honour hindered, and the people holden back with private[8] superstition from the ordinary temple, which was at Jerusalem; whereto they should by order have resorted yearly from every part of the realm.

2 Chron. xvii.

M. HARDING.

Ye put us in mind to consider how that yourselves are those private hill-altars and dark groves. For ye be they that stop the people from the common temple of Christendom, the catholic church, out of which is no salvation, the head whereof sitteth in Peter's chair at Rome.... For, setting order both in matters of common-weal and others, Jehosaphat[9] *said thus concerning religion:* Amarias sacerdos et pontifex vester in iis quæ ad Deum pertinent præsidebit: "*Amarias, the priest and high bishop, for such matters as pertain to God, he shall be head over you.*"

2 Chron. xix.[10]

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All this whole matter, touching as well king Jehosaphat as also Amarias the high priest, is answered in that is past before.

THE APOLOGY, Chap. xi. Division 11.

King Josias with great diligence put the priests and bishops in mind of their duties[11]: king Johas bridled the riot and arrogancy of the priests: Jehu put to death the wicked prophets.

2 Kings xii. 2 Kings x.

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[5] Bibl. Lat. Lugd. 1520. II. Paral. cap. xxx. fol. 103. 2; where *sacerdotes quoque atque Levitæ.*]

[6] Later, 1567, 1570.]

[7] Bibl. Interpr. Xant. Pagn. Col. 1541. II. Paral. cap. xxx. fol. 167. 2; where *pudore erant affecti, et sanctificaverunt se.*]

[8] With a private, Conf.]

[9] He, Conf.]

[10] This reference is inserted from Conf. and Def. 1567.]

[11] Duty, Conf.]

M. HARDING.

*The putting of priests and bishops in mind of their duty is not a supremacy in determining ecclesiastical causes. And, whereas you say that king Joas bridled the riot and arrogancy of the priests; if it were so, it was well done; but *I find not those words in the text. Concerning that Jehu did, it is a *mere temporal office to put false preachers and heretics to death; neither can it belong to priests unless they have also civil jurisdiction. Much less doth that act prove that kings be supreme heads of*[1] *the church, and ought to be judges in controversies and questions of religion.*

* Ye might have found it, 2 Kings, cap. xii.
* But he judged them, and condemned them for false prophets: this was no mere temporal office.

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Concerning the story of king Johas, I report me to that is written of him in the book of Kings. He sequestered the oblations of the people, which the priests had bestowed lewdly and wantonly upon themselves, and by his own authority turned the same to the reparations of the temple. Of king Josias it is written thus: *Constituit Josias sacerdotes in officiis suis:* "King Josias appointed the priests to minister in their several offices." And again: *Mundavit Judam et Hierusalem ab excelsis et lucis:* "King Josias cleansed and rid Juda and Hierusalem from their hill-altars and their groves."

2 Kings xii.

2 Chron. xxxv.

But ye will say, He did all things by the discretion of the priests and bishops. This thing indeed is necessary while the priests and bishops be learned and godly. But king Josias did far otherwise: for he sent the bishop himself unto Olda the prophetess, to learn the discretion and judgment of a woman; and so was directed in matters of highest religion by a woman, and not by a priest.

2 Kings xxii.

These examples be so manifest, that one of your fellows of Louvaine is[2] fain thus to excuse the matter by over-much antiquity: "If we would in these days," saith he, "use in all points the examples of the old law, there would follow an huge number of inconveniences[3]." "It is no good reason to say that therefore our kings now-a-days must have the like authority[4]." Thus saith he: as though the prince's right were now abated and altered, as the ceremonies of the law, and were otherwise now than it was before; or as if the coming of Christ into the world, and the preaching of the gospel, had purposely been to repress and pull down the seat of kings.

Dorm. fol. 37.

Dorm. fol. 39.

THE APOLOGY, Chap. xii. Division 1.

And, to rehearse no more examples out of the old law, let us rather consider sithence[5] the birth of Christ how the church hath been governed in the time of the gospel[6].

M. HARDING.

... If we consider the office of a king in itself, it is [a]*one every where, not only among christian princes, but also among heathen.* [a]*The definition of a king, which agreeth to Julius Cæsar or to Alexander the Great, as they were monarchs and princes, is one with the definition of a king which agreeth to Henry the Eighth or to Charles the Fifth;* [b]*so that no more could king Henry, as*[7] *king, meddle with religion, than Alexander or*[8] *Julius Cæsar ...* [c]*His place is chief among the lay, even when they are in the church at the service of God; and* [c]*without the church in all temporal things and causes he is over the priests themselves.*

And, because all these examples are taken out of the old testament, I will give thee a true resolution out of the same book, what authority priests had, and what

[a] Even so Jupiter, or Baal's bishop, was as well a bishop as the bishop of Rome.
[b] Neither can the pope meddle more with religion than Annas or Caiaphas.
[c] Untruth. For, if the bishop had offended, he

[1] Over, Conf. and Def. 1567.]
[2] Fellows there is, 1567.]
[3] Which manner of reasoning from examples in that age vsed, if it might be at these daies in all poinctes laufull to folow, what and how houge a nombre of inconueniences might by iust consequence thereapon be easelie grounded and brought in, I nede not here to reherse.—Dorman, A Proufe of Certeyne Articles denied by M. Jvell, Ant. 1564. foll. 37. 2.]
[4] Id. ibid. fol. 39. 2.]
[5] Since, Conf.]
[6] In the gospel's time, Conf.]
[7] A, 1609, 1611.]
[8] *Or* is not in Def. 1570.]

authority kings had. Moses gave this rule concerning the same matter: "*If,*" *saith he,* "*thou perceive an hard*[9] *and doubtful judgment to be with thee between blood and blood, cause and cause, leper and leper, and seest the words of the judges within thy gates to vary, arise, and go up to the place which thy Lord God shall choose*[11]*, and thou shalt come to the priests of the stock of Levi, and to the judge that shall be for the time, and thou shalt demand of them, who shall shew the truth of judgment to thee.*"... The Prince is a Judge[10] in Ecclesiastical Causes.

Deut. xvii.

But neither the priest by this place may meddle with that jurisdiction which belongeth[12] *to the temporal judge, neither the judge with that which was spiritual, and belonging only to the priest. For of such causes Azarias the priest and bishop said to king Ozias,* "*It is not thy office, Ozias, to burn incense unto our Lord. It is the office of the priests:*" *that is to say, of the sons of Aaron, who are consecrated to do such ministries. But this the king might do even in matters of religion:* [d]*when the high priest had given sentence, he might see the execution thereof to be done. But* [e]*otherwise, whatsoever king or temporal judge might not do in his own person,* [e]*much less might he judge whether another did well therein or no. And thus*[13] *much concerning the old testament.*

was subject to the prince as well within the church as without.

2 Chron. xxvi.

[d] The prince is executioner to the priest.

[e] Untruth, evident. Read the answer.

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The office of a king, ye say, was no more in king Henry the Eighth or in Charles the Fifth, than it was in the heathen princes, Julius Cæsar or Alexander the Great. And therefore, ye say, a christian prince's office standeth only in matters temporal: and for that cause ye often call him a mere lay temporal prince, as if he were in authority not much better than an[14] heathen magistrate.

Even so, M. Harding, is your pope no more a bishop, or perhaps much less a bishop, than Annas and Caiaphas; neither is your priest more a priest than the priest of Dagon or Baal. The difference standeth not in office, but only in truth. Yet nevertheless ye know that heathen princes had evermore a sovereign authority not only over their priests and bishops, but also over all cases of religion.

Aristotle saith: ... Βασιλεὺς τῶν πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς κύριος[15]: "The king, that is lord and ruler of things that pertain unto the gods."

Aristot. Polit. Lib. iii.

And therefore Socrates in his story saith: *Imperatores una complexi sumus, &c.*[16] "We have also herein comprised the emperors' lives; for that sithence the emperors were first christened the affairs of the church have hanged of them, and the greatest councils both have been and are kept by their advice."

Socrat. Lib. v. in Procem. τὰ τῆς ἐκκλησίας πράγματα ἤρτητο ἐξ αὐτῶν... τῇ αὐτῶν γνώμῃ.

Ye say, The prince in doubtful cases was commanded to take counsel of the highest priest. This is true. But will ye conclude hereof that the highest priest may say and do what he listeth, without controlment? What if the high priest would answer thus, as he answered sometime indeed, "This Christ is a Samaritan, a deceiver of the people, and hath a devil?" What if he tear his own robes for anger, and cry out, "He blasphemeth; he is worthy to die?" Yet must the emperor needs give ear unto him, and believe him, without exception? Certainly in the old law, if the bishop either had been negligent in his office, or of malice or ignorance had answered untruth, he was evermore under the general controlment of the prince.

"Within the church," ye say, "the prince is inferior to the priest, notwithstanding without the church he is in temporal cases above the priest." Thus ye fetch your matter round, within, without, and round about, with all the circumstances; as if princes were as changeable as yourself, and would be other without than they are within.

Indeed in that the priest doth his office, in that he either openeth God's will, or declareth his threats, or rebuketh sin, or excommunicateth, and cutteth off a dead member from the body, so far forth the prince, be he never so mighty, is

[9] Heard, 1611.]
[10] The prince a judge, 1567, 1570.]
[11] Chose, Conf. and Def. 1567, 1570.]
[12] Belonged, Conf. and Def. 1567, 1570.]
[13] This, Conf. and Def. 1567, 1570.]
[14] On, 1611.]
[15] Arist. Op. Lut. Par. 1629. De Republ. Lib. III. cap. xiv. Tom. II. p. 357.]
[16] Socrat. in Hist. Eccles. Script. Amst. 1695-1700. Lib. v. Procem. p. 212. See below, page 1005, note 31.]

The Prince is a Judge in Ecclesiastical Causes.

inferior unto him. But in this respect the prince is inferior, not only to the pope or bishop, but also to any other simple priest; and the pope himself, in this respect, is inferior to his confessor, be he never so poor a priest[1]. So the emperor Constantinus was wont to say to the godly bishops: "Be you bishops within the church; and I will be bishop without[2]." But, if the bishop had been faulty, either in negligence or in falsehood[3], whether he had been within the church or abroad, he was always to be controlled by the prince.

ix. Quæst. 3. Nemo. In Gloss. Ab. Euseb. de Vit. Const. Orat. 4. De Major. et Obed. Unam Sanct.

Ye say: "When the high priest had given sentence, the prince might see the execution thereof to be done." And thus ye make the emperor the pope's man, to put his sentence in execution. So pope Bonifacius VIII. telleth you: [*Materialis gladius exercendus est*] *manu regum et militum, sed ad nutum et patientiam sacerdotis*[4]: "The temporal sword must be drawn by the hand of kings and soldiers, but at the beck and sufferance of the priest."

But, I beseech you, at whose beck did king Salomon depose Abiathar the high priest? At whose beck did Josias, and other godly princes, of whom we have said before, redress the religion of God, which the priests so shamefully had decayed[5]? At whose beck did they rebuke the careless negligence of the priests?

Johan. de Paris.[7] cap. xviii.

Verily one of your own doctors saith: *In veteri lege sacerdotes qui reges inungebant indubitanter regibus subdebantur*[6]: "In the old law the bishops that anointed the kings out of doubt were subjects[8] unto the kings."

August. Epist. 166. ad Donat.

And St Augustine saith: *Quando... imperatores veritatem tenent, et ipsa veritate contra errorem jubent, quisquis illud contempserit, ipse sibi judicium acquirit. Nam et inter homines pœnas luit, et apud Deum frontem non habebit, qui hoc facere noluit, quod ei per cor regis ipsa veritas jussit*[9]: "When the emperor holdeth the truth, and by force of the same truth giveth out laws and proclamations against error, whosoever despiseth the same procureth judgment against himself. For he shall be punished before men, and before God he shall have no face, that refused to do that thing that the truth itself, through the heart of the prince, hath commanded him."

The Apology, Chap. xii. Division 2.

The christian emperors in the old time appointed the councils of the bishops. Constantine called the council at Nice: Theodosius the first called the council at Constantinople: Theodosius the second called[10] the council at Ephesus: Martian called[10] the council at Chalcedon.

M. HARDING.

[a] A discreet distinction. As if the emperor received his authority from the pope.

The calling or summoning of councils may be done [a]*either by way of authority which the caller himself hath, or by way of authority which he taketh of another. If Constantine, the two Theodosians, and Martian, called the four first general councils by their authority only, then were they no general councils; neither could their decrees bind the whole world. For, although they were great emperors, yet was not the whole christian world under them. And therefore those christian bishops who lived in Persia, in Æthiopia, in Scotland, in Scythia, or in any other land not subject to the emperor, were neither bound to come, nor bound to obey the laws made by them, who were not their superiors. But, if it be far from reason that a general council should not bind all bishops and all Christians, it is also far from reason to*

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[1] ...cum [papa] submittat se confessori suo, tenetur ei parere.—Corp. Jur. Canon. Lugd. 1624. Decret. Gratian. Decr. Sec. Pars, Caus. ix. Quæst. iii. Gloss. in can. 13. col. 877.]

[2] ...ἀλλ' ὑμεῖς μὲν τῶν εἴσω τῆς ἐκκλησίας, ἐγὼ δὲ τῶν ἐκτὸς ὑπὸ Θεοῦ καθεσταμένος ἐπίσκοπος ἂν εἴην.—Euseb. De Vit. Constant. Lib. iv. cap. xxiv. in Hist. Eccles. Script. Amst. 1695-1700. p. 443.]

[3] Falshead, 1567, 1570.]

[4] Bonifac. VIII. in Corp. Jur. Canon. Extrav. Comm. Lib. i. De Major. et Obed. cap. 1. col. 208.]

[5] Which they found shamefully decayed, 1567.]

[6] Johan. de Parrhis. De Potest. Reg. et Papal. cap. xix. in Goldast. Mon. Rom. Imp. Hanov. et Franc. 1612-14. Tom. II. p. 134.]

[7] Hervæus de Potestate Papæ, 1567.]

[8] Subject, 1567, 1570.]

[9] August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. Ad Donatist. Epist. cv. cap. ii. 7. Tom. II. col. 299; where *tenent pro ipsa, quod quisquis contemserit,* and *Deum fontem non.* The reading *frontem* of the older editions is mentioned in a note.]

[10] *Called* is not in Conf. or Def. 1567.]

say that emperors called general councils by their own only authority. Indeed they called them by the assent of the bishop of Rome, [b]*who, being the general shepherd of Christ's flock, and therefore also of all bishops, might command* [c]*all his sheep to come together, except they were reasonably to be excused; and they were bound to hear his voice, and to obey his decree. So that, although ye proved the emperors to have summoned and called the four first councils, yet were ye not able to prove they did it* [d]*without the assent of the bishops of Rome, which for the time sat in Peter's chair: and by the force of that assent the deed must take effect. And thus*[11] *much generally.*

[b] Untruth, manifest, as it shall appear.
[c] All the bishops throughout the whole world are the pope's sheep.
[d] Untruth. For the emperor may summon councils, whether the pope will or no.

Now to prove unto you that [e]*St Sylvester assented to the calling of the first council at Nice, it is to be considered, that he only hath authority to ratify who hath authority to command, and to give assent and strength from the beginning. For none other difference is between commanding, assenting, authorising, and ratifying, but that assenting is common to them all; commanding is a thing that goeth before the fact; authorising is the making of a thing good by present agreeing to it, whiles it is done; ratifying is the allowing of it when it is*[13] *done. If then I shew both that the pope did ratify the calling of the general councils and authorise them, I shew much more that he assented to the calling of them. The authorising is proved, by reason he sent his legates to every of them: as* [f]*St Sylvester sent Osius Cordubensis of the province of Spain unto Nice, with Victor and Vincentius, priests of the city of Rome. Of which the last two, being themselves no bishops, yet for that they were legates of the chief bishop, did in* [g]*the first place put unto the decrees of that council their consent and names, writing after this sort:* Pro venerabili viro papa et episcopo nostro Sylvestro subscripsimus[14]: *"We have subscribed for the reverend man our pope and bishop Sylvester." And at the very* [h]*same time that the general council was kept at Nice, St Sylvester called another council in Rome, at the which two hundred seventy and five bishops were assembled. And it is expressly written in the same council;* Sylvester ... collegit ... universam synodum episcoporum cum consilio Augusti vel matris ejus[15]: *"Sylvester gathered together the whole synod of the bishops, with the counsel of the* [i]*emperor or* **his mother." Why his counsel was needful, it appeareth there; because the emperor bare the charges of their diet and carriage: so that his counsel was necessary, not chiefly for religion, but rather for supportation of the charges of so great a journey. For then neither was the bishop of Rome nor other bishops endued with so large possessions as they were afterward.*

[e] Untruth. For Sylvester was dead long before the summoning of the council[12].
[f] Untruth, vain and unadvised. For neither was Hosius Sylvester's legate, nor was Sylvester then alive[12].
[g] Untruth impudent. For they had the fourth place in the council, and subscribed after Eustathius.
[h] Untruth, unless a dead man may summon councils.
[i] By the counsel of the emperor or of his mother wisely, he wotteth not whether. And yet the emperor's mother was dead before. *Soz. Lib. ii. cap. ii. & iii.*[16]

Now to return to the council of Nice. The emperor was indeed the cause of their coming together, as well for that himself persuaded that mean of concord, as also for that liberally he defrayed the charges. Yet called he not the bishops of his own head; and that these men might have seen in the ecclesiastical history, where Ruffinus writeth: Tum ille ex sacerdotum sententia apud urbem Nicæam episcopale concilium convocat[17]: *"The*[18] *emperor calleth together a council of bishops according to the determination of the priests." He did it according as it seemed* **good to the bishops.* [k]*And shall we think the bishop of Rome was none of them that consented to the calling? Yes verily, he was the chiefest of all. How can it otherwise seem? For, when all the decrees were made,* Placuit ut hæc omnia mitterentur ad episcopum urbis Romæ Sylvestrum[19]: *"It was thought good that all those acts and decrees should be sent to* **Sylvester bishop of the city of Rome." If he were the last that had the view and confirming of all things, there is no doubt but he had a voice and great authority in calling the council.*

Lib. x. cap. 1. Mark, ex sacerdotum sententia.

In Summ. Nice. Concil.

[k] Full clerkly proved. For Ruffinus saith, the emperor herein followed the advice of Alexander the bishop of Alexandria, &c.; but of the pope there is no mention.

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[11] This, Conf. and Det. 1567, 1570.]

[12] See below, page 996, note 8.]

[13] Is it, Conf.]

[14] Concil. Nic. Subscr. in Crabb. Concil. Col. Agrip. 1551. Tom. I. p. 257. The order of the subscriptions is found to vary. Here Victor (*al.* Vitus) and Vincentius appear in the second place.]

[15] Synod. Rom. Act. I. cap. 1. in eod. Tom. I. pp. 273, 4.]

[16] Soz. in Hist. Eccles. Script. Lib. II. capp. ii. iii. pp. 361, &c. These chapters mention the death of the empress, and the churches built by Constantine, but do not say when Helena died. Her death is generally placed A.D. 327, or 328.]

[17] Hist. Eccles. Par. Lib. X. cap. i. fol. 105. 2; where *sententia sacerdotum.*]

[18] Then the, Conf. and Def. 1567.]

[19] Concil. Nic. Præf. in Crabb. Concil. Tom. I. p. 251.]

What other is that which Socrates in his Ecclesiastical History witnesseth, saying: Cum utique regula ecclesiastica jubeat non oportere [1]præter sententiam Romani pontificis concilia* celebrari[1]: *"Whereas the ecclesiastical rule commandeth* *that no councils ought to be kept beside[2] the determinate consent of the bishop of Rome?" "We know," saith Athanasius and the bishops of Egypt assembled in council at Alexandria, "that in the great council of Nice of three hundred and eighteen bishops it was with one accord by all confirmed there, that without the determination of the bishop of Rome neither councils should be kept, nor bishops condemned[3]." I omit here, as a thing well known, how Constantine the emperor refused in express words to be judge over bishops, saying, that God had given them power to judge of him; much less did he arrogate to himself only and chiefly authority to summon councils or to judge bishoply affairs[4]. "As for me," saith Valentinian the emperor, "inasmuch as I am but one of the people, it is not lawful to search such matters;" he speaketh of the heretics' doctrines; "but let the priests, to whom this charge belongeth, be gathered together within themselves where they will," &c.[5]*

Hist. Trip. Lib. iv. cap. 9.

Epistola Ægypt. Pontificum.

Ruff. Lib. x. c. 2.

Hist. Trip. Lib. vii. cap. xii.

[1] Untruth, fondly forged. For Sylvester was dead long before.

[*] Untruth, standing in plain corruption of the words. See the answer.

Concerning the second council, which was the first of those that were kept at Constantinople, it may be that Theodosius called it, as Constantine called the first at Nice. But what authority Damasus bare in the same, it appeareth partly by that he had his [n]*legates there, partly also by that Photius, patriarch of Constantinople, writeth in his epistle to Michael, prince of Bulgaria; where, having declared the coming together of the patriarchs of Alexandria and Jerusalem, he saith thus:* Quibus haud multo post et Damasus episcopus Romæ eadem confirmans atque idem sentiens accessit[6]: *"To which" (patriarchs of Alexandria and Jerusalem), "not long after, Damasus the bishop of Rome joined himself, confirming* [o]*and determining the same matter." Thus[7] much saith Photius of the second council, the confirmation whereof he doth attribute not to Theodosius the emperor, but to Damasus the pope.*

Photius in Lib. de Conciliis.

[n] So had sundry other bishops.

[o] Other bishops likewise gave their consents and confirmed, &c. Yet had they no authority to summon councils.

But what did Theodosius then? (will some man say). Did he nothing? Yes verily, he did very much, as in the said epistle Photius recordeth. "Then did great Theodosius," saith he, "indeed worthy of great praise, rule the empire, who was himself also a defender and maintainer[8] of godliness[9]." Behold what the emperor's part was, not to sit in judgment of matters of religion, and [p]*determine which was the true faith, but to defend it and maintain it. And, that thou mayest see, reader, plainly what Theodosius thought of religion, whom these defenders would make a judge in causes of religion, I advise thee to read the ninth book of the Tripartite history, where appear many great arguments of his own faith, which he published[11] to the world from Thessalonica in a public law to be such as Peter had taught the Romans,* [q]*and as Damasus, who succeeded Peter, taught at that day, requiring all his subjects to believe the same. He required not them to follow his own private faith, but Peter's faith, and the pope's faith[12]. And, whereas there were two bishops of Alexandria at that time, the one, whose name was[13] Peter, holding with the bishop of Rome, the other named Lucius, not so[14];*

Cap. vii.[10]

Ruff. Lib. xi. cap. 3.

[p] Untruth manifest. For Theodosius the emperor expressly determined what should be holden for christian faith.

[q] Untruth, guilefully inclosed. For Theodosius willed his subjects to follow as well the faith of sundry other bishops as the popes.

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[1] Hist. Tripart. Par. Lib. IV. cap. ix. fol. F. 4. 2. Conf. Socrat. in Hist. Eccles. Script. Amst. 1695-1700. Lib. II. cap. viii. p. 70.]

[2] Besides, Conf. and Def. 1567, 1570.]

[3] Nam scimus in Nicæna magna synodo trecentorum decem et octo episcoporum ab omnibus concorditer esse roboratum, non debere absque Romani pontificis sententia concilia celebrari.—Athanas. Op. Par. 1698. Ægypt. Pont. ad Felic. Epist. Tom. II. p. 676. This epistle is universally admitted to be a forgery.]

[4] Hist. Eccles. Lib. x. cap. ii. fol. 105. 2. See before, page 968, notes 1, 2.]

[5] *Mihi* quidem, cum minimus de populo sim, fas non est talia perscrutari. Verum sacerdotes, quibus hæc cura est, apud semetipsos congregentur ubi voluerint.—Hist. Tripart. Lib. VII. cap. xii. fol. O. 4. 2. Conf. Soz. in Hist. Eccles. Script. Lib. VI. cap. vii. p. 525.]

[6] Phot. de Synod. ad calc. Nomocan. Lut. Par. 1615. p. 165.]

[7] This, Conf. and Def. 1567, 1570.]

[8] And a maintainer, Conf. and Def. 1567, 1570.]

[9] Τηνικαῦτα δὲ τὰς τῆς βασιλείας ἡνίας ὁ μέγας ὡς ἀληθῶς καὶ μεγάλης εὐφημίας ἄξιος περιεζώννυτο Θεοδόσιος, πρόμαχος καὶ αὐτὸς τῆς εὐσεβείας γνωζόμενος.—Id. ibid. p. 166.]

[10] This reference is inserted from Conf. and Def. 1567, 1570.]

[11] Publisheth, Conf. and Def. 1567.]

[12] Hist. Tripart. Lib. IX. cap. vii. fol. R. 7. 2. Conf. Soz. in Hist. Eccles. Script. Lib. VII. cap. iv. p. 575. See below, page 1002, note 1.]

[13] *Was* is not in 1570.]

[14] Hist. Eccles. Lib. XI. cap. iii. fol. 120.]

Theodosius commanded his subjects to believe as Peter did, who followed the first Peter, and Damasus the bishop of Rome.

Touching the third general council, it was kept indeed under Theodosius the younger at Ephesus. But he was not supreme head there: yea rather, who knoweth not that Cyrillus, being himself patriarch of Alexandria, yet was president at Ephesus, bearing the stead and person of pope Celestine? If Cyril was instead of the bishop of Rome there president, [r]who may doubt but that he was supreme head of the church, in whose name the president sat? Doth the president of the queen's majesty's council use to sit at her council in the name of any other inferior person?

[r] A fond folly. For the bishop of Rome had evermore the first place in councils. Yet was he not therefore the head of the church.

If Theodosius were supreme and chief, why sat not Cyril in his name as president? But seeing that Photius writeth, and Nicephorus also, that Cyril, archbishop of Alexandria, sat in the stead of Celestine, pope of Rome, over that council kept at Ephesus[15]*, undoubtedly it cannot be denied but that Celestine was supreme head as well of the church as of the general council.*

Lib. xiv. cap. 34.

It is not therefore only to be considered that Theodosius sent abroad his messengers to summon the fathers to the general council, but also it is to be considered [s]by whose authority it was done. If in our time it had pleased the emperor Ferdinand of famous memory to have sent his messengers to the kings and princes of Spain, France, England, Hungary, Bemeland, Pole, and to the estates and dukes of Italy and Germany, to summon them to the council which the pope thought good to indict at Trent; I think verily the pope would have thanked the emperor for it, and himself should have saved so much charges as men of experience know such an enterprise to require. But now, sith the pope hath of his own sufficient to bear the charges of such affairs, he asketh not any more of the emperor such expenses as in old time to that necessary purpose by the emperors was[16] *allowed.*

[s] No doubt by the authority of the pope! And so was the emperor only the pope's man.

Last of all Martian (say you) called the fourth general council at Chalcedon. We answer, he called it not in such sort as ye mean, to wit, as supreme head and ruler thereof; but as one able to send messengers for the bishops about the world, and to sustain the charges, also willing to see peace and concord in the church of God. Who list to read the epistles of pope Leo to Pulcheria the empress, to Martian himself, to Theodosius, to Flavianus archbishop of Constantinople, to the synod first assembled at Ephesus, afterward for certain causes at Chalcedon; in the same epistles he may see both the cause of the council, and what [t]conference was had thereof with the said Leo bishop of Rome, who sent first to Ephesus Julianus a bishop, Renatus a priest, and Hilarius a deacon, and afterward to Chalcedon Paschasinus and Lucentius bishops, and Bonifacius a priest, to represent his person. In one of the said epistles written to the second synod at Ephesus, Leo saith thus: Religiosissima clementissimi principis fides, &c.[17] *"The most religious faith of our most clement prince, knowing it to pertain chiefly to his renown, if within the catholic church no branch of error spring, hath deferred this reverence to God's ordinances, as to use the authority of the see apostolic to achieve the effect of a holy purpose, as though he were desirous by the most blessed Peter himself that to be declared which in his confession was praised." By which words it is plain that in matters of religion the emperor proceeded not upon his own head, but [u]was directed by the see of Peter. What shall I say more?*

[t] Untruth. For the council was summoned to Chalcedon quite contrary to the pope's will. Read the answer.

Leo, Epist. xv.[18]

[u] Untruth, most manifest. Read the answer.

If the emperor first christened the pope, let the emperor be superior in things to God-ward. But, if the pope christened the emperor (as [x]Sylvester did Constantine), let the spiritual father in that degree of rule be above the spiritual child.

[x] Untruth. For he was christened by Eusebius, the bishop of Nicomedia, long after that Sylvester was dead.

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

No man could utter so many untruths together, with such affiance, without

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[15 ... Κύριλλος...τοῦ Ῥώμης Κελεστίνου ἐπλήρου τὴν καθέδραν καὶ τὸ πρόσωπον.—Phot. ubi supra, p. 166.

...Κελεστῖνος δ' ὁ τῆς Ῥώμης ἐπίσκοπος...ἔγραφε δὲ Κυρίλλῳ, προτρέπων καὶ τὸν ἐκείνου τόπον ἐπέχειν.—Niceph. Call. Hist. Eccles. Lut. Par. 1630. Lib. XIV. cap. xxxiv. Tom. II. p. 512.]

[16 Were, Conf. and Def. 1567, 1570, 1609.]

[17 Religiosa clementissimi &c. sciens ad suam gloriam maxime pertinere, si intra ecclesiam catholicam nullius erroris germen exsurgeret, hanc reverentiam divinis detulit institutis, ut ad sanctæ dispositionis effectum auctoritatem apostolicæ sedis adhiberet; tanquam ab ipso beatissimo Petro cuperet declarari, quid in ejus confessione laudatum sit.—Leon. Magni Op. Lut. 1623. Ad Ephes. Synod. Epist. xv. col. 320.]

[18 This reference is inserted from Conf. and Def. 1567.]

some cunning. First, M. Harding, ye bear us in hand that the emperors of the world in those days summoned councils, not by their own authority, but by the authority and warrant of the pope: as if the pope's authority at that time had been many degrees above the emperor. Notwithstanding pope Pius II., as you know, saith thus: *Ante Nicenam synodum unusquisque sibi vixit; et parvus respectus ad Romanam ecclesiam habebatur*[1]: "Before the council of Nice each bishop lived severally to himself; and little regard was there then had to the church of Rome." Pope Innocentius complaineth that he had not authority sufficient to force Pelagius, being but one man, to come before him[3]: much less had he authority sufficient to command and call the whole world. Pope Leo both was an humble suitor himself unto the emperor Martianus, that it would please his majesty to command a council, and also entreated other bishops to promote the cause. Thus he writeth: *Humiliter ac sapienter exposcite, ut petitioni nostræ, qua plenariam indici synodum postulamus, clementissimus imperator dignetur annuere*[4]: "Make suit with discreet and humble prayer that our most gracious emperor would vouchsafe to grant our request, in that we have desired a general council." It is not likely that pope Leo would thus have written, if his own authority had been sufficient.

Æn. Sylv. in Epist. 288.[2]

Inter Epist. August. Epist. 96.

Leo ad Cler. et Pleb. Const. Epist. 23.

Nay, it is the more unlikely that the emperor should herein at any time use the authority of the pope, for that the pope himself was never able to summon bishops, as hereafter it shall appear, but only by the authority of the emperor. Pope Damasus commanded the bishops of the east to come to Rome; howbeit not in his own name, for that had been no warrant, but by the emperor's special letters[5]. Eusebius saith thus: Ἀντίγραφον βασιλικῆς ἐπιστολῆς, δι' ἧς σύνοδον ἐπισκόπων ἐπὶ Ῥώμης γενέσθαι κελεύει: *Exemplar regiarum literarum, quibus jubet Romæ episcoporum concilium celebrari*[6]: "This is a copy of the emperor's writ, whereby he commanded a council to be kept in Rome." As for the pope, notwithstanding all his universal power, he was commanded by the emperor's summon to be present at councils as well as others.

Theodor. Lib. v. cap. ix. διὰ τῶν τοῦ θεοφιλεστάτου βασιλέως γραμμάτων. Euseb. Lib. x. cap. v.

In the council of Chalcedon it is written thus: *Eodem tenore a piissimis et christianissimis imperatoribus sanctissimus noster papa Romanæ ecclesiæ præpositus Leo vocatus est*[7]: "By order of the same writ, our most holy pope Leo, ruler of the church of Rome, was called to the council by the most godly and most christian emperors."

Concil. Chalced. Act. 1. p. 748.

Sozomenus saith: *Constantinus scripsit ad omnes præsides ecclesiarum, ut ad diem adessent; ad episcopos apostolicarum sedium, ad Macarium Hierosolymitanum, ad Julium Romanum, &c.*[8] "The emperor Constantinus sent out his letters unto all the rulers of the churches, that they should meet all at Nice upon a day; unto the bishops of the apostolic sees; unto Macarius the bishop of Hierusalem; and unto Julius the bishop of Rome, &c. But Julius excused his absence because of his age." Otherwise, of obedience and duty towards the emperor, he was as much bound to have made his appearance there, as the rest of his brethren.

Soz. Lib. i. cap. xvi. Theodor. Lib. i. cap. vii. διὰ γῆρας ἀπελείφθη βαθύ.

Ye say, if the emperor should have summoned the council by his own authority, then the bishops of Persia and Scotland, which countries were not then

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[1 Æn. Sylv. Op. Basil. 1551. Ad Mart. Mayer. Epist. cclxxxviii. p. 802. See Vol. I. page 386, note 9.]

[2 288 is not in 1567.]

[3 This is implied rather than expressed in the epistle referred to. See Innoc. ad Aurel. &c. Epist. clxxxiii. 4. in August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. Tom. II. col. 642.]

[4 Leon. Magni Op. Lut. 1623. Ad Cler. et Pleb. Constant. Epist. xxiii. col. 332.]

[5 Theodor. in Hist. Eccles. Script. Amst. 1695-1700. Lib. v. cap. ix. p. 209.]

[6 Euseb. in eod. Lib. x. cap. v. p. 319; where κελεύει γενέσθαι.]

[7 Concil. Chalced. in Crabb. Concil. Col. Agrip. 1551. Tom. I. p. 748. Conf. Concil. Stud. Labb. et Cossart. Lut. Par. 1671-2. Tom. IV. col. 121.]

[8 ... συνεκάλεσε σύνοδον εἰς Νίκαιαν τῆς Βιθυνίας, καὶ πανταχῆ τοῖς προεστῶσι τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν ἔγραψεν, εἰς ῥητὴν ἡμέραν παρεῖναι· ἐκοινώνουν δὲ τούτου τοῦ συλλόγου, τῶν μὲν ἀποστολικῶν θρόνων, Μακάριος ὁ Ἱεροσολύμων, καὶ Εὐστάθιος ἤδη τὴν Ἀντιοχείας τῆς πρὸς τῷ Ὀρόντῃ ἐκκλησίαν ἐπιτραπείς, καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ Ἀλεξανδρείας τῆς πρὸς τὴν Μαρείαν λίμνην· Ἰοὺλιος δὲ ὁ Ῥωμαίων ἐπίσκοπος, διὰ γῆρας ἀπελιμπάνετο· παρῆσαν δὲ ἀντ' αὐτοῦ Βίτωσ καὶ Βικέντιος, πρεσβύτεροι τῆς αὐτῆς ἐκκλησίας.— Soz. in Hist. Eccles. Script. Lib. i. cap. xvii. p. 350. Conf. Vales. not. in loc. It is on this passage that Jewel and others have mainly relied in supposing that Sylvester was previously dead.

Theodor. in eod. Lib. i. cap. vii. p. 24. Theodoret does not name the bishop of Rome, but merely says ὁ δὲ τῆς Ῥώμης.]

under the obedience of the Roman empire, would not have appeared upon the summon, and so it had[9] been no general council. This cavil wanteth both truth and savour; for proof whereof I will bring forth yourself, M. Harding, to reprove yourself. Ye should not so soon have forgotten your own decree, specially conceived and published in this self-same book. Thus you say; these be your own words: "A council is not accounted general because bishops of all countries under heaven be assembled, but because many be assembled, and all be lawfully called[10]." Otherwise your late chapter of Trident, with your worthy number of forty prelates, whereof certain were only May bishops[11], otherwise by you called *Nullatenses*, could never have been a general council.

The Summoning of Councils.

M. Harding, fol. 329. a. [Conf.]

Nicolaus Cusanus saith: *Auctoritas concilii non ita dependet a congregante ut, nisi a papa congregetur, non sit concilium; quia tunc omnia octo universalia concilia non fuissent firma; quoniam per imperatores convocata leguntur. Et Romanus pontifex, ad instar aliorum patriarcharum, divales sacras jussiones, de veniendo aut mittendo ad concilium, recepit*[12]: "The authority of a council dependeth not of him by whom it was summoned, that unless it be summoned by the pope, it can be no council. For so we should avoid all the first eight general councils. For we read they were summoned by emperors, and not by popes. And the pope received the emperor's majesty's commandment to come or send to councils, as other patriarchs did[13]."

Nic. Cusan. de Concord. Cath. Lib. ii. cap. xxv.

Certainly it cannot appear that there was any bishop either of Scotland, or of England, then called Britain, at any of the first four councils, either at Nice, or at Ephesus, or at Constantinople, or at Chalcedon. Yet are these councils nevertheless called general.

Touching the rest, the emperor was then the only monarch of the world, and, as Chrysostom calleth him, *Summitas et caput omnium super terram hominum*[14]: "The top and head of all men in the world." No doubt, whosoever would then have refused the emperor's summon, much more would he have refused the summon of the pope.

Chrysost. ad Pop. Ant. Hom. 2.

To qualify the matter, ye say, the emperor did these things, although not by the pope's warrant, yet at the least by the pope's consent, and never otherwise. Here likewise is another untruth. For the emperor commanded councils both when he would and whither he would, whether the pope would or no, many times without any manner of regard had to his pleasure. Pope Leo wrote thus unto the emperor Theodosius: *Omnes nostræ ecclesiæ, omnes mansuetudini vestræ cum gemitibus et lacrymis supplicant sacerdotes, ut... generalem synodum jubeatis intra Italiam celebrari*[15]: "All our churches and all our priests most humbly beseech your majesty with sobs and tears that ye will command a general council to be holden within Italy." In like sort he moved the clergy of Constantinople to be suitors unto his majesty for the same: yet nevertheless the emperor continued still in his purpose; and, contrary to the pope's humble petition, kept the council not in Italy, but at Chalcedon, where also, as it is said before, pope Leo himself was summoned to appear by the emperor's commandment with other bishops.

Leo ad Theod. Epist. 14.

Of such authority was the pope's consent in summoning of councils. He humbly craved it upon his knees with sighs and tears, and could not get it. And therefore Nicolaus Cusanus saith: *Habetur... ex præscriptis una conclusio, ... scilicet in conciliis Romanum pontificem in condendis statutis generalibus non habere eam potestatem, quam quidam adulatores illi contribuunt*[16]: "Hereof we have one conclusion, that in general councils and in making of laws general the bishop of Rome hath no such power as certain flatterers would allow him." Take heed

Nic. Cusan. de Concord. Cath. Lib. ii. cap. xii.

[9 Had it, 1567, 1570.]

[10 See below, page 1051.]

[11 See before, page 905, notes 16, 17.]

[12 ...ita dicendum de universalis ecclesiæ concilio, quod ejus auctoritas non &c. quod nisi per papam congregaretur, quod tunc non foret concilium, quia tunc non fuissent omnia octo universalia concilia firma, &c. congregata leguntur: &c. mittendo concilium recepisse.—Nic. de Cusa Op. Basil. 1565. De Concord. Cathol. Lib. II. cap. XXV. Tom. II. p. 756.]

[13 This paragraph is not in 1567.]

[14 Chrysost. Op. Par. 1718-38. Ad Pop. Ant. Hom. ii. Tom. II. p. 23.]

[15 Leon. Magni Op. Ad Theodos. August. Epist. xxiv. col. 334; where *omnes partium nostrarum ecclesiæ*.]

[16 Nic. de Cusa Op. De Concord. Cathol. Lib. II. cap. xii. Tom. II. p. 725; where *eam non habere* and *eidem contribuunt*.]

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therefore, M. Harding, lest for your great pains in a desperate cause ye be taken for one of the pope's flatterers[1].

Hereof Æneas Sylvius, which afterward was pope Pius II., saith thus: *Ex hisce auctoritatibus mirum in modum se putant armatos, qui concilia negant fieri posse sine consensu papæ. Quorum sententia si, ut ipsi volunt, inviolata persistet*[2], *ruinam secum ecclesiæ trahet*[3]. *Quid enim remedii erit, si criminosus papa perturbet ecclesiam, si animas perdat, si pervertat malo exemplo populos, si denique contraria fidei prædicet, hæreticisque dogmatibus imbuat subditos? ... Sinemusne cum ipso cuncta ruere? ... At ego, dum veteres lego historias, dum actus perspicio apostolorum, hunc equidem morem non invenio, ut soli papæ concilia convocaverint: ... Nec post, tempore Constantini magni, et aliorum Augustorum, ad congreganda concilia quæsitus est magnopere Romani consensus papæ*[4]: "By these authorities they think themselves armed, that say, No council may be kept without the consent of the pope. Whose judgment, if it should stand as they would have it, would draw with it the decay and ruin of the church. For what remedy were there then, if the pope himself were vicious, destroyed souls, overthrew the people with evil example[5], taught doctrine contrary to the faith, and filled his subjects full of heresies? Should we suffer all to go to the devil? Verily, when I read the old stories and consider the Acts of the Apostles, I find no such order in those days, that only the pope should summon councils. And afterward, in the time of Constantine the great and of other emperors, when councils should be called, there was no great account made of the pope's consent." Cardinal Cusanus saith: *Negligente aut contradicente papa, imperator potest præceptive synodos indicere ad providendum fluctuanti ecclesiæ*[6]: "If the pope be negligent, or if he say nay, the emperor to stay the wavering state of the church may command councils by his own authority." Thus the emperor Sigismund called a council at Constance, notwithstanding it stood pope John much upon never to yield his consent unto it: for in the same council he was deprived, and of a pope was made a cardinal.

Æn. Sylv. de Conc. Basil. Lib. i.

Cusan. de Concord. Cath. Lib. iii. cap. xv.

Ye say, The pope had authority[7] to confirm councils; *ergo*, much more he had authority to call councils. And here ye tell us a very solemn tale, what is commanding, what is assenting, what is authorising, what is ratifying; as if it had been somewhat to the purpose. But, if your reason hold, then must general councils have many callers. For, as I shall hereafter sufficiently prove, not only the pope or the other principal patriarchs, but also all other bishops that were present, yea, emperors, kings, lieutenants, and counsellors, had authority to confirm councils.

Sozomenus saith: *Nec Romanus* [*nec Vincentinus*], *nec alii confirmarunt*[8]: "This council was confirmed neither by the bishop of Rome, nor by the bishop of Vincentia, nor by the rest of the bishops." Whereby it appeareth that in confirmation of councils all other bishops whatsoever had as good right and authority as the bishop of Rome[9]. And the emperor Martianus saith: *Sacrosancto nostræ serenitatis edicto venerandam synodum confirmamus*[10]: "We confirm the reverend council by the holy edict of our majesty." Thus you see that not only all bishops, but also emperors and lay princes, had authority to confirm councils. Now therefore, M. Harding, if it be true that you say, that whosoever hath authority to confirm councils much more hath authority to call councils, then must it needs follow that not only kings and emperors, but also all bishops through the world, have authority to call councils[11].

Soz. Lib. vi. cap. xxiii.

Concil. Calced. Act. 3. p. 804.

Ye say, pope Sylvester sent that famous learned father Hosius, the bishop

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[1] The sentences from *get it* are not in 1567.]

[2] Persistat, 1567, 1570.]

[3] Trahit, 1567, 1570.]

[4] Ex quibus autoritatibus &c. qui fieri sine consensu papæ concilia negant. Quorum &c. persistat, &c. trahit. Quid &c. exemplo malo &c. equidem usum non invenio, &c. concilia congregaverint: &c. magni Constantini, &c. assensus papæ.—Æn. Sylv. Op. Basil. 1551. Comm. de Gest. Basil. Concil. Lib. i. pp. 19, 20.]

[5] Examples, 1567.]

[6] ...ipse imperator negligente &c. Rom. pont.... præceptive posset synodum indicere &c.—Nic. de Cusa Op. Basil. 1565. De Concord. Cathol. Lib. iii. cap. xv. Tom. II. p. 797.]

[7] Had no authority, 1609, 1611.]

[8] Soz. in Hist. Eccles. Script. Amst. 1695-1700. Lib. vi. cap. xxiii. p. 542.]

[9] This sentence is not in 1567.]

[10] Concil. Calched. in Concil. Stud. Labb. et Cossart. Lut. Par. 1671-2. Edict. Marcian. Pars iii. cap. iv. Tom. IV. col. 842. Conf. in Crabb. Concil. Col. Agrip. 1551. Tom. I. p. 864.]

[11] The last two sentences are not in 1567.]

of Corduba, to the council of Nice to represent his person. This may well pass among the rest of your truths: for neither was Hosius there in the pope's behalf, but in his own; nor was pope Sylvester then alive or able to send him, during the whole time of the Nicene council, notwithstanding anything that your fabular, Peter Crabbe, hath said to the contrary. As for Hosius, the bishop of Corduba, of what authority and estimation he was in all ecclesiastical assemblies, it may appear by these words of Athanasius: *In qua synodo dux ille et antesignanus non fuit? ... Quæ ecclesia istius præsidentiæ non pulcherrima monumenta retinet*[12]? "In what council hath not Hosius been chief and president? What church is without some notable remembrance of his government?" Certainly, M. Harding, it seemeth he was a great deal too good to be sent so far in a dead man's errand.

The Summoning of Councils.

Athanas. Apolog. 2.

Notwithstanding, Julius, being then bishop of Rome, for that he was unable to travel because of his age, sent thither two priests, Vitus and Vincentius, to supply his room[13]. Thus he did, not of pride, the better by his absence to maintain a state, but only for that he was forced of necessity so to do. For if he had been able to travel so far, he had been forced to go thither himself. Therefore pope Agatho afterward thus excused his absence unto the emperors[14]: *Christianissimi domini filii, secundum piissimam jussionem ... mansuetudinis vestræ, pro obedientia quam debuimus, ... præsentes confamulos nostros ... misimus*[15]: "My most christian lords and children, according to the most godly commandment of your majesties, and according to the obedience that we owe of duty, we have sent these present our fellow-servants."

Soz. Lib. i. cap. xvii.

Concil. Const. Act. 4. ad Heracl. et Tiber. Imp. p. 288.

Other bishops in like cases of age or infirmity did the like. For example, Lucifer the bishop of Sardinia sent Herennius and Agapetus, and Paulinus sent Maximus and Calemerus to the council of Nice, to be in their steads[16].

Athanas. ad Ant. Tom. ii.

Ye say, "Vitus and Vincentius, for that they were the pope's legates, had therefore the first place in subscription among the bishops." Here is another great untruth. For Theodoretus saith, the first and chief of all that company, both in place and in speech, was not Vitus or Vincentius, the pope's legates, but Eustathius, the patriarch of Antioch[17].

Theod. Lib. i. cap. vii.

Touching these two the pope's legates, Sozomenus placeth them only in the fourth room[18]. Athanasius saith: *Subscripserunt, Hosius ab Hispania, Julius Romanus per Archidamum et Philoxenum presbyteros*[19]: "They subscribed their names to the council, Hosius that came out of Spain, and Julius the bishop of Rome, by Archidamus and Philoxenus, priests that were his legates." By which words he alloweth the bishop of Rome's legates the second place in subscription, but not the first. And thus ye see Hosius the bishop of Corduba subscribeth before Julius the bishop of Rome.

Soz. Lib. i. cap. xvii. Athanas. Apolog. 2.

In the council of Africa, Philippus and Asellus, the pope's legates, had the last place in subscription after all others[20]. In the council of Chalcedon, Philippus, one of the pope's legates, had an[21] hundred and seven and fifty others to subscribe before him[22].

Concil. Aphr. cap. 100. Concil. Chalced. Act. i. Sanct.

These fathers, I trow, would not have been so unmannerly in their dealing, if they had taken the pope for the head of the whole universal church, to have placed his legate behind so many. Further ye say, "At the very same time that the general council was kept at Nice, St Sylvester called another council in Rome." This, I trow, M. Harding, is another untruth, unless ye have power to raise up dead men to keep councils: for Sylvester was dead long before.

[12 Athanas. Op. Par. 1698. Apol. pro Fug. 5. Tom. I. Pars i. p. 322.]

[13 Soz. in Hist. Eccles. Script. Lib. i. cap. xvii. p. 350. See before, page 996, note 8.]

[14 Emperor, 1567.]

[15 Concil. Constant. iii. Act. iv. in Concil. Stud. Labb. et Cossart. Tom. VI. cols. 632, 3. Conf. in Crabb. Concil. Tom. II. p. 289.]

[16 Athanas. Op. Tom. ad Antioch. 9. Tom. I. Pars ii. p. 776. But these deputies were sent to a council at Alexandria.]

[17 Theodor. in Hist. Eccles. Script. Lib. i. cap. vii. p. 25. Theodoret states that Eustathius first addressed the emperor.]

[18 Soz. in eod. Lib. i. cap. xvii. p. 350.]

[19 Athanas. Op. Apolog. contr. Arian. 50. Tom. I. Pars i. p. 168. These are the subscriptions to the council of Sardica.]

[20 Concil. Aphr. cap. 100. in Crabb. Concil. Tom. I. p. 518.]

[21 A, 1567.]

[22 Concil. Calched. Act. i. in Concil. Stud. Labb. et Cossart. Tom. IV. col. 285. This is the list of those who sat at the council of Ephesus.]

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Sozomenus saith Vitus and Vincentius were sent to Nice, not by pope Sylvester, who then was dead, but by pope Julius[1] that was the second after him. The like may easily appear by Athanasius[2], Theodoretus[3], Nicephorus[4], and others. Beda[5] also in his Chronicles telleth you that the council of Nice was holden not in the time of pope Sylvester who then was dead, but in the time of pope Julius[6].

Soz. Lib. i. cap. xvii. Athanas. Apol. 2. Theodor. Lib. i. cap. vii. Niceph. Lib. viii. cap. xiv. Bed. in Chron.[8]

Therefore, M. Harding, you must needs devise two councils of Nice about one time; two Sylvesters[7] popes; two writers of this one story, the one true, the other false: otherwise this frail stuff will never hold. Ye are over easy to credit fables.

The council that ye imagine was holden in Rome by pope Sylvester is nothing else but a great heap[9] of childish vanities. The holy discreet learned fathers say there: *Nemo presbyterorum chrisma conficiat: ... quoniam Christus a chrismate vocatur: ... Præsul summus non judicabitur a quoquam; quoniam scriptum est, Non est discipulus supra magistrum. ... Neque ... ab Augusto, neque ab omni clero, neque a regibus, neque ab omni populo judex judicabitur*[10]: "No priest may make or hallow the chrism; for Christ of chrism hath his name: The highest prelate (that is the pope) may be judged of no man; for it is written, 'The scholar is not above his master.' The judge (that is the pope) shall not be judged, neither by the emperor, nor by all the clergy, nor by kings and princes, nor by the whole people." Such and other like good stuff have you in your council of Rome.

Concil. Rom. cap. 5. cap. 3. cap. 20.

Notwithstanding of what credit soever this council were, yet, M. Harding, it utterly overthroweth your whole purpose. For, if ever there were any such council summoned in Rome, it was summoned not by Sylvester the dead pope, but by the authority of the emperor that then was alive. So Eusebius writeth of the council of Rome, holden in the time of pope Meltiades, as it is said before: *Exemplar regiarum literarum, &c.*[11]: "Here is a copy of the emperor's writ, whereby he hath commanded a council of bishops to be kept at Rome."

Euseb. Lib. x. cap. v.

Likewise the bishops assembled in the council of Constantinople wrote unto the bishops in the council of Rome: *Cum indixissetis, &c.*[12]: "After ye had called a council to Rome, ye warned us also to come thither, as the members of your own body, by the most godly emperor's writ."

Theodor. Lib. v. cap. ix.

By these it appeareth, if there were any such council called to Rome, it was called by the emperor, and not by the pope.

Ye say, "The emperor in such affairs was advised evermore by the bishops." This is not unlikely, and therefore easily may be granted. Notwithstanding, for ought that ye can find, he[13] was more advised oftentimes by some other bishops than by the pope, as it shall appear. Eusebius touching the emperor Constantinus writeth thus: *Quasi communis quidam episcopus a Deo constitutus, ministrorum Dei synodos convocavit*[14]: "As if he had been one common bishop appointed by God, he appointed councils of bishops to assemble together." Ruffinus saith the emperor was advised hereto by Alexander the bishop of Alexandria, and by other bishops and priests of Egypt[15]. Here is no mention of the pope. In the

Euseb. de Vit. Const. Orat. 1.

Ruffin. Lib. i. cap. i.

[1 Soz. in Hist. Eccles. Script. Amst. 1695-1700. Lib. I. cap. xvii. p. 350. See before, page 996, note 8.]

[2 See above, page 999, note 19.]

[3 Theodor. in eod. Lib. I. cap. vii. p. 24. See before, page 996, note 8.]

[4 Niceph. Call. Hist. Eccles. Lut. Par. 1630. Lib. VIII. cap. xiv. Tom. I. p. 560.]

[5 Prima enim universalis synodus in Nicæa congregata est contra Arium, CCCXVIII. patrum, temporibus Julii papæ sub Constantino principe.—Ven. Bed. Op. Col. Agrip. 1612. De Sex Ætat. Mund. sive Chron. Tom. II. p. 116. Conf. ibid. Martyrol. Tom. III. col. 362; where he says that the council was gathered together by the pains of Sylvester, but completed in the time of Julius.]

[6 This sentence is not in 1567.]

[7 Sylvester, 1609, 1611.]

[8 Here in 1567 was placed in the margin, Tabula Hermanni Contracti. See Herm. Contract. Chron. in Chronic. Euseb. &c. Basil. 1536. fol. 183. But there is evidently an error in it; for, though this author says that the council of Nice was held under Julius, yet some years after he mentions the accession of Julius to the pontifical dignity.]

[9 A heap, 1567.]

[10 Concil. Rom. in Crabb. Concil. Col. Agrip. 1551. Act. I. capp. 5, 3, Act. II. cap. 20. Tom. I. pp. 277, 6, 81; where *conficeret, neque præsul summus a quoquam judicabitur, super*, and *a populo*.]

[11 Euseb. in Hist. Eccles. Script. Lib. x. cap. v. p. 319. See before, page 996, note 6.]

[12 Theodor. in eod. Lib. v. cap. ix. p. 209. See before, page 996, note 5.]

[13 Ought that may appear he, 1567.]

[14 Euseb. de Vit. Constant. in eod. Lib. I. cap. xliv. p. 353.]

[15 Hist. Eccles. Par. Lib. x. cap. i. fol. 105.]

like cases of ecclesiastical affairs Athanasius was an earnest suitor unto the emperor Constantius; Dioscorus unto Theodosius; and so others unto other.

The Summoning of Councils.

But of the pope's omnipotent consent, without which ye tell us no emperor may summon a council, there is no man that maketh mention.

Ye say, "There ought no council to be kept without the determinate consent of the bishop of Rome[16]." This also is another of your untruths, standing in the manifest corruption of the words of Socrates, as in my former Reply I have declared more at large[17]. The words of Socrates be these: *Non licet scribere ecclesiastica decreta præter sententiam episcopi Romani*[16]: "It is provided that ecclesiastical laws be not made without the consent of the bishop of Rome:"—for that the bishop of Rome was one of the four great patriarchs, whose assents in all general councils were thought necessary. But Socrates meaneth such ecclesiastical laws as pertain to the whole church of God. For this is a rule agreeable to reason, "That toucheth all must be allowed by all[18]."

Art. IV. Dist. 29.

Socrat. Lib. ii. cap. xvii. μὴ δεῖν παρὰ γνώμην τοῦ ἐπισκόπου Ῥώμης κανονίζειν τὰς ἐκκλησίας.

Cassiod. Lib. iv. cap. xix. Regula juris. Quod omnes tangit ab omnibus debet approbari.

Now, whereas ye have exchanged the allowing of canons into the summoning or calling of councils, it may please you to remember, that allowing of canons was common to all the members of the council, and specially to the four principal patriarchs, as it is said before; but the authority of calling councils belonged only to the emperor.

That ye allege of Athanasius is a vain and shameless[19] forgery, as I have otherwhere declared more at large[20]. Such religion, such doctors. Such folly is worthy no other answer.

"Valentinian the emperor (ye say) accounted himself as one of the people, and therefore said, it was not lawful for him to examine matters of religion[21]." Thus he said either of humility, or else for want of time. His foreign enemies, his wars, and his civil cares, had filled his head with other thoughts. Nicephorus imagineth him thus to say: *Mihi negotiis occupato, et reipublicæ curis distento, res hujusmodi inquirere non est facile*[22]: "For me, being thus occupied with business and public cares, it is not easy to inquire of such matters." Otherwise, that ecclesiastical causes be within the prince's charge, I doubt not but hereafter it shall well appear. King Odoacer said unto pope Symmachus and unto the clergy of Rome, as it is alleged once before: *Miramur quicquam tentatum fuisse sine nobis; nam, vivente nostro presbytero, sine nobis nihil tentari oportuit*[23]: "We marvel that anything was attempted without us; for without us nothing should have been done so long as our priest (he meaneth the pope) was alive."

Soz. Lib. vi. cap. vii.

Niceph. Lib. xi. cap. iii.

Concil. Rom. III. cap. 2.

After this ye fill the house full with patriarchs of Constantinople, patriarchs of Alexandria, patriarchs of Hierusalem, princes of Bulgaria, and with other like great and stately persons. The conclusion hereof is this, that pope Damasus gave his consent to the council of Constantinople. All this, M. Harding, ye might soon have obtained with more favour and less ado. Howbeit ye may not hereof well reason thus, The pope consented unto the council; *ergo*, The pope had authority to call the council; lest children wonder at your logic.

In the mean while, ye say the emperor Theodosius ruled the empire; whereby ye give us to understand that he had no charge over the church. And thus ye continue still to enrich yourself, and to heap your reader with untruths.

Certainly the bishops in the council of Constantinople wrote thus in humble wise unto the same emperor Theodosius: *Obsecramus clementiam tuam, ut, quemadmodum literis honorasti ecclesiam, quibus nos convocasti, ita finalem conclusionem nostrorum decretorum corrobores sententia tua et sigillo*[24]: "We beseech your majesty that, as you[25] have honoured the church by your letters, wherewith ye have called

Post Concil. Ephes. Prim.

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[16] Socr. in Hist. Eccles. Script. Lib. II. cap. xvii. p. 79; Hist. Tripart. Lib. IV. cap. xix. fol. F. 7.]

[17] See Vol. I. pages 410 &c.]

[18] Bonifac. VIII. in Corp. Jur. Canon. Lugd. 1624. De Reg. Jur. ad calc. Sext. Decretal. Reg. 29. col. 812; where *debet ab omnibus.*]

[19] And a shameless, 1567.]

[20] Athanas. Op. Par. 1698. Ægypt. Pont. ad Felic. Epist. Tom. III. p. 676. See before, page 994, note 3. Conf. Vol. I. pages 352, &c.]

[21] Soz. in Hist. Eccles. Script. Lib. VI. cap. vii. p. 525.]

[22] Niceph. Call. Hist. Eccles. Lib. XI. cap. iii. Tom. II. p. 113.]

[23] Synod. Rom. Tert. cap. 2. in Crabb. Concil. Tom. I. p. 1004. See before, page 952, note 1.]

[24] Epist. Nunc. præf. Can. Concil. Constant. I. in eod. Tom. I. p. 548. Conf. Concil. Stud. Labb. et Cossart. Lut. Par. 1671-2. Tom. II. col. 946.]

[25] Ye, 1567, 1570.]

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us together, so it may please you to confirm the final conclusion of our decrees with your sentence, and with your seal."

Further, as it appeareth by your own allegation, the same emperor Theodosius took upon him to bound and to limit the catholic faith, and that even in the body of his civil laws; which thing neither could he have done without judgment, nor would he have done without authority. But, if ye mean that by this determination of the emperor Theodosius that faith only should be taken for catholic that was then professed by pope Damasus, and should afterward be professed by others succeeding in Peter's chair, then have ye secretly conveyed us in another untruth. The place itself will soon reprove you. The emperor's words be these: *Cunctos populos... in tali volumus religione versari, quam divinum Petrum apostolum tradidisse Romanis religio usque nunc ab eo insinuata declarat; quamque pontificem Damasum sequi claret, et Petrum Alexandriæ episcopum, virum apostolicæ sanctitatis*[1]: "We will all men to walk in that religion which holy Peter the apostle delivered to the Romans, as the faith first enkindled by him and still continued until this day doth declare; which religion also it is plain that pope Damasus followeth, and Peter the bishop of Alexandria, a man of apostolic holiness." Here the emperor Theodosius commandeth his subjects to follow as well the faith of Peter the bishop of Alexandria as of Damasus the bishop of Rome.

The emperor limiteth the catholic faith.

Cod. Theod. Lib. xvi. Tit. de Fid. Cath. Cunct. Popul.

And yet in the next title following he openeth his own meaning in this wise by other examples more at large: *Episcopis tradi omnes ecclesias mox jubemus,... quos constabit uti communione Nectarii episcopi Constantinopolitanæ ecclesiæ, [et] Timothei, &c.*[2]: "We command that forthwith the churches be restored to all bishops, of whom it shall appear that they communicate with Nestorius [Nectarius] the bishop of Constantinople, or with Timotheus; or such as shall have fellowship or agreement in faith with the bishops of Alexandria in Egypt, and with Pelagius the bishop of Laodicea, and with Diodorus the bishop of Tarsus in Asia, and with Amphilochius the bishop of Iconium, and with Optimus the bishop of Antioch, and with Helladius the bishop of Cæsaria, and with Otreius the bishop of Melite, and with Gregorius the bishop of Nyssa, and with Terennius the bishop of Scythia, and with Marmarius the bishop of Martianopolis." Every of these several bishops, M. Harding, by the emperor's judgment, in trial of the catholic faith, had as great authority and weight as had Damasus the bishop[3] of Rome.

Cod. Theod. Lib. xvi. Tit. 3. Soz. Lib. vii. cap. ix.

But pope Celestinus, ye say, desired Cyrillus the bishop of Alexandria to represent his person and to supply his room in the council of Ephesus, that is to say, to have the first place in the council. For the first place in all ecclesiastical assemblies was allotted to the bishop of Rome; the second to the bishop of Constantinople; the third to the bishop of Alexandria; the fourth to the bishop of Antioch; the fifth to the bishop of Hierusalem[4].

Dist. 22. Renovantes.

This packing of places, therefore, between Celestinus and Cyrillus was a mystery purposely canvassed to keep the bishop of Constantinople, whom the pope evermore envied, out of countenance. For by this policy the bishop of Alexandria, that should have had the third place, was handsomely shifted into the first; and the bishop of Constantinople, which in the bishop of Rome's absence should have had the first place, was removed down to the second.

Howbeit, what availeth all this, M. Harding, to further your purpose, and to prove that councils were summoned by the pope? Verily, it appeareth not hitherto that either Celestinus, or Cyrillus, or any other bishop, had any such

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[1 Grat. Valent. et Theod. in Cod. Theodos. Par. 1607. Lib. xvi. Tit. i. 2. pp. 480, 1; where *ab ipso.* Conf. Soz. in Hist. Eccles. Script. Amst. 1695-1700. Lib. vii. cap. iv. p. 575.]

[2 Episcopis &c. Timothei, necnon intra Ægyptum Alexandrinæ urbis episcopo esse sociatos: quos etiam in Orientis partibus Pelagio episcopo Laodicensi, et Diodoro Episcopo Tarsensi, in Asia necnon proconsulari atque Asiana diœcesi, Amphilocio episcopo Iconiensi, et Optimo episcopo Antiocheno in Pontica diœcesi Helladio episcopo Cæsariensi, et Otreio Meliteno, et Gregorio episcopo Nysseno, Terennio episcopo Scythiæ, Marmario episcopo Marcianop. communicare constiterit.—Ibid. 3. p. 481, Conf. Soz. ubi supra, Lib. vii. cap. ix. pp. 580, 1.]

[3 As the bishop, 1567.]

[4 Renovantes S. Constantinopolitani decreta concilii, petimus, ut Constantinopolitana sedes similia privilegia, quæ superior Roma habet, accipiat, necnon in ecclesiasticis rebus magnificetur ut illa: sed hæc, secunda post illam existens, prius quam Alexandrina sedes numeretur: deinde Antiochena, et post eam Hierosolymitana.—Ex 6. Synod. sub Justin. c. 36. in Corp. Jur. Canon. Lugd. 1624. Decret. Gratian. Decr. Prim. Pars, Dist. xxii. can. 6. col. 103.]

power or authority to summon councils. This is it that ye should have proved. As for the first or second place in councils[5], we moved no question.

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Again, ye seem to say, The pope of right was evermore president in all councils. This, if ye know it, is another untruth: if ye know it not, it is an error. For it is plain that in the first council of Nice pope Julius was not president, but Eustachius the bishop of Antioch. The pope's legates, as it is said before, were placed beneath in the fourth room[6]: in the fifth council of Constantinople Menna, the bishop of the same city, was president, and not the pope[7]. In the second Ephesine council Disocorus the bishop of Alexandria was president[8]. In the second council of Carthage it seemeth Gennedius was the president[9].

Theodor. Lib. i. cap. vii. Evagr. Lib. iv. cap. xxxviii. Niceph. Lib. xvii. cap. xxvii. Concil. Chalced. Act. 1. Diosc. Ex Actis Concil. Carthag. ii. Nic. Cusan. de Concord. Cath. Lib. ii. cap. ii.

Nicolaus Cusanus, after he had well debated this matter, saith thus: *In conciliis fuit semper præsidentialis Romani pontificis auctoritas, sine qua universale concilium non fuisset, dummodo saltem interesse voluisset*[10] *aut potuisset*[11]: "The bishop of Rome had always authority to be president in councils; otherwise the council had not been general, so that the bishop of Rome either would or could be present at the council." For otherwise he was not president. Therefore of your part, M. Harding, it was a great untruth to say, The pope of right was evermore president in all councils. Again, Cusanus saith: *Imperatore... in persona existente, reperio eum semper præsedisse. In sexta... synodo... Constantinus* [*imperator*] *præsedit in medio cum decem de majoribus patritiis, et ad lævam ejus vicarii senioris Romæ, &c.*[12]: "When the emperor was present in person, I find that he was always president. In the sixth council of Constantinople Constantinus the emperor was president, and sat in the midst with ten of his greatest lords; and at his left hand sat the pope's legates, &c." This, M. Harding, is very far from your reckoning[13].

Nic. Cusan. de Concord. Lib. iii. cap. xvi.

This dignity then passed not by inheritance or by succession, as the pope now would seem to claim it; but either by choice of the council, or by favour of the prince. Thus Hosius, the bishop of Corduba in Spain, not by right of his place, but for the worthiness of his person, was appointed president in the council of Sardica[14]. And Athanasius speaketh of him in this wise with great admiration: *Cujus non fuit concilii*[16] *princeps*[17]? "In what council hath not Hosius been the president or chief?"

Soz. Lib. iii. cap. xii. Theodor. Lib. ii. cap. xv.[15] Athanas. Apol. 2. et Epist. ad Solit. Vit. Agent.[18]

Ye say: Pope Sylvester christened the emperor Constantinus, and therefore was his spiritual father. This may pass among your other[19] truths; for your popes, by their omnipotent power, may minister sacraments being dead. It is known that as long as Sylvester was alive Constantinus was never christened[20]. And yet, notwithstanding all this were true, M. Harding, yet your cause thereby were little furthered, unless perhaps ye will reason thus: Pope Sylvester christened the emperor; *ergo*, the pope hath authority to call councils. Howbeit, unless this argument be better digested, your very sophisters of Lovaine will hardly allow it. But, indeed, that whole tale touching the christening of the emperor Constantine is nothing else but a peevish fable. Constantius, the emperor's own son, utterly denieth that Sylvester ever baptized Constantinus his father[21]. Eusebius saith Constantinus was christened, not in the flourishing state of his age,

Inter Act. Lib. cap. vi.

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[5] These two words are not in 1567.]

[6] Theodor. in Hist. Eccles. Script. Lib. i. cap. vii. p. 25. See before, page 999, notes 17, 18.]

[7] Evagr. in eod. Lib. iv. cap. xxxviii. pp. 412, &c. Evagrius mentions the assembling of a council, but does not say who presided.

Niceph. Call. Hist. Eccles. Lut. Par. 1630. Lib. xvii. cap. xxvii. Tom. II. pp. 774, &c.]

[8] Concil. Chalced. Act. i. in Crabb. Concil. Col. Agrip. 1551. Tom. I. p. 745. Conf. Concil. Stud. Labb. et Cossart. Lut. Par. 1671-2. Tom. IV. col. 109.]

[9] Concil. Carthag. ii. in eod. Tom. I. p. 424.]

[10] Noluisset, 1570.]

[11] Nic. de Cusa Op. Basil. 1565. De Concord. Cathol. Lib. ii. cap. ii. Tom. II. p. 712; where *et potuisset.*]

[12] Id. ibid. Lib. iii. cap. xvi. pp. 797, 8.]

[13] This paragraph is not in 1567.]

[14] ...Ὅσιος καὶ Πρωτογένης, οἳ τοτε ὑπῆρχον ἄρχοντες τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς δύσεως ἐν Σαρδικῇ συνελθόντων, κ.τ.λ.—Soz. in Hist. Eccles. Script. Lib. iii. cap. xii. p. 418.

... πάντων μάλιστα περιφανὴς ὁ γέρων. — Theodor. in eod. Lib. ii. cap. xv. p. 91.]

[15] For this reference, 1567, 1570 have *Socr. Lib. ii. cap. xx.*]

[16] Fuit ille concilii, 1567, 1570.]

[17] Athanas. Op. Par. 1698. Apolog. de Fug. 5. Tom. I. Pars i. p. 322. Conf. ibid. Hist. Arian. ad Monach. 42. p. 369.]

[18] 1567, 1570 have only *Athanas. Apol.* 2.]

[19] Other your, 1567, 1570.]

[20] This sentence is not in 1567.]

[21] Liber. Papæ Act. Quæd. cap. vi. in Crabb. Concil. Tom. I. p. 371. These Acts are spurious.]

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but only a little before he died; not in Rome, but at Nicomedia, in the kingdom of Epirus; not in a corner, but in the presence of many bishops[1]; and, as St. Hierome saith, not by pope Sylvester that then was dead, but by Eusebius the bishop of Nicomedia[3]. For proof whereof St Ambrose saith: *Constantino in ultimis constituto, gratia baptismatis omnia peccata dimisit*[4]: "The grace of baptism forgave Constantine all his sins, even at the ending of his life." Therefore, M. Harding, we must needs say, that either your tale is untrue, which is not strange; or else Constantine was twice baptized, which is very unlikely.

Euseb. de Vit. Const. Orat. 4. cap. xli.? Socrat. Anno Ætatis suæ 65. συγκαλέσας τοὺς ἐπισκόπους. Hieron. in Chron. Ambros. de Obit. Theod. Card. Polus de Bapt. Const. p. 87.

Cardinal Pole, seeing the matter to pass so clear, telleth us roundly in one word that Eusebius and Constantius were Arian heretics, and therefore refuseth the whole story written by Eusebius touching the christening of Constantine[5]. But, somewhat to soothe you in your tale, let a fable stand for truth, and let us grant you an impossibility, that Constantine was baptized by pope Sylvester being dead; yet will you needs gather hereof, that therefore the[6] emperor is subject to the pope? or that the pope hath authority to call councils? What will you then say when the emperor is baptized by some other priest, or bishop, or by a midwife? Shall every of these therefore require to have and to do the like? Or must we believe that such a priest, bishop, or midwife, shall have authority to call councils? Indeed, this were a good short way to get supremacy. But it might have pleased you to remember that the cardinal of Ostia useth always of office to consecrate the pope: yet, I trow, ye will not therefore place him above the pope. Elizæus anointed king Jehu; yet was he not therefore above the king. Your own doctor saith: *Quod hoc argumentum non concludat, patet; quia in veteri lege sacerdotes qui reges inungebant indubitanter regibus subdebantur*[7]: "It appeareth that this argument is nothing worth, and concludeth[9] nothing; for in the old law the priests that anointed the kings were undoubtedly subject to the kings."

Johan. de Paris. cap. xix.[8]

To conclude, what right emperors had in summoning of councils, by these few authorities and examples following it may soon appear. Eusebius saith: *Constantinus synodum œcumenicam collegit, et episcopos, ut undique accelerarent, honorificis literis convocavit*[10]: (Not the pope, but) "Constantine the emperor gathered[11] a general council, and by honourable writs called the bishops of all countries to repair thither." Theodoretus saith: "A great and a holy council was gathered to Nicæa[12] by the grace of God, and (not by the pope, but) by the godly emperor [13]Constantinus[14]." Sozomenus saith: (Not the pope, but) "the emperor Constantine wrote unto all the rulers of the churches, that they should be at Nice by a day; to the bishops of the apostolic sees, to Macarius the bishop of Hierusalem, and to Julius the bishop of Rome[15]." In which words this also may be noted, that the pope then was under the emperor's summon, no less than others.

Euseb de Vit. Const. Orat. 3.

Theodor. Lib. i. cap. ix.

Soz. Lib. i. cap. xvii.

In the council of Constantinople the bishops wrote thus unto the emperor: *Ex mandato tuæ pietatis Constantinopolim convenimus*[16]: "We are come to Constantinople (not by the pope's authority, but) by your majesty's commission."

Concil. Const. i.

[1 ... ὑπὲρ προάστειον τῆς Νικομηδέων ἀφικνεῖται πόλεως· κἀνταῦθα συγκαλέσας κ.τ.λ.—Euseb. in Hist. Eccles. Script. Amst. 1695-1700. De Vit. Constant. Lib. IV. capp. lxi. lxii. p. 460. Conf. Socr. in eod. Lib. I. cap. xxxix. p. 62.]

[2 1567, 1570 have not *cap. xli.*]

[3 Constantinus extremo vitæ suæ tempore ab Eusebio Nicomediensi episcopo baptizatus in Arianum dogma declinat.—Hieron. Chron. in Chron. Euseb. &c. Basil. 1536. fol. 84. 2.]

[4 Cui licet baptismatis gratia in ultimis constituto omnia peccata dimiserit, &c.—Ambros. Op. Par. 1686-90. De Obit. Theodos. Orat. 40. Tom. II. col. 1209.]

[5 Habuit ergo causam cum Constantius, tum Eusebius, quæ illis statuentibus Arrii partes fovere quasi necessitatem imposuit, cur Constantinum a Silvestro baptizatum negarent.—Reg. Poli Lib. de Concil. De Bapt. Const. &c. Venet. 1562. fol. 91. Conf. foll. 89, &c.]

[6 That the, 1567.]

[7 Quod etiam istud argumentum &c.—Johan. de Parrhis. De Potest. Reg. et Papal. cap. xix. in Goldast. Mon. Rom. Imp. Hanov. et Franc. 1612-14. Tom. II. p. 134.]

[8 Hervæus de Potestat. Pp. ca. 18., 1567.]

[9 Argument concludeth, 1567.]

[10 Euseb. in Hist. Eccles. Script. De Vit. Constant. Lib. III. cap. vi. p. 400.]

[11 Constantine gathered, 1567.]

[12 Nice, 1567.]

[13 *Constantinus* is not in 1567.]

[14 Ἐπειδὴ τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ χάριτος καὶ τοῦ θεοφιλεστάτου βασιλέως Κωνσταντίνου συναγαγόντος ἡμᾶς ἐκ διαφόρων ἐπαρχιῶν καὶ πόλεων, ἡ μεγάλη καὶ ἁγία σύνοδος ἐν Νικαίᾳ συνεκροτήθη.—Theodor. in eod. Lib. I. cap. ix. p. 30.]

[15 Soz. in eod. Lib. I. cap. xvii. p. 350. See before, page 996, note 8.]

[16 Epist. ad Theodos. Imp. Nunc. præf. Can. Concil. Constant. I. in Concil. Stud. Labb. et Cossart. Lut. Par. 1671-2. Tom. II. col. 946.]

The Summoning of Councils.

Athanasius saith: *Ab imperatore præfectisque literæ [sequentes] in omnem partem missæ sunt, eos qui illuc ituri essent convocantes*[17]: "These letters or writs following were sent out into all places (not from the pope, but) from the emperor and his lieutenants, summoning them that should come unto the council." St Chrysostom saith: "We went in and humbly besought (not the pope, but) the most christian prince to call a council[18]." St Ambrose, speaking of himself and of other bishops, being then at the council of Aquileia, saith thus: *Nos convenimus Aquileiam juxta præceptum imperatoris*[19]: "We are met together at Aquileia by the commandment of the emperor" (and not of the pope.)

Athanas. de Synod. Arim. et Seleuc. Chrysost. Epist. 1. ad Innoc. Ambros. in Conc. Aquil.

St Hierome saith: *Orientis atque occidentis episcopos ob quasdam ecclesiasticas dissensiones Romam*[20] *imperiales literæ contraxerunt*[21]: "To stay certain ecclesiastical dissensions (not any the pope's letters of commandment, but) the emperor's writs caused the bishops, as well of the east as of the west, to draw to Rome."

Hieron. in Epit. Paul.

Of pope Leo we have said before. Being pope, and, as M. Harding imagineth, able to summon the world with a beck, thus he writeth to the emperor Theodosius: *Dignetur pietas vestra supplicationi nostræ annuere, ut intra Italiam haberi jubeatis episcopale concilium*[22]: "We beseech your godly majesty to grant unto our humble request, that it may please you to command a council of bishops to be holden within Italy."

Leo, Epist. 9. ad Theod. Imperat. The pope humbly desireth the emperor to summon a council.

Sozomenus saith: "The Arians besought (not the pope, but) the emperor Constantius to command a council to be holden at Antioch[23]." "The same Arians afterward besought (not the pope, but) the same emperor Constantius to summon another council at[24] Millaine[25]." Again, Sozomenus saith: "The catholic bishops sent Hypatianus their ambassador to entreat (not the pope, but) the emperor that, to redress certain errors, they might have leave to meet together[26]." Pope Liberius saith: "A council is holden at Millaine (not by my authority, but) by the commandment of the prince[27]." Pope Leo saith: "The great council of Chalcedon was summoned (not by himself, but) by the travail of Martianus the emperor[28]." The emperor Constantius commanded two several councils to be kept at one time, the one at Seleucia in Isauria in the east, the other at Ariminum in Italy in the west[29]. Socrates saith: "Sithence the emperors were first christened, the state of the church hath hanged on[30] them; and the greatest councils have been and be kept by their advice[31]."

Soz. Lib. iv. cap. xxii. Socr. Lib. ii. cap. viii. Theodor. Lib. ii. cap. xv. Ruffin. Lib. i. cap. xix. Soz. Lib. vi. cap vii. Inter Act. Liberii. Leo ad Anatol. Socr. Lib. ii. cap. xxxvii. Socr. Lib. v. In Proœm.

Thus many ancient councils we are able to shew you summoned by emperors. Now shew you, M. Harding, either that the emperor did all these things by the authority of the pope, or that the emperor was only the pope's sum-

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[17 Athanas. Op. Par. 1698. De Synod. 1. Tom. I. Pars II. p. 716.]

[18 Εἰσιόντες παρεκαλοῦμεν τὸν θεοφιλέστατον βασιλέα σύνοδον συνεισαγαγεῖν εἰς ἐκδικίαν τῶν γεγενημένων.—Chrysost. Op. Par. 1718-38. Ad Innoc. Episc. Rom. Epist. Tom. III. p. 518.]

[19 ... nos... convenimus ad Aquileiensium civitatem, juxta imperatoris præceptum.—Ambros. Op. Concil. Aquil. Gest. ap. Epist. Class. I. Tom. II. col. 788.]

[20 Romanam, 1570.]

[21 Quumque orientis et occidentis &c. quasdam ecclesiarum dissensiones &c. contraxissent.—Hieron. Op. Par. 1693-1706. Epit. Paul. ad Eustoch. Epist. lxxxvi. Tom. IV. Pars II. col. 671.]

[22 Unde si pietas vestra suggestioni ac supplicationi nostræ dignetur annuere, ut &c. habere &c.—Leon. Magni Op. Lut. 1623. Ad Theod. August. Epist. ix. col. 303.]

[23 The place referred to is probably Soz. in Hist. Eccles. Script. Lib. IV. cap. viii. p. 444; where it is said that the Arians ἐπιμελῶς μάλα ἐν τοῖς βασιλείοις ἐπόνουν, ἐκβάλλειν τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν πάντας τοὺς πρὸς αὐτῶν καθῃρημένους; and the assembling of a council at Antioch is mentioned as the result. Conf. Socr. Lib. II. cap. viii. in eod. p. 70.]

[24 To, 1567; of, 1570.]

[25 ... πείθουσι γὰρ δὴ τὸν πάντα ῥᾳδίως πειθόμενον [Κωνστάντιον], ...εἰς Μεδιόλανον σύνοδον συνεγεῖραι.—Theodor. in eod. Lib. II. cap. xv. p. 90. Conf. Hist. Eccles. Par. Lib. x. cap. xx. fol. 115.]

[26 ...οἱ ... ἐπίσκοποι ... προβάλλονται πρεσβεύειν ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν Ὑπατιανὸν ... ὥστε ἐπιτραπῆναι συνελθεῖν ἐπὶ διορθώσει τοῦ δόγματος.—Soz. in eod. Lib. VI. cap. vii. p. 525.]

[27 ...πρόσταγμα δὲ ἦν τοῦ βασιλέως, ἐν Μεδιολάνῳ πόλει ποιεῖσθαι τὴν σύνοδον.—Socr. in eod. Lib. II. cap. xxxvi. p. 108. Conf. ap. Decret. Liber. in Crabb. Concil. Col. Agrip. 1551. Tom. I. p. 347.]

[28 ... ut sanctum synodum, ad... confirmationem fidei catholicæ studio christianissimi principis congregatam, in occasionem ambitus trahas.—Leon. Magni Op. Ad Anatol. Constant. Episc. Epist. liii. cap. ii. col. 378.]

[29 Socr. in Hist. Eccles. Script. Lib. II. capp. xxxvii. xxxix. pp. 108, 20.]

[30 Of, 1567, 1570.]

[31 ... διότι ἀφ' οὗ χριστιανίζειν ἤρξαντο, τὰ τῆς ἐκκλησίας πράγματα ἤρτητο ἐξ αὐτῶν, καὶ αἱ μέγισται σύνοδοι τῇ αὐτῶν γνώμῃ γεγόνασί τε καὶ γίνονται.—Id. Lib. V. Proœm. p. 212.]

Ruffinus. moner, to call to council such and so many as it should like his holiness to command, or that the pope did ever summon any one ancient general council by his own only right, without further commission from the emperor; then will we say ye have said something. As for all that ye have now said, in good sooth it is less than nothing.

The Apology, Chap. xii. Division 3.

And when Ruffine the heretic had alleged for his authority[1] a council, which, as he thought, should make for him, St[2] Hierome his adversary, to confute him, "Tell us," quoth[3] he, "what emperor commanded that council to be called[4]?" The same St[2] Hierome again, in his epitaph upon Paula, maketh mention of the emperor's letters, which gave commandment to call the bishops of Italy and Græcia to Rome to a council[5].

M. HARDING.

* Untruth, proceeding of ignorance, as it may soon appear. * Read the former answer.

*Besides that ye *do strangely to call Ruffine an heretic, we say that St Hierome might well demand what emperor summoned that council, which was never summoned. Again, we confess that some emperors have summoned both Latin and Greek bishops: *but ye prove not that any did it as supreme head, and as judge in matters of religion, but by the consent of the bishops of Rome, as I have declared before.*

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

Were you not a stranger in your own books, M. Harding, ye would not think it so strange a matter to hear Ruffinus called an heretic. St Hierome doubted not so to call him. Thus he saith: *Dum mihi inconstantiæ crimen impingit, se hæreticum, &c. Ita vertit Origenem, ut qui in Trinitate catholicum legeret, in aliis hæreticum non caveret*[6]*:* "While Ruffinus chargeth me with inconstancy, he proveth himself to be an heretic, &c. Ruffinus hath so translated Origen into Latin, that whoso findeth him catholic touching the Trinity should never suspect him in any thing else to be an heretic." Again he saith unto him: *Solos hæreticos non recipimus, quos vos solos recipitis*[7]*:* "Only heretics we receive not into our houses; and yet them only you receive."

Hieron. in Apol. contr. Ruffin.

In ead. Apol.

Anastasius, the bishop of Rome, hath thus published his judgment of the same Ruffinus: *Omni suspicione seposita, Ruffinum scito, quod propria mente Origenis dicta in Latinum transtulit, ac probavit. Nec dissimilis ab eo est, qui alienis vitiis præstat assensum. Illud tamen scire* [*te*] *cupio, ita haberi a nostris partibus alienum, ut quid agat, ubi sit, nec scire cupiamus*[8]*:* "All suspicion set apart, know thou that Ruffinus hath translated Origen (the heretic's) words into Latin, according to his own liking, and well alloweth the same. And whosoever giveth his consent unto another man's fault is[9] not unlike unto him. Notwithstanding, thus much I would have thee to know, that Ruffinus is so far from our fellowship, or profession of faith, that we desire not to know neither what he doth, nor where he[10] is."

Anastas. ad Episc. Hieros. apud Hieron. Tom. iv.

Vincentius saith, that St Hierome charged Ruffinus with the Pelagian

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[1] For authority, Conf.]

[2] Conf. has not *St.*]

[3] Quod, Conf. and Def. 1567, 1570.]

[4] ...Synodus, a qua excommunicatus est, in qua urbe fuit?...quis imperator hanc synodum jusserit congregari.—Hieron. Op. Par. 1693-1706. Apolog. adv. Ruffin. Lib. II. Tom. IV. Pars II. col. 415.]

[5] Id. Epit. Paul. ad Eustoch. Epist. lxxxvi. Tom. IV. Pars II. col. 671. See before, page 1005, note 21.]

[6] ...dum mihi &c. hæreticum probat...animadverti...vel ita vertisse...ut qui &c. legerat, &c.—Id. Apolog. adv. Rufin. Lib. I. Tom. IV. Pars II. cols. 353, 5.]

[7] Ibid. Lib. III. col. 455.]

[8] Anastas. Papæ I. ad Joan. Hieros. Episc. Epist. iii. in Concil. Stud. Labb. et Cossart. Lut. Par. 1671-2. Tom. II. col. 1195; where *nescire cupiamus.*]

[9] It, 1567.]

[10] His, 1570.]

heresy[11]. Erasmus saith: *Ruffinus non fuit alienus ab Origenistarum hæresi*[12]: "Ruffinus was not clear from the Origenians' heresy." Again, speaking of the same heretics, he saith: *Hujus rei dux et signifer Aquileiensis Ruffinus [fuit]*[13]. Again: *Notat nescio quem, ipsum opinor Ruffinum, qui in eam hæresim inductus est a magistro quopiam, &c.*[14] Again: *Monet ut, explosa factione Origenistarum, eos etiam ejiciat, qui clam et oblique essent Origenistæ, Ruffinum et illius amicos*[15]: "The captain and standard-bearer of this heresy was Ruffinus of Aquileia, &c." Again: "St Hierome here noteth somebody, I know not whom, but I think Ruffinus himself, that was brought into this heresy by some teacher, &c." Again: "He warneth his friend that, having renounced the Origenian heretics, he would likewise renounce them that privily and in secret were Origenian heretics; meaning Ruffinus and his friends."

Vinc. in Spec. Lib. xvii. cap. xix. Erasm. in Vit. Hieron. Erasm. in Epist. Hieron. ad Princip. in Schol. Erasm. in Arg. Epist. Theoph. ad Hieron.

Likewise again he saith: *Ruffinus ... gravissima suspicione premebatur, quod esset Origenista. Sub hoc enim titulo Arianorum hæresis conata est repullulascere*[16]: "Ruffinus was grievously suspected to be an Origenian heretic. For under that name the Arian heresy began to revive." Thus ye see, M. Harding, it was not so great an heresy to say that Ruffinus was an heretic.

Erasm. de Lib. Orig.

THE APOLOGY, Chap. xii: Division 4.

Continually, for the space of five hundred years, the emperor alone appointed the ecclesiastical assemblies, and called the councils of the bishops together.

We now therefore marvel the more at the unreasonable dealing of the bishop of Rome, who, knowing what was the emperor's right, when the church was well ordered, knowing also that it is now a common right to all princes, forsomuch as kings are now fully possessed in the several parts of the whole empire, doth so without consideration assign that office alone to himself, and taketh it sufficient in summoning a general council, to make that man that is prince of the whole world none[17] otherwise partaker thereof than he would make his own servant.

M. HARDING.

... *Where you say*[18], "*The emperor alone celebrated, kept, or held councils,*" (*for so is your Latin,*) [a]*it is too impudently faced, without any face, without proof, without truth. They were celebrated or holden* [b]*by the pope's legates, the patriarchs, and bishops, and not by emperors. Albeit emperors might sit in them,* [c]*but not as judges. And they have ever been called* Episcopalia concilia, *not* [d]Imperatoria; *councils of bishops, not of emperors. And divers councils, not accounted general, were kept by bishops before any emperor was christened; as those which were kept by St Peter in Hierusalem, mentioned in the Acts of the Apostles; in the time of Victor the pope, in Palestina, and other places, concerning the keeping of Easter; at Rome, about the time of pope Fabian, against the Novatian heresy; at Antioch, against Paulus Samosatenus; and many others. All which councils were kept, not only without the presence of the emperor's person, but*[e] *also without his power or authority. And yet, if he were head of the church, it could not have been done without him.*

Acts xv.

[a] This is M. Harding's modesty. Read the answer next going before this, saving one.
[b] Untruth, plain and evident. For many times the pope's legates were underlings and inferior[19] unto others.
[c] Untruth. For the emperor's ambassadors sitting in council were called *Illustrissimi judices.*
[d] No more were they called *Concilia papalia.*
[e] So were the

If you say, he was not then christened, I answer, that Christianity is no part

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[11] Hunc tamen beatus Hieronymus insimulavit Pelagianæ hæresis.—Vincent. Bellov. Biblioth. Mund. seu Specul. Maj. Duac. 1624. Tom. IV. Lib. XVII. cap. xcix. p. 689.]

[12] A qua [Origenistarum hæresi] non fuit alienus Ruffinus.—Hieron. Op. Basil. 1516. Erasm. Schol. in Epist. ad Princip. Tom. I. fol. 53.]

[13] ... cujus rei dux ac signifer Ruffinus Aquileiensis.—Ibid. Hieron. Vit. Tom. I. fol. *G* 4. 2.]

[14] Ibid. Schol. in Epist. ad Princip. Tom. I. fol. 53. 2.]

[15] Ibid. Arg. in Epist. Theoph. ad Hieron. Tom. III. fol. 141. 2; where *et eos ejiciat.*]

[16] Erasm. Op. Lugd. Bat. 1703-6. In Orig. Libr. Cens. Tom. VIII. col. 431.]

[17] No, Conf. and Def. 1567.]

[18] Add, Conf.]

[19] Inferiors, 1567, 1570, 1609.]

of his imperial power. It is a spiritual power, whereby he is made the son of God. He may thereby be ruled by a christian bishop. But verily he hath no power given to him whereby he may rule bishops. [f] *Baptism maketh a man the child of the church. But* [f] *it is imposition of hands, in consecrating a christian priest to be a bishop, that giveth him rule over others, and not the sacrament of baptism. Therefore emperors were not the holders or keepers of councils the first five hundred years. Yea, three hundred were fully expired before the emperor professed openly the christian faith. So much the less may you marvel that now the bishop of Rome calleth and keepeth councils chiefly by his own authority.* [g] *For he succeedeth Peter, not Nero. He took his authority of Christ immediately, not of the people of Rome. Be the emperor christian or not christian, the bishop of Rome, by* [h] *nature of his bishop's office, is*[1] *not only always a christian man, but also a chief priest.*

most part of the same councils kept without either the presence or the power or authority of the pope.

[f] O folly of follies! As if the emperor's power were either increased or impaired by his baptism.

[g] A substantial good reason. But what if St Ambrose say he succeedeth Judas?

[h] The pope a christian man by nature of office.

Where you say, the bishop of Rome in summoning the late council did besides good consideration in that he "made a man that is prince of the whole world no otherwise partaker thereof than he would make his own servant;" you forget yourself foully, and seem to reckon[2] *little what you speak, so you utter your malice. For who is that whom you call "prince of the whole world?" What contradiction is this! Said you not in the same sentence before, that "kings are now fully possessed in the several parts of the whole empire?" How then call you Ferdinand* [i] *"prince of the whole world?" Well, this is but one of the common ornaments of your rhetoric. Sir, the emperor Ferdinand, of famous memory, was not so abused of Pius the fourth, that blessed man, bishop of Rome, in these our days. Ye rather are they who abuse the emperor's majesty. For ye depose him clean from his seat: ye find fault that ever Leo III. made an emperor in the West. Ye complain openly that the imperial majesty had not continued still at Constantinople; belike to the intent the Turk might now have had it, who is known to suffer in his dominions all faiths and religions: for which cause it may seem ye favour him. As for pope Pius that now is, he deferred the old privilege of honour unto the emperor Ferdinand, without the old burden. For, whereas in old times* [k] *councils were holden by authority of the pope,* [k] *as Socrates witnesseth*[4]*, yet the emperor bare the charge of calling the bishops together. But now the pope himself bare a great part of that burden, and communicated his purpose fully with the emperor . . .*

[i] It is written in your own gloss, *Jura communia... dicunt, quod imperator est dominus mundi*[3].

[k] Untruths, two together. For neither was it so, nor doth Socrates record it so.

Lib. viii. cap. 2.

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

Whether it were the emperor alone that appointed ecclesiastical councils, it may appear by that we have already said. The pope alone, I assure you, it was not. Nay, the emperor, as it is said and proved before, oftentimes held such assemblies, when and where himself listed, whether the pope would or no. The pope's duty was only to appear amongst other bishops when he was called.

I grant such councils had their name of bishops, and were called *Concilia episcopalia*, for that matters there were specially ordered by the discretion and judgment of the bishops. But will you therefore conclude that the same councils pertained nothing to the prince? Certainly the emperor Constantinus commanded all the bishops to appear before him, and to yield him a reckoning of their determination[5] in the council. This was the tenor of his writ: *Quotquot synodum Tyri habitam complevistis, sine mora ad pietatis nostræ castra properetis; ac re ipsa, quam sincere ac recte judicaveritis, ostendatis; idque coram me, quem sincerum esse Dei ministrum ne vos quidem ipsi negabitis*[6]: "As many of you as have kept the council at Tyrus, repair to our camp without delay, and shew me indeed how sincerely and rightly ye have proceeded; and

Soz. Lib. ii. cap. xxviii. Socr. Lib. i. cap. xxxiii.

[1] It, Def. 1570.]

[2] Reck, Conf. and Def. 1567, 1570.]

[3] Corp. Jur. Canon. Lugd. 1624. Extrav. Comm. Lib. I. De Major. et Obed. Gloss. in cap. 1. col. 214.]

[4] There is evidently an error here. Socrates wrote but seven books. See below, page 1014.]

[5] Determinations, 1567, 1570.]

[6] Soz. in Hist. Eccles. Script. Amst. 1695-1700. Lib. II. cap. xxviii. p. 397. Conf. Socr. in eod. Lib. I. cap. xxxiv. p. 58.]

that even before me, whom you yourselves cannot deny to be the sincere servant of God." Peter's Successors.

Athanasius was the greatest travailer in the council of Nice against the Arians; yet was he then[7] no bishop, but only a deacon[8]. Your own ceremoniary of Rome telleth you, that abbats have right and authority to determine and subscribe in council, as well as bishops[9]; and yet were they never called the councils of abbats, but only of bishops. Therefore, M. Harding, this guess is over simple, and serveth you not[10]. But hereof we have sufficiently said before. Tripart. Hist. Lib. ii. cap. ii.

"Christianity," ye say, "is no part of the imperial power." Ye might likewise have said, Christianity is no part of the papal power. Verily it cannot well appear that Peter and Paul had ever any such Christianity. The emperor's right is neither increased nor abated by his baptism. Whether he be faithful or unfaithful, he is the minister of God, and beareth the sword to punish sin.

Ye say: "The pope succeedeth Peter, and not Nero;" therefore he calleth and keepeth councils chiefly by his own authority. Of such proper arguments, M. Harding, we marvel not much, though ye make no store. Howbeit, some men have thought ye do St Peter great wrong, appointing him such children to be his heirs; for many of them in all their dealings have resembled Nero more than Peter. St Bernard saith thus unto pope Eugenius: *In his successisti, non Petro, sed Constantino*[11]: "In these things ye have succeeded, not Peter the apostle, but the emperor Constantine." Bernard. de Consid. Lib. iv.

Pope Adrian the fourth was wont to say, *Succedimus, non Petro in docendo, sed Romulo in parricidio*[12]: "We succeed, not Peter in teaching, but Romulus in killing our brethren." Citat. ab Illyr. inter Test. Verit. p. 387.

Erasmus saith: *Pontifices nunc sunt vicarii Julii Cæsaris, Alexandri magni, Crœsi, Xerxis; non Christi, non Petri*[13]: "The popes now are the vicars of Julius Cæsar, of Alexander the Great, of Crœsus, and of Xerxes; not of Christ, nor of Peter." Erasm. in Adag. Sileni Alcibiadis.

It is written in a sermon, bearing the name of St Ambrose: *Qui debuerint esse vicarii apostolorum, facti sunt socii Judæ*[14]: "They that should have been the apostles' vicars are now become Judas' fellows." Ambros. citat. ab Illyr. inter Test. p. 142.

Robertus Gallus, that lived well-near three hundred years past, imagineth Christ thus to say of the pope: *Quis posuit idolum hoc in sede mea, ut imperaret gregi meo*[15]? "Who set this idol in my room, and made him ruler over my flock?" And, being so vile in his own house, how can he be glorious in the house of God[16]? Rob. Gall. cap. v.

Yet you say, "The pope is always, not only a christian man, but also a chief priest, (not by faith, but) by the nature of his office." Even so your gloss telleth you: *Papa sanctitatem recipit a cathedra*[17]: "The pope receiveth his holiness of his chair," that is to say, "of the nature of his office." Dist. 19. Sic omnes. In Gloss.

Cardinal Cusanus saith: *Veritas adhæret cathedræ, &c. Veritas per Christum cathedræ alligata est, non personis. Ait enim, Super cathedram Mosi sederunt scribæ et Pharisæi*[18]: "The truth cleaveth fast to the pope's chair, &c. Christ hath nailed his truth to the pope's chair, and not to his person. For he saith, 'The scribes and Pharisees are placed in Moses' chair.'" Nic. Cusan. ad Bohem. Epist. 2.[19]

Another saith: *Tametsi papa non sit bonus, tamen semper præsumitur esse bonus.... In*[20] *papa si desint bona acquisita per meritum, sufficiunt quæ a loci prædecessore præstantur*[21]: "Notwithstanding the pope be Dist. 40. Non nos. In Gloss. Part hereof hath been touched before.

[7 Was then, 1570.]

[8 Hist. Tripart. Par. Lib. II. cap. iii. fol. C. 8.]

[9 ... non legimus intervenisse statuendi causa nisi episcopos et abbates, et hii tantum decretis se subscribebant.—Rit. Eccles. sive Sacr. Cer. Rom. Eccles. Libr. Col. Agrip. 1557. Lib. I. Sect. xiv. cap. ii. fol. 128. 2.]

[10 The last two sentences are not in 1567.]

[11 Bernard. Op. Par. 1690. De Consid. Lib. IV. cap. iii. 6. Vol. I. Tom. II. cols. 437, 8.]

[12 ...multos pontifices magis Romulo succedere in parricidiis, quam Petro in pascendis ovibus.—Catalog. Test. Genev. 1608. col. 1435.]

[13 An magis convenit, Julios, Alexandros, Crœsos et Xerxes, nihil aliud quam magnos latrones imitari Christi vicarium, quam ipsum Christum...? Quos justius æmulentur apostolorum successores, quam apostolorum principem?—Erasm. Op. Lugd. Bat. 1703-6. Adag. Chil. III. Cent. iii. Prov. 1. Tom. II. col. 778.]

[14 Ambros. in Catalog. Test. cols. 240, 1; where *debuerant*.]

[15 Robert. Gallus in eod. col. 1662.]

[16 This sentence is not in 1567.]

[17 Corp. Jur. Canon. Decret. Gratian. Decr. Prim. Pars, Dist. xix. Gloss. in can 2. col. 81.]

[18 ... veritas enim cathedræ adhæret, &c. Veritas enim cathedræ per Christum alligata est, quando dixit, supra cathedram Moysi &c. Pharisei quæ dicunt facite: non personis.—Nic. de Cusa Op. Basil. 1565. Ad Bohem. Epist. ii. Tom. II. pp. 833, 6.]

[19 Cardinal Cusanus, De Autho. Eccle. et Concilii supra et contra scripturam, 1567.]

[20 Id, 1570.]

[21 ...etsi quandoque forte apostolici non essent

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not good, yet he is ever presumed to be good. If the pope lack good virtues of his own, the virtues of Peter his predecessor are sufficient."

Addition. ☞

Addition. ☞ M. Harding. "You bear your reader in hand, that Nicolaus Cusanus wrote a book intituled, *De Auctoritate Ecclesiæ et Concilii supra et contra Scripturam.* Now, M. Jewel, if you be able to shew us any book of Cusanus so intituled, either in print, or in authentic written hand, I will say that you will prove yourself a truer man than ever I took you to be, &c." *The answer.* This matter, M. Harding, you have blazed out with such eloquence as is most meet for a man of your sobriety. Indeed, at what time I wrote mine answer, I had not that book of Cusanus, nor could not get it by any means; but was fain therein to use the report and credit of Matthias Flacius Illyricus, whom I think you will not deny to be a man of good reading. His words hereof are these: *Nicolai Cusani ... sententia de auctoritate ecclesiæ et concilii, supra et contra scripturas*[1]. Hereupon you cry out in the mildness of your spirit: "A shameless man: a false harlot: an impudent liar: grown to such impudency: a slanderer: a bragger: a boaster of great reading, &c." O M. Harding, it were much fitter for a wise man to be sober, than thus to fare. But you pass along boldly and constantly, as your manner is.

M. Harding, 412. a. [Detect.]

M. Harding: "Well, say you, perchance you will say, though the title be altered, yet the words out of the same epistle be truly recited, wherein consisteth the chief effect and principal purpose. If you so say, you will be proved no less a liar and false reporter herein, than you have been in the rest. And for example herein, I will bring even the very first place that you have alleged out of him. You tell us, page 55,[2] that thus he saith: *Sequuntur scripturæ ecclesiam, et non e converso:* 'The scriptures of God follow the church; but, contrariwise, the church followeth not the scriptures.' You have here clipped the author's sentence, and quite altered the sense. His words are these: *Ecclesia igitur, sicut recipit scripturam, ita et interpretatur: sequuntur ... scripturæ ecclesiam, quæ prior est, et propter quam scripturæ, et non e converso*[3]: 'The church, as it receiveth the scripture, so doth it expound the same. The scriptures therefore do follow the church, which is the former, and for the which the scripture is ordained, and not contrariwise.' Cusanus' words in their right form do both stand well, and have a good meaning. But your false changing of them causeth them to import an intolerable derogation of the scriptures, without any colour of truth. For, as it is most true that the church was before the scriptures, that is to say, the written word of God, and that the scriptures were ordained and appointed for the church; so it is very false that the scriptures do follow the church, and the church not the scriptures. For why hath the church received the scriptures, but to follow them, and to put them in execution, both in our inward belief, and in our outward actions? Do you not blush, M. Jewel, thus wilfully to pervert that with your false juggling and conveying away of those words, *Quæ prior est, et propter quam scripturæ,* which before had a good right sense? You thought belike you should never hear hereof again, nor be called to any reckoning; or else ye would have had more regard to your good name and honesty, &c. You thought you would pass Illyricus an ace in falsehood, although he be his craft's master therein." *The answer.* A fierce orator you are, and a favourable interpreter, M. Harding. Cardinal Cusanus must needs be defended, and stayed upright in respect of his dignity; and, whatsoever he hath written, it must have a right good catholic meaning: but poor M. Jewel must blush, and be ashamed of his juggling. But, I pray you, M. Harding, are not these Cusanus your doctor's own words? Doth he not say plainly, *Sequuntur scripturæ ecclesiam, et non e converso;* "The scriptures follow the church; but, contrariwise, the church followeth not the[4] scriptures?" You say, "There be other words between, *Quæ prior est, et propter quam scripturæ:* that is to say, 'The church was before the

boni, tamen semper præsumuntur esse boni.—Corp. Jur. Canon. Lugd. 1624. Decret. Gratian. Decr. Prim. Pars, Dist. xl. Gloss. in can. 1. col. 193. Conf. can. 1. ibid. See Vol. I. pages 400, 1, note 14.]

[1 Norm. et Prax. &c. ad calc. Protest. Concion. August. Confess. adv. Convent. Trident. 1563. p. 105; where *scripturam.*]

[2 See Vol. III. page 223.]

[3 Nic. de Cusa Op. Basil. 1565. Ad Bohem. Epist. vii. Tom. II. p. 858; where *propter quam scriptura.*]

[4 We, 1570.]

scriptures; and the scriptures are to serve the church.'" Is this the matter, M. Harding, that must make M. Jewel to change his colour? Or are these words sufficient to put Cusanus from his meaning? First he saith, "The scriptures follow the church." Doth he afterward by these words recant the same, and tell us, that the church followeth the scriptures? Peter's Successors.

You will say, Cusanus saith not, "The scriptures follow the church" in authority, but only in time; for he saith, "The church was before the scriptures." So might he have said, Moses was before Christ; or, The law was before the gospel; or, The synagogue was before the church. But what had this been to his purpose? Awake a little, M. Harding, and remember yourself. Was this the question that lay between cardinal Cusanus and the Bohemians, whether the[5] church, or the scriptures, were former in time? Or, if it were not the question, would he speak so much, and so vainly, as you oftentimes do, besides his purpose? Leave, leave this trifling, M. Harding. It will not help you: learn rather to understand your doctor's meaning by himself.

The matter, as you know, was this: The Bohemians required the holy communion in both kinds, and therein alleged the warrant of the scriptures: for Christ, said they, ordained and ministered the communion in both kinds. Cusanus defended the abuse and disorder of the communion in one kind only, and therein alleged the warrant of the church of Rome. Hereof this issue grew between them, whether they ought in cases of religion to follow the church of Rome, or rather the scriptures: to this Cusanus saith, "The church of Rome is above the scriptures." This he layeth as a foundation of the whole. And therefore of the scriptures he speaketh full meanly, and very coldly, or rather disdainfully, as it shall appear, and alloweth all power and authority to the church of Rome. These things considered, I beseech you, to what purpose had it been for Cusanus to say, "The church was before the scriptures?" For the question was not, whether the church or the scripture were the elder, but whether of these two, in trial of the truth, we ought rather to follow.

Now concerning the authority of the church, Cusanus saith thus: *Veritas adhæret cathedræ Petri:... Universa catholica ecclesia, ad Petri cathedram conglobata, a Christo nunquam recedet:... Hæc est una, quæ tenet et possidet omnem sponsi sui Domini potestatem:... Veritas... cathedræ per Christum alligata est,... non personis: extra Romanam sanctam catholicam ecclesiam non est salus*[6]. *Quam firma... est ædificatio ecclesiæ! Quia nemo decipi potest etiam per malum præsidentem*[7]. *Si dixeris, Domine, obedivi tibi in præposito, hoc tibi sufficiet ad salutem: etiamsi præpositus de oneribus humeris tuis impositis, præceptis et solutionibus, rationem sit Deo redditurus. Tu enim per obedientiam, quam facis præposito, quem ecclesia tolerat, decipi nequis, etiamsi præceperit alia quam debuit. Quare sententia pastoris ligat te pro tua salute, propter bonum obedientiæ, etiamsi injusta fuerit. Nam ad te non attinet cognoscere, quod sententia sit injusta, nec conceditur tibi, ut non obedias, si tibi injusta videatur. Nulla enim esset obedientia, si in tuo arbitrio esset de sententia pastoris judicare.... Præsumit enim ecclesia de illa sententia; cui si [tu] obedieris, magna erit merces tua. Obedientia igitur irrationalis est consummata obedientia et perfectissima, scilicet, quando obeditur sine inquisitione rationis, sicut jumentum obedit domino suo, &c.*[8]: "The truth cleaveth fast to Peter's chair: The whole universal catholic church rolled up to Peter's chair shall never depart from Christ: This church (of Rome) is that only church that holdeth and possesseth all the power of the Lord her spouse: Christ hath tied his truth to the chair, not to the persons of the bishops: without the holy catholic church of Rome there is no salvation. How strong is the building of the church! For no man can be deceived, no, not by an evil bishop: if thou say unto God, O Lord, I have obeyed thee in my bishop, this shall suffice thee unto salvation: notwithstanding the bishop of his part shall yield an account unto

Cusan. ad Bohem. Epist. 2.

Cusan. Excit. Lib. ii. Non diceret.

Excit. Lib. vi. Ubi Ecclesia.

No man can be deceived.

Unto salvation.

[5] 1570 repeats *the*.]

[6] ... veritas enim cathedræ adhæret... Unde Augustinus... Munus beatæ vitæ non nisi intra ecclesiam reperitur... Hæc est una &c.—Id. ad Bohem. Epist. ii. Tom. II. pp. 833, 5, 6.]

[7] Id. Excit. Lib. II. p. 378; where *ecclesiæ ædificatio*.]

[8] Id. ibid. Lib. VI. p. 547; where *tu etenim per*, and *de sententia illa*.]

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God for the burdens that he hath laid upon thy shoulders, for his commandments, and for thy payments. For thou canst not be deceived by thy obedience that thou yieldest to the[1] bishop, whom the church suffereth, although he command thee other things than he ought to do. Therefore the bishop's sentence, although it be unjust, bindeth thee for thy salvation, because of the goodness of obedience. For it behoveth not thee to know that his sentence is unjust; nor is it lawful for thee to disobey it, although thou take it to be unjust. For it were no obedience at all, if it were in thy power to judge of the sentence of thy bishop. For the church presumeth his sentence to be good; which sentence if thou obey, thy reward shall be great. Obedience therefore without reason is a full and most perfect[2] obedience; that is, when thou obeyest without requiring of reason, as a horse is obedient to his master." With such colours Cusanus adorneth and blazeth the majesty of the church of Rome, and such obedience and bondage he requireth to be yielded unto the same. So must we be obedient unto the pope, as a horse is obedient unto his master.

Obedience without reason.

As a horse is obedient to his master.

Now let us consider in what regard he hath the scriptures of God: so shall we see how far he placeth the one in authority before the other. Thus, therefore, he saith to the Bohemians: *Dicitis præcepto Christi obediendum esse primo loco, deinde ecclesiæ; et, si aliud præceperit ecclesia quam Christus, non ecclesiæ, sed Christo obediendum* [*esse*]. *Certe in hoc est omnium præsumptionum initium, quando judicant particulares suum sensum in divinis præceptis... conformiorem, quam universæ ecclesiæ*[3]. *Intellige, scripturas esse ad tempus adaptatas et varie intellectas, ita ut uno tempore secundum currentem universalem ritum exponantur; mutato ritu, iterum sententia mutetur*[4]. *Non mirum, si praxis ecclesiæ uno tempore interpretetur scripturam uno modo, et alio tempore alio modo. Nam intellectus currit cum praxi. Intellectus enim, qui cum praxi concurrit, est*[5] *spiritus vivificans*[6]. *Fatuum*[7] *est ergo argumentum, velle universalem ecclesiæ ritum ex scripturis prædecessorum arguere. Legitur enim, apostolos non tradidisse fidem per scripturas, &c.*[8] *Hæc est omnium sane intelligentium sententia, qui scripturarum auctoritatem aut intellectum... in ecclesiæ auctoritate fundant, quæ unam accipit, et alteram abjicit; et non e converso ecclesiæ firmamentum in scripturarum auctoritate locant.... Dicetis forsitan, quomodo mutabuntur præcepta Christi auctoritate ecclesiæ, ut tunc sint obligatoria, quando ecclesiæ placuerit? Dico, nulla esse Christi præcepta, nisi quæ per ecclesiam pro talibus accepta* [*sint*][9]. *Mutato judicio ecclesiæ, mutatum est et Dei judicium*[10]: "You say, we must first obey Christ's commandment, and afterward the church; and, if the church command us to do otherwise than Christ commandeth, we must then obey Christ, and not the church. Verily herein standeth the beginning of all presumption, when particular men think their own judgment to be more agreeable to God's commandments than the judgment of the universal church. Understand thou that the scriptures are appointed to serve the time, and have divers understandings; so that at one time they may be expounded after the universal, common, and ordinary custom; and that, the same custom being changed, the meaning of the scriptures may likewise be changed. No marvel though the practice of the church at one time do expound the scriptures after one sort, and at another time after another sort; for the understanding of the scriptures runneth with the practice of the church. For the understanding that runneth with the practice is the quickening spirit. It is a foolish enterprise to go about to reprove the universal order of the church by the scriptures of our ancestors. For we read that the apostles delivered not the faith by the scriptures. This is the judgment of all that be wise, that build and found the authority and understanding of the scriptures in the authority of the church, which receiveth one scripture and refuseth another; but, contrariwise, they build

Nic. Cusan. ad Bohem. Epist. 2. Pag. 832.

Pag. 833.

Epist. 7. p. 857.

Epist. 2. p. 833.

p. 834.

Epist. 3. p. 838.

First Christ.

Præsumptio.

Scriptures serve times.

Scriptures changed.

Scriptures follow practice.

A foolish enterprise.

Faith not by scriptures.

Church not founded in the scriptures.

[1] Thy, 1570.] [2] Perfite, 1570.]

[3] Nic. de Cusa Op. Basil. 1565. Ad Bohem. Epist. ii. p. 832.]

[4] Certe hoc te non moveat...scripturasque esse &c. ritum exponerentur, mutato &c. mutaretur.—Id. ibid. p. 833.]

[5] Et, 1570.]

[6] Quare nec mirum, si praxis &c. interpretatur &c.—Id. Epist. vii. p. 857.]

[7] Fatum, 1570.]

[8] Id. Epist. ii. p. 833.]

[9] Hæc est &c. in ecclesiæ approbatione fundant, &c. forsitan, præcepta Christi quomodo mutabuntur auctoritate &c. sint tunc &c. præcepta, quam per ecclesiam &c.—Id. ibid. p. 834.]

[10] Id. Epist. iii. p. 838.]

not the stay of the church in the authority of the scriptures. Perhaps you will say, How shall Christ's commandments be changed by the authority of the church, that they shall bind us when the church shall think it good? I tell thee, there is nothing to be taken for Christ's commandment, unless it be so allowed of the church. When the church hath once changed her judgment, God's judgment is likewise changed."

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Christ's commandment without the church is no commandment.

Hereby, M. Harding, may you know cardinal Cusanus' judgment touching the scriptures of Almighty God. The scriptures, saith he, follow the practice of the church, not only in time, as you say, but also in authority and in credit. As for your commentaries, they are too simple and over partial, and a great way beside the text. Now judge you indifferently, M. Harding, whether Cusanus say not, as I have alleged him: *Sequuntur scripturæ ecclesiam, et non e converso:* "The scriptures follow the church; but, contrariwise, the church followeth not the scriptures." To conclude, hereby may ye[11] judge of the title of these epistles, wherewith you find yourself so much encumbered: *De auctoritate ecclesiæ, supra et contra scripturas.* Certainly it is manifest by his plain words that he placeth the authority of the church, not only above, but also against the authority of the scriptures.

There were never so many heretics in any one see as have been in the see of Rome; as I have already sufficiently and fully proved. And yet ye say, "The pope cannot err." There were never so notorious examples, or, as Platina calleth them, "monsters of filthy life[12]." "Yet (ye say) they are all holy fathers, and hold their Christianity by nature of office." Howbeit, your doctor Alphonsus saith: *Quamvis ... credere teneamur ex fide, verum Petri successorem esse supremum pastorem totius ecclesiæ, non tamen tenemur eadem fide, credere Leonem aut Clementem esse verum Petri successorem*[13]: "Although we be bound to believe that the true successor of Peter is the highest pastor of all the church, yet are we not bound with like faith to believe that pope Leo and pope Clement are the true successors of Peter." John the Baptist said rightly unto the Pharisees, that likewise made vaunts of their succession: "Never say Abraham is your father. For God is able even of these stones to raise up children unto Abraham." Chrysostom saith: *Non locus sanctificat hominem, sed homo locum: Nec cathedra facit sacerdotem, sed sacerdos cathedram*[14]: "The place sanctifieth not the man; but the man sanctifieth the place. Neither doth the chair make the priest; but the priest maketh the chair."

Plat. in Bened. IV.

Alphons. adv. Hær. Lib. i. cap. ix.

Matt. iii.

Chrysost. in Op. Imp. Hom. 43. Dist. 41. Multi.

Nazianzene saith: *Non locorum est gratia, sed Spiritus*[15]: "The grace of God goeth not by place, but by the Holy Ghost."

Gregor. Naz. in Sanct. Lavacr.

Chrysostom saith: *Omnis ... Christianus qui suscipit verbum Petri fit thronus Petri; et Petrus sedet in eo*[16]; "Every christian man which[17] receiveth the word of Peter is made Peter's chair; and St Peter resteth in him."

Chrysost. in Matt. Hom. 33.

But here have you found out a foul contradiction in our words. "Who is he (say you) whom ye call the prince of the world?" Not the pope, M. Harding, lest ye should happily be deceived: notwithstanding your fellows have so often told us, *Papa totius orbis obtinet principatum*[18]: "The pope hath the princehood of all the world."

In Sext. Lib. iii. Tit. 16. cap. unico.

The emperor's majesty we find oftentimes entitled by this name; but your pope's holiness so entitled we find never: unless it be some certain late decrees and glosses of his own. Albeit, you of late have much abated the emperor's honour, and made[19] him only the pope's man: for thus ye say: *Imperator (Occidentis) est procurator sive defensor Romanæ ecclesiæ*[20]: "The emperor (of the West) is the proctor or steward of the church of Rome."

Dist. 98. Si Imperator. In Glossa.

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[11] You, 1570.]

[12] ...hæc monstra, hæc portenta.—Plat. De Vit. Pont. Col. 1551. Benedict. IV. p. 128.]

[13] Alfons. de Castro adv. Hær. Col. 1539. Lib. I. cap. ix. fol. 19; where *totius ecclesiæ pastorem.*]

[14] ... quia cathedra non facit sacerdotem, sed sacerdos cathedram: non locus &c.—Chrysost. Op. Par. 1718-38. Op. Imperf. in Matt. Hom. xliii. ex cap. xxiii. Tom. VI. p. clxxxiii. Conf. Corp. Jur. Canon. Lugd. 1624. Decret. Gratian. Decr. Prim. Pars, Dist. xl. can. 12. col. 197.]

[15] Gregor. Naz. Op. Par. 1778-1840. In Sanct. Bapt. Orat. xl. 26. Tom. I. p. 711.]

[16] Chrysost. Op. Op. Imperf. in Matt. Hom. xxxiii. ex cap. xix. Tom. VI. p. cxliii.; where *thronus fit.*]

[17] That, 1567, 1570.]

[18] ... totius enim orbis papa tenet principatum.—Corp. Jur. Canon. Sext. Decretal. Lib. III. Tit. xvi. Gloss. in cap. unic. col. 556.]

[19] And have made, 1567, 1570.]

[20] Decret. Gratian. in eod. Decr. Prim. Pars,

Chrysost. ad Pop. Ant. Hom. 2.

Yet Chrysostom saith: *Imperator est summitas et caput omnium super terram hominum*[1]: "The emperor is the head and top[2] of all men upon the earth." In the

Concil. Chal. Act. 1. in nomine.

council of Chalcedon the emperor is called, *Dominus universi mundi*[3]: The lord of the whole world."

Perhaps ye will say, The state of the empire is now impoverished; and therefore the emperor hath lost his title. Yet your own doctors and glossers could

Extr. de Maj. et Obed. Unam Sanct. in Gloss.

have told you: *Jura communia... dicunt quod imperator est dominus mundi*[4]: Notwithstanding the decay of the empire, "The common laws say that the emperor is the lord of the world." Robert Holcote, speaking of the emperor of

Holk. in Sapient. Lect. 199.

Germany, saith thus: *Hic... est rex regum, cui omnes subditæ sunt nationes et populi, &c.*[5] "The emperor is the king of kings, unto whom all nations and countries be in subjection."

Otho Frising.

The Romans of late years wrote thus unto the emperor Conradus: *Excellentissimo et præclarissimo urbis et orbis totius domino, &c.*[6]: "Unto the most excellent and most noble emperor, the lord both of the city of Rome[7], and also of all the whole world." Therefore, M. Harding, to move this vain quarrel without some cause it was great folly.

"Councils (ye say) in old times were holden by authority of the pope." For proof whereof ye allege Socrates in the eighth book and the second chapter; but word or sentence ye allege none. Howbeit it was a great oversight to allege the eighth book of Socrates, whereas Socrates himself never wrote but seven, and so far to overleap your author. Notwithstanding, this small error may well be dissembled amongst so many. Howbeit, touching the thing itself, ye may as easily find it in the eighth book of Socrates, that never was written, as elsewhere: for indeed amongst all that ever he wrote, this thing certainly that you allege he wrote never.

The Apology, Chap. xii. Division 5.

And, although the modesty and mildness of the emperor Ferdinando[8] be so great that he can bear this wrong, because peradventure he understandeth not well the pope's packing, yet ought not the pope of his holiness to offer him that wrong, nor to claim another man's right as his [9] own [10].

The Apology, Chap. xiii. Division 1.

But hereto some will reply, The emperor indeed called councils at that time ye speak of, because the bishop of Rome was not yet grown so great as he is now; but yet the emperor did not then sit together with the bishops in council, nor bare[11] any stroke with his authority in their consultations[12]. I answer, Nay, that is[13] not so. For, as witnesseth Theodoret[14], the emperor Constantine not only sat[15] together with them in the council of[16] Nice, but gave also advice to the bishops how it was best to try out the matter by the apostles' and prophets' writings, as

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Dist. xcvi. Gloss. in can. 11. col. 469. See before, page 836, note 17.]

[1 Chrysost. Op. Par. 1718-38. Ad Pop. Ant. Hom. ii. Tom. II. p. 23.]

[2 Top and head, 1567, 1570.]

[3 Ἐκελεύσθη παρὰ τοῦ δεσπότου τῆς οἰκουμένης ἡ σύνοδος.—Concil. Chalced. Act. i. in Concil. Stud. Labb. et Cossart. Lut. Par. 1671-2. Tom. IV. col. 113.]

[4 Corp. Jur. Canon. Lugd. 1624. Extrav. Comm. Lib. i. De Major. et Obed. Gloss. in cap. 1. col. 214.]

[5 R. Holkoth. in Lib. Sapient. Præl. 1586. Lect. cc. p. 660; where *omnes subsunt nationes.*]

[6 Otton. Fris. Chronic. &c. Basil. 1569. De Reb. Gest. Frid. I. Lib. i. cap. xxviii. p. 209; where *atque præclaro urbis.*]

[7 1567 has not *of Rome.*]

[8 Ferdinande, Conf.]

[9 As his own another man's right, Conf.]

[10 Harding's reply to this paragraph, consisting of a few lines, is omitted.]

[11 Or once bare, Conf. and Def. 1567.]

[12 Consultation, Conf.]

[13 That it is, Conf. and Def. 1567, 1570.]

[14 Theodore, 1609, 1611.]

[15 Sat not only, Conf. and Def. 1567, 1570.]

[16 At, Conf. and Def. 1567.]

appeareth by these his own words: "In disputation (saith he) of matters of divinity, we have set before us to follow the doctrine of the Holy Ghost. For the evangelists and the apostles' works, and the prophets' sayings, shew us sufficiently what opinion we ought to have of the will of God[17]." Constantine in the Council of Nice.

M. HARDING.

... For the sitting of emperors in councils you treat a common-place not necessary. No man ever denied but emperors may sit in them .... we acknowledge two sorts of sitting[18], one for the assessors, another for the judges[19]. [a]No emperor ever sat as a judge in council. But many, both emperors in person and their lieutenants for them, have sitten, as being ready to assist and defend that which the bishops had judged and decreed ....

[a] Untruth. For Cusanus saith: *Invenio imperatores in conciliis judicia fecisse*[20]. Read the answer.

What manner a seat great Constantine had in the first council at Nice, Eusebius in[21] *his life*[22]*, and Theodoretus doth declare. After that all the bishops were set in their seats, to the number of* 318, *in came the emperor last, with a small company.* [b]*A low little chair being set for him in the midst, he would not sit*[23] *down before the bishops had reverently signified so much unto him; and, as Theodoretus writeth, not before he had desired the bishops to permit him so to do*[24]*. Now think you that the supreme head of the church should have* [c]*come in last, and have sitten* [d]*beneath his subjects, and have staid to sit until they had as it were given him leave?*

In Vita Constant. Lib. iii.

Theod. Lib. i. cap. 7. ἐπιτρέψαι τοῦτο τοὺς ἐπισκόπους αἰτήσας.

[b] Untruth inclosed: for this low little chair was all of beaten gold, and was set in the highest place of the council.

[c] Vain folly. For the prince never cometh into the parliament-house before the lords be set.

[d] Untruth. For Sozomenus saith: *Erat thronus ille maximus, et alios omnes superans*[25].

Neither consulted he with the bishops, but required them to consult of the matters they came for, as Theodoret witnesseth. Neither spake he there so generally as you report, nor framed his tale in that sort, as you feign, [e]*universally of the will of God,* [e]*but of the Godhead, saying, that "the books of the gospels, and of the apostles, and the oracles of the prophets, do plainly teach us what we ought to think of the Godhead," περὶ τοῦ θείου. For the controversy about which the Arians made so much ado was touching the equality of the Godhead*[27] *in Christ, and his consubstantiality with God the Father. And by those words and other, which there he*[28] *uttered, he took not upon him to define or judge, but only to exhort them to agree together in one faith: for among those bishops certain there were that favoured the heresy of Arius. Such examples you bring for defence of your part as make much against you. Not that you delight in making a rod for yourself, but because you have no better; and somewhat must you needs say, lest the stage you play your part on should stand still.*

[e] Untruth evident. For Cassiodorus expoundeth it thus: *Quid de divina lege sapere debeamus*[26].

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

"Emperors (ye say) sat in councils as assessors only, but not as judges." That is to say, they sat by the bishops, and held their peace, and told the clock, and said nothing. Yet your doctors say: *Assessor episcopi non potest esse laicus*[29]: "The assessor of a bishop may not be a layman." But, touching the matter itself, Eusebius, that was always near about the emperor Constantine, and wrote his life, and was present at the council, saith thus: *Constantinus, quasi communis quidam episcopus a Deo constitutus, ministrorum Dei*

De Præscrip. Stat. & Assess. Gemin.

Euseb. in Vit. Const. Orat. 3. cap. xvi.[30]

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[17] ... ὡς δεινὸν εἴη ... ἀλλήλους βάλλειν ... ἄλλως τε καὶ περὶ θείων διαλεγομένους πραγμάτων, καὶ τοῦ παναγίου Πνεύματος τὴν διδασκαλίαν ἀνάγραπτον ἔχοντας. εὐαγγελικαὶ γάρ, φησι, βίβλοι, καὶ ἀποστολικαὶ, καὶ τῶν παλαιῶν προφητῶν τὰ θεσπίσματα, σαφῶς ἡμᾶς ἃ χρὴ περὶ τοῦ Θείου φρονεῖν ἐκπαιδεύουσι.—Theodor. in Hist. Eccles. Script. Amst. 1695-1700. Lib. i. cap. vii. p. 25.]

[18] Setting, Def. 1567, 1570.]

[19] Judge, Conf. and Def. 1567, 1570.]

[20] See below, page 1018, note 12.]

[21] Is, Conf.]

[22] Euseb. in eod. De Vit. Constant. Lib. iii. cap. x. p. 402.]

[23] Set, Conf.]

[24] ... θρόνου δὲ σμικροῦ τεθέντος ἐν μέσῳ κεκάθικεν, ἐπιτρέψαι τοῦτο τοὺς ἐπισκόπους αἰτήσας.—Theodor. in eod. Lib. i. cap. vii. p. 25.]

[25] Soz. in eod. Lib. i. cap. xix. p. 353. See below, page 1017, note 19.]

[26] Hist. Tripart. Par. Lib. ii. cap. v. fol. D. See below, page 1019, note 16.]

[27] Of Godhead, Conf. and Def. 1567, 1570.]

[28] Be, Def. 1570, 1609, 1611.]

[29] The reference is printed in 1567 *De Rescriptis*, which is doubtless correct. See Corp. Jur. Canon. Sext. Decretal. Lib. i. Tit. iii. cap. 11. col. 46. But the words as here quoted do not appear.]

[30] 1567, 1570 have not *cap. xvi.*]

Constantine in the Council of Nice.

synodos convocavit; nec dedignatus est adesse, et considere in medio illorum, consorsque fieri ipsorum, &c.[1]: "Constantine, as if he had been a common bishop appointed by God, called together councils of God's ministers, and disdained not himself to sit in the midst amongst them, and to be partaker of their doings." Again, Constantinus himself saith thus: *Ego intereram concilio tanquam unus ex vobis*[2]: "I was present at the council amongst you, as one of you." Again Eusebius saith: *Unus et unicus Deus instituit Constantinum ministrum suum, ... et doctorem pietatis omnibus terris*[3]: "The one and only God hath appointed Constantine to be his minister, and the doctor of true godliness unto all nations." And Theodoretus saith: *Laudatissimus rex apostolicas curas susciebat animo suo; at pontifices non solum non ædificare ecclesiam, sed etiam illius fundamenta labefactare conabantur*[4]: "The good emperor had apostolic cares in his heart; but the bishops did not only not build up the church of God, but also overthrew the foundations of the same." M. Harding saith: The bishops did all, and the emperor did nothing. But Theodoretus saith: The emperor built up that the bishops had thrown down[5].

αὐτὸς δὲ καθάπερ εἷς ἐξ ὑμῶν ἐτύγχανον συμπαρών. Euseb. eod. loc. Theodor. Lib. i. cap. xxiv.

Euseb. in Vit. Const. Orat. 3. cap. x.[8]

And again Eusebius saith: *Constantinus erat vocalissimus Dei præco, et quasi servator ac medicus animarum*[6]: "Constantine the emperor was a most clear preacher of God, and, as it were, the saviour and physician of souls[7]." In this sort Nicephorus writeth unto the emperor Emmanuel Palæologus: *Tu es dux professionis fidei nostræ, &c.*[9]: "Your majesty is the captain of the profession of our faith: your majesty hath restored the catholic and universal church: your majesty hath reformed the temple of God from merchants and exchangers of the heavenly doctrine, and from heretics, by the word of truth."

Niceph. in Præf. ad Emman.

Ye say, "When the bishops were set, in came the emperor, last, with a small company." Whereof ye would have us to gather that he came only as an inferior[10] person, and not as a judge. Howbeit Theodoretus saith: *Constantinus jussit episcopos ingredi*[11]: "Constantine commanded the bishops to go in." And Eusebius saith: *Sedit tota synodus reverenter, ut par fuit, cum silentio exspectans adventum principis*[12]: "The whole council sat in reverent and comely order, quietly and in silence looking for the prince's coming."

Theodor. Lib. i. cap. vii. εἰσελθεῖν τε ἐπέτρεψε. σὺν κόσμῳ τῷ πρέποντι ἡ πᾶσα καθῆστο σύνοδος. πάντων δὲ ἐξαναστάντων ἐπὶ συνθήματι ὃ τὴν βασιλέως εἴσοδον ἐδήλου.

This is no good proof, M. Harding, that the emperor in the council was inferior to the bishops. Nay, the bishops were commanded to take their places, to sit in silence, and to wait for the emperor's coming, as it becometh subjects to wait for their prince[13]. Again he saith: *Signo, quo adventus imperatoris indicatus est, dato, omnibus exsurgentibus, ipse deinde ingressus est medius, tanquam aliquis Dei cœlestis angelus*[14]: "When the watchword was given that the emperor was come, the bishops stood up from their places; and his majesty passed along through the midst of them, as if he had been an angel of God."

σμικροῦ τινος αὐτῷ καθίσματος ὕλης χρυσοῦ πεποιημένου.

But the emperor (ye say) sat upon a little low stool, and therein shewed himself inferior to the bishops. Yea, M. Harding, but Eusebius saith that the same little low stool was made of whole beaten gold[15]; and therein, I trow, as low as ye place him[16], he was somewhat above the bishops.

Ye say he sat alow, and in the midst of the bishops: and hereof ye conclude he was their inferior. So Julius Cæsar, notwithstanding he were the emperor of Rome, yet when he came into the college of poets, he was well contented to be placed in the lowest room; and yet was he not therefore their inferior.

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[1] Euseb. in Hist. Eccles. Script. Amst. 1695-1700. De Vit. Constant. Lib. I. cap. xliv. p. 353.]

[2] Id. ibid. Lib. III. cap. xvii. p. 405.]

[3] Id. ibid. Lib. I. cap. v. p. 334.]

[4] Theodor. in eod. Lib. I. cap. xxv. p. 59.]

[5] The last two sentences are not in 1567.]

[6] ... οἷόν τινα μέγιστον φωστῆρα καὶ κήρυκα μεγαλοφωνότατον τῆς ἀπλανοῦς θεοσεβείας,... ἐνεδείξατο.—Euseb. in eod. De Vit. Constant. Lib. I. cap. iv. p. 334.]

[7] Soul, 1570.]

[8] 1567, 1570 have not *cap. x.*]

[9] Τὴν μὲν οὖν καθόλου ἐκκλησίαν οὕτω νεωτερίζομένην, εἰς τὸ ἀρχαῖον ἐγκαθιστᾷς· ἀπελαύνεις ταύτης ἅπαν νόθον δόγμα καὶ βέβηλον· ἐκκαθαίρεις τῶν θειοκαπήλων τὸ ἱερὸν, οὐ τριπλόκῳ δή τινι φραγγελίῳ, ἀλλ' ἀληθείας λόγῳ.—Niceph. Call. Hist. Eccles. Lut. Par. 1630. Dedic. Op. Tom. I. p. 14. The emperor addressed was Andronicus.]

[10] As some inferior, 1567, 1570, 1609.]

[11] Theodor. in Hist. Eccles. Script. Lib. I. cap. vii. p. 25.]

[12] Euseb. in eod. De Vit. Constant. Lib. III. cap. x. p. 402.]

[13] Coming as his subjects, 1567.]

[14] Id. ibid.]

[15] Id. ibid.]

[16] The last six words are not in 1567.]

But touching the emperor Constantine's place in the council, Eusebius saith thus: *Accessit ad summum gradum ordinum*[17]: "He went up to the highest rising of all the benches." Sozomenus saith: *Imperator pervenit ad caput concilii, et sedit in throno quodam, quem ipse sibi fecerat. Erat autem thronus ille maximus, et alios omnes superans*[19]; "The emperor went up to the head or highest place of the council, and sat down in a throne of estate, that he had prepared for himself. But this throne was very great, and far passed all the rest." In the mean season, the pope's legate sat, as it is said before, neither in the first place, nor in the second, nor in the third, but in the fourth. Hereby it seemeth to appear plainly, that Constantinus the emperor had this[20] place in the council above all the[21] bishops.

Constantine in the Council of Nice.

Euseb. de Vit. Const. Orat. 3. cap. x.[18] προελθὼν ἐπὶ τὴν πρώτην τῶν ταγμάτων ἀρχήν. μέγιστος δὲ ἦν οὗτος, καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ὑπερφέρων.

Notwithstanding, sithence that time the pope hath determined it must now be otherwise. His order is this, as it hath been alleged before: *Sedes imperatoris parabitur, &c.*[22]: "The emperor's seat shall be prepared next unto the pope's seat, and shall have two steps joined unto the same; but neither so broad nor so long as be the pope's. It shall be apparelled with cloth of gold; but canopy over the head it shall have none. Howbeit this thing is specially to be marked, that the place whereupon the emperor sitteth may be no higher than the place where the pope setteth his feet." Thus we see the emperor is allowed to sit at the pope's footstool; but in any case to mount no higher.

Cerem. Lib. i. Sect. 14. cap. 2. Et adverten-dum quod locus ubi sedet imperator non sit altior loco, ubi tenet pedes pontifex.

The emperor (ye say) stood still, (no doubt with cap in hand,) and durst not sit down without leave; and thereby testified himself to be inferior to the bishops. These cold conclusions, M. Harding, will hardly serve you[23]. For Trajanus, being the emperor of Rome, was contented himself to stand afoot, and, for honour's sake, commanded the consuls to sit down: yet was he not therefore inferior in dignity to the consuls.

Helena the empress apparelled herself like a servant, and ministered unto the holy virgins, and gave them water to their hands, as if indeed she had been their servant[24]: yet was she not therefore inferior unto the virgins.

The same emperor Constantine, at the time of the ecclesiastical sermons[25], stood upright, and would not sit, for the reverence that he bare to the word of God[26]: yet was he not inferior to the preacher. This was that good emperor's modesty and humility, M. Harding, but not his duty. It were wisdom for princes to take heed they commit not overmuch to your hands: for, whatsoever they once yield of mere courtesy, straightway ye claim it as your own.

Ruffin. Lib. i. cap. vii.

Euseb. in Vit. Const. Orat. 4. cap. xxxiii.[27]

Howbeit, touching the emperor's sitting in the council, it was far otherwise than you report it. Sozomenus saith: *Imperator resedit in throno, qui illi paratus fuerat; et synodus jussa est sedere*[28]: "The emperor sat down in his chair of estate provided for him; and (then) the council was commanded to sit down." Hereby it appeareth the emperor needed not the bishops' leave, but rather gave leave to the bishops.

Soz. Lib. i. cap. xix. καὶ ἡ σύνοδος καθῆσθαι ἐκελεύσθη.

No doubt that godly and mild prince, being in that reverend assembly, bare himself with much reverence. And therefore Eusebius saith, he sat not down before the bishops had beckoned unto him. But he added[29] withal: *Post imperatorem idem fecerunt omnes*[30]: (Not before, but) "after that the emperor was set, they sat down all together." Now, M. Harding, if he that sat first in

Euseb. in Vit. Const. Orat. 3. cap. x. οὐ πρότερον ἢ τοὺς

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[17] Id. ibid.; where παρελθών.]

[18] This reference is not in 1567, 1570.]

[19] ...ἐπὶ θρόνου τινὸς ἐκάθισεν ὥσπερ αὐτῷ κατεσκεύαστο. καὶ ἡ σύνοδος καθῆσθαι ἐκελεύσθη· παρεσκεύαστο γὰρ ἑκατέρωθεν βάθρα πολλά, παρεκτεινόμενα τοῖς τοίχοις τοῦ βασιλείου οἴκου. μέγιστος δὲ ἦν οὗτος, καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ὑπερφέρων.—Soz. in eod. Lib. i. cap. xix. p. 353. It would seem it was the hall or the palace that was so large.]

[20] His, 1567, 1570, 1609.]

[21] Above the, 1567.]

[22] Sedes &c. juxta sedem papæ: quæ habebit duos gradus conjunctos gradibus papæ, sed non tantæ latitudinis aut longitudinis. erit ornata cum panno aureo post tergum, sed non supra caput...Et advertendum &c. fit &c.—Rit. Eccles. sive Sacr. Cerim. Rom. Eccles. Libr. Col. Agrip. 1557. Lib. i. Sect. xiv. cap. ii. foll. 127. 2, 8.]

[23] Conclusions will hardly serve, 1567.]

[24] Hist. Eccles. Par. Lib. x. cap. viii. fol. 109.]

[25] Of the sermons, 1567.]

[26] Euseb. in Hist. Eccles. Script. De Vit. Constant. Lib. iv. cap. xxxiii. pp. 437, 8.]

[27] In this and the four following references to Eusebius, the chapter is not noted in 1567, 1570.]

[28] Soz. in eod. Lib. i. cap. xix. p. 353.]

[29] Addeth, 1567, 1570.]

[30] Euseb. in eod. De Vit. Constant. Lib. iii. cap. x. p. 402; where ἐκάθιζε ταὐτὸ δ'.]

Constantine in the Council of Nice.

the council were the head of the church, as you seem to say, then may I reason thus: The pope or his legate in that council sat not first; *ergo*, the pope then was not head of the church.

Again, the emperor in that council sat first; *ergo*, by your own conclusion, the emperor was the head of the church. Certainly the pope himself saith plainly: "The emperor Constantine was the president or ruler of the Nicene council." His words be these: *Constantinus præsidens sanctæ synodo, quæ apud Nicæam congregata est*[2]: "Constantinus the emperor being president of the holy council that was kept at Nice." These be not our words, but the pope's, registered even in his own records. Therefore, I trust, ye will not refuse to give them credit.

ἐπισκόπους ἐπινεῦσαι ἐκάθιζε ταὐτὸν δὲ[1] ἐπράττον πάντες μετὰ βασιλέα[1].

xii. Quæst. 1. Fut. Greg. Euseb. in Vit. Const. Orat. 2. cap. liv.

But you say, "The emperor determined and defined nothing." Yet the emperor himself, contrary to your saying, saith thus: *Ego suscepi et perfeci res salutiferas, persuasus verbo tuo*[3]: "O Lord, I took in hand, and brought to pass wholesome things, being persuaded by thy word."

Euseb. in Vit. Const. Orat. 3. cap. xvi.

And again, writing hereof unto the bishops of sundry churches, he saith: *Ego vobiscum interfui, tanquam unus ex vobis. Non enim negaverim conservum me vestrum esse: qua de re mihi maxime gratulor*[4]: "I was present at the council with you, as one of you. For I cannot deny myself[5] to be your fellow-servant; in which thing I most rejoice."

Socr. Lib. i. cap. ix. καὶ αὐτὸς τὴν τῆς ἀληθείας ἐξέτασιν ἀνεδεξάμην.

Likewise again he saith: *Ego Nicæam contraxi magnum numerum episcoporum; cum quibus, cum essem unus ex vobis, et conservus vester vehementer esse cuperem, etiam ipse suscepi inquisitionem veritatis*[6]: "I caused a great company of bishops to come to Nice; with whom together I took in hand the examination of the truth, being myself[5] one of you, and much desiring to be therein your fellow-servant."

Euseb. in Vit. Const. Orat. 3. cap. xi. ὁμματι βασιλικῷ περιεσκόπει. Socr. Lib. i. cap. viii.

Likewise saith Eusebius: *Imperator, quasi luculentam facem accendens, ne quæ occultæ erroris reliquiæ superessent, oculo regio circumspexit*[7]: "The emperor, as having enkindled a great flame, looked well about with his princely eye, that no privy remnants of errors[8] should rest behind."

The bishops in the same Nicene council, being at variance amongst themselves, offered up their books of accusation, not unto the pope or to his legates, of whom they had then no great regard, but unto the emperor. Neither did the emperors[9] put over their quarrels unto the pope's judgment, but unto the judgment of God[10]. Again, the same emperor Constantine saith: "If any bishop wickedly offend, by the hand of God's servant, that is to say, by my hand, he shall be punished[11]."

Theodor. Lib. i. cap. xix.

Card. Cusan. de Concord. Lib. iii. cap. xvi.[13]

To be short, cardinal Cusanus saith: *Sciendum est, quod in universalibus octo conciliis, ubi imperatores interfuerunt et non papa, semper invenio imperatores et judices suos cum senatu primatum habuisse et officium præsidentiæ per interlocutiones, et ex consensu synodi, sine mandato, conclusiones et judicia fecisse. Et non reperitur instantia in octo conciliis, præterquam in tertia actione concilii Calcedonensis*[12]: "We must know that in the eight general councils, where the emperors were present and not the pope, I evermore find that the emperors and their judges, with the senate, had the government and office of presidence, by hearing and conferring of matters; and that they made conclusions and

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[1 ὡ, βασιλέα 1609, 1611.]

[2 Idem vero [Constantinus] præsidens in sancta synodo, quæ &c.—Melch. Papa in Corp. Jur. Canon. Lugd. 1624. Decret. Gratian. Decr. Sec. Pars, Caus. xii. Quæst. i. can. 15. col. 973.]

[3 Euseb. in Hist. Eccles. Script. Amst. 1695-1700. De Vit. Constant. Lib. ii. cap. lv. pp. 385, 6.]

[4 Id. ibid. Lib. iii. cap. xvii. p. 405.]

[5 Meself, 1567, 1570.]

[6 Socr. in eod. Lib. i. cap. ix. pp. 25, 6.]

[7 In the place named the words are these: ὁ δὲ φαιδροῖς ὄμμασι τοῖς πᾶσι γαληνὸν ἐμβλέψας, κ.τ.λ. —Euseb. in eod. De Vit. Constant. Lib. iii. cap. xi. p. 403.]

[8 Error, 1567, 1570, 1609.]

[9 Emperor, 1567, 1570.]

[10 Socr. in eod. Lib. i. cap. viii. p. 18.]

[11 Theodor. in eod. Lib. i. cap. xx. p. 51. See before, page 964, note 1.]

[12 The words as here alleged have not been found in the place cited. But ideas nearly similar occur. Thus: Et primo reperio ... quod aut ipse imperator per se interfuit, aut ex ejus jussione ejus loçum tenentes sacri senatus et judices ... Imperatore vero in persona existente, reperio eum semper præsedisse &c.—Nic. de Cusa Op. Basil. 1565. De Concord. Cathol. Lib. iii. cap. xvi. Tom. II. pp. 797, 8. Conf. Catalog. Test. Genev. 1608. col. 1893.]

[13 Cardinal. Cusa de Præsidentia, 1567.]

judgments, with the consent of the council, and without any further commission. And there is no manner instance or exception to be found in the first eight councils, saving only in the third action of the council of Chalcedon." Constantine in the Council of Nice.

Here ye see plainly, by the authority of cardinal Cusanus, one of your own special doctors, that in the eight first general councils the emperor was president, and not the pope.

Whereas the emperors[14] willed the bishops to conclude their matters by the apostolical and prophetical scriptures, he speaketh not (say you) so generally as we report him, nor frameth his tale in that sort, as we feign, "universally of the will of God, but of the Godhead." For τὸ θεῖον in your fancy signifieth only the substance and nature of God, and not God's will, or his religion. Here, M. Harding, it were some point of learning to know what skilful Greek reader told you this tale, that τὸ θεῖον is nothing else but the Godhead, or nature of God[15]. Verily, Cassiodorus in plain wise translateth it thus: *Evangelici et apostolici libri erudiunt nos, quid de sacra lege sapiamus*[16]: "The books of the evangelists and apostles teach us what we ought to think (not only of the substance and nature of God, but also) of the holy law." Trip. Hist. Lib. ii. cap. v.

Therefore Theodoretus addeth further these words: *Accipiamus explicationes quæstionum nostrarum ex dictis Sancti Spiritus*[17]: "Let us take the resolution of our questions out of the words of the Holy Ghost." And immediately before he saith: *De rebus divinis disputantes, præscriptam habemus doctrinam Sancti Spiritus*[18]: "In our disputations (not only of the Godhead, but also) of godly matters, we have laid before us the doctrine of the holy gospel." In like sense St Hilary saith: *Non est relictus hominum eloquiis de Dei rebus alius præterquam Dei sermo. Omnia reliqua et arcta, et conclusa, et impedita sunt, et obscura*[19]: "In matters touching God there is no speech left unto men, but only the word of God. All other authorities be short, and narrow, and dark, and troublesome." Believe them not henceforth, M. Harding[20], that tell you that τὸ θεῖον signifieth only the substance and nature of God's divinity. For, as ye may easily see, your gloss is vain, and fighteth directly against the text. Theodor. Lib. i. cap. vii. περὶ θείων ...πραγμάτων. Hilar. de Trin. Lib. vii. De rebus Dei. περὶ τοῦ θείου.

The Apology, Chap. xiii. Division 2.

The emperor Theodosius (as saith Socrates) did not only sit amongst the bishops, but also ordered the whole arguing of the cause, and tare in pieces the heretics' books, and allowed for good the judgment of the catholics[21].

M. HARDING.

It is a wonder to see how these men abuse the ecclesiastical histories. Whereas they talk a little before of the sitting of emperors in general councils, a man would think that now also Theodosius had been said to have sitten among bishops [a] *in some general council. But there is no such matter. Theodosius the emperor conferred with Nectarius the bishop of Constantinople how all christian men might be brought to an unity in faith. And after that Nectarius had learned of Sisinnius, a great clerk, the best way to be, if all the heads of each heresy and sect might be induced to be judged by the old fathers and doctors of the church; the godly emperor, hearing this advice, caused both the heretics and catholics also to write each of them such things as each of them had to say for his belief. And, after prayer made, reading over*

[a] As if a private council were no council.

Hist. Trip. Lib. ix. cap. xix.[22]

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[14] Emperor, 1567, 1570.]

[15] The clause from *this tale* is not in 1567.]

[16] Evangelici enim libri sunt, inquit, et apostolici ... qui nos erudiunt &c.—Hist. Tripart. Par. Lib. II. cap. v. fol. D.]

[17] Theodor. in Hist. Eccles. Script. Lib. I. cap. vii. p. 25.]

[18] Id. ibid.]

[19] Hilar. Op. Par. 1693. De Trin. Lib. VII. 38. cols. 941, 2; where *relictus est.*]

[20] Henceforth therefore M. Harding, 1567, 1570.]

[21] Socr. in Hist. Eccles. Script. Lib. V. cap. X. pp. 220, 1.]

[22] This reference is inserted from Conf. and Def. 1567, 1570.]

* Fond folly. As though the emperor could condemn the heretics, or allow the catholics, without judgment.

*all the writings, * he rejected the Arians, the Macedonians, and the Eunomians, *embracing only their sentence who agreed upon the consubstantiality of the Son of God*[1]. Here (say these defenders) "Theodosius did not only sit among[2] the bishops, but also ordered the whole arguing of the cause, tearing the papers of the heretics, and allowing the judgment of the catholics." To which objection I make this answer: first, that Theodosius here took counsel of Nectarius, the bishop, and followed[3] it; secondly, that he intended not to judge whether opinion of all the sects were truer,

b A worthy reason. The emperor sought means to abandon heresies; ergo, he judged not whether part was the truer.

[b] but only sought how to rid the church of controversies. Otherwise he would not only have taken counsel of Nectarius, the catholic bishop, but also of the Arians, Macedonians, and Eunomians. For he is not a right judge that calleth one side only to him, and in judgment is ruled by it. If then it be plain that the emperor only consulted with catholics, it is no less plain

c Untruth, contrary to the plain story.

[c] that he sat not judge upon the catholics. What did he then? Verily, he intended to execute that judgment which the bishops had pronounced at Nice, and therefore he conferred only with men of that side. And, because he was instructed that by disputation no good should come, he chose this way, to make all to write their opinions: not that he minded now to learn his faith out of their writings, sith he had learned that long before, and professed the same in his baptism; but he sought a way whereby to put all heretics to silence. Therefore, having read

d And how could he make choice without judgment?

all the writings, and having made his prayer to God for grace [d] to choose[4] the better side, which also he made not doubting of his faith (for else he were an infidel, and unworthy to be a judge even in the temporal matters among Christians), but partly he declared that all goodness is to be asked of God,

James i. 1 Cor. vi.

* Thus M. Harding maketh the emperor a dissembling hypocrite.

[e] partly he would the heretics to understand that he went not to work with affection, but with the fear of God—thus having prayed, and read[5] the writings, he executed the judgment of the Nicene council, and rejected those heretics....

Now, to return to the words of the Apology, how say they that "the emperor not only sat among bishops, but also causæ disceptationis[6] præfuit, was chief ruler and moderator of the reasoning and debating of the matter?" They cannot say thus, as of a council, whereof they talk. * For there was no council indicted, not only by the pope, but neither by the emperor, nor by any other archbishop. *It was a private calling together of certain heads of each sect, and not a solemn ordinary council. If there were no council of bishops, no sitting of bishops; if no sitting, no presidence at all. How then was Theodosius president, and judge of ecclesiastical causes?

* A fond cavil. It was a private council of sundry bishops; and the judgment thereof was specially directed by the emperor.

If we shall report the thing as it was in truth done, only Theodosius used a politic way to put heretics to silence. Other judgment he took not upon him, as he that protested always that spiritual causes and controversies of doctrine could not better be decided than by bishops: for which saying St Ambrose praised him[7]. So that we are sure of Theodosius, that he never meant

In Actis Concil. Aquilcien.

f Thus the emperor is become the bishop's man.

[f] to intermeddle with ecclesiastical matters, otherwise than to execute the bishops' decrees.

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

"Here (ye say) it is a wonder to see how these men abuse the ecclesiastical stories." "It was a private council (ye say) whereat Theodosius was present, and not a general." As if this poor help were sufficient to salve the matter; or as if a private council were no council; or as if an emperor might sit as a judge in private councils, but not in general. I cannot blame you, M. Harding, for seeking such shifts. A simple stick may make a stay[8]. The story in brief is this: Theodosius the emperor, the better to bring his churches into unity, commanded an assembly of the bishops and best-learned to appear before him, and each part to

Soz. Lib. vii. cap. xii. Socr. Lib. v. cap. x.

[1 Hist. Tripart. Par. Lib. IX. cap. xix. fol. S 5.]
[2 Amongst, Conf. and Def. 1567, 1570.]
[3 Followeth, Def. 1570, 1609, 1611.]
[4 Chose, Conf. and Def. 1567, 1570.]
[5 Readen, Conf. and Def. 1567, 1570.]
[6 Disceptationi, Conf. and Def. 1567, 1570.]
[7 Neque controversiæ dubiæ sententiæ rectius poterant experiri, quam si obortæ altercationis in interpretes ipsos constituissemus antistites. This is part of the imperial rescript; on which Ambrose exclaimed: Ecce quod Christianus constituit imperator. —Concil. Aquil. in Crabb. Concil. Col. Agrip. 1551. Tom. I. p. 397.]
[8 The last two sentences are not in 1567.]

write a several confession of his faith, that he himself might judge between them which faith were the best. Having received their writings, he willed public prayers to be made, and also both openly and privately prayed himself, that it might please God to assist him with his Holy Spirit, and to make him able to judge justly. Then he perused and considered each confession asunder by itself, allowed only the catholics, and condemned the confessions that were written by the Arians and Eunomians, and tare them in pieces[9]. This is the true report of the story, M. Harding. Whatsoever ye have added hereunto, as your manner is, it is your own. Now, whether the emperor Theodosius took upon him to hear and determine ecclesiastical causes of religion, or no, I report me to your own indifferent judgment.

But ye will say: The emperor presumed not to judge any thing of himself, but was wholly ruled by the bishops, as the executor of their wills. And hereof, ye say, ye are well assured. Thus by your handling ye make the prince only your bishop's man, to strike blindly whomsoever your bishop shall command, to condemn, to deprive, to spoil, to kill his own subjects; not of any judgment, or knowledge, but only upon the doubtful credit, and at the pleasure of your bishop. So simple make ye[10] this godly emperor in his dealing. He willed the congregation to pray; he prayed himself that God would direct him with his Spirit, and give him wisdom to discern the truth; he conferred the confessions; he weighed each reason; he allowed one side for true and godly; all the rest he condemned for false and wicked. And yet (ye say) ye are sure of Theodosius, that he intended not to judge whether of all these sects were the truer. And so, by your discretion, he both allowed and condemned, without judgment, he knew not what.

THE APOLOGY, Chap. xiv. Division 1.

In the council of[11] Chalcedon a civil magistrate condemned for heretics, by the sentence of his own mouth, the bishops Dioscorus, Juvenalis[12], and Thalassius, and gave judgment to put them down from their dignities[13] in the church.

Dioscorus. Juvenalis. Thalassius.

M. HARDING.

*Where true and good matter wanteth for defence of this cause, these men care not what they bring, so they make a shew of some learning, to deceive the unlearned. First, for condemnation of heretics by sentence of a civil magistrate, they allege the name of the long council of Chalcedon, not shewing in what action, or part thereof, it may be found. True it is that all these three are named in that council, Dioscorus, Juvenalis, and Thalassius: [a]but that all three were condemned we find not; much less that they were condemned by any civil magistrate do we find. The condemnation of Dioscorus, archbishop of Alexandria, was pronounced by the legates of the pope of Rome, in form as followeth: "Paschasinus, having asked the consent of the fathers present in the council to the condemnation of Dioscorus, after his faults rehearsed, with his two fellows, Lucentius bishop of Tusculum[14], and Bonifacius, priest of the great church of Rome, said: The most holy and blessed archbishop of the great and elder Rome, Leo, by us, and by this present holy synod, with the thrice most blessed and worthy of all praise, Peter the apostle, *who is the rock and *highest top of the catholic church, and who is the *foundation of the right faith, hath deprived Dioscorus, as well of the dignity of his bishoprick, as also of his priestly ministry[15]." This was the sentence pronounced by the pope's legates,*

Act. 3.

[a] Untruth inclosed, standing in ignorance; for, if M. Harding had read the council, he might have found it.

* This was spoken even like the pope's legate; for St Paul saith, "Christ was the rock, &c."

[9] Soz. in Hist. Eccles. Script. Amst. 1695-1700. Lib. VII. cap. xii. pp. 583, 4. Conf. Socr. in eod. Lib. v. cap. x. pp. 220, 1.]

[10] Ye make, 1567, 1570, 1609.]

[11] At, Conf.]

[12] Juvenal, Conf. and Def. 1567.]

[13] That promotion, Conf.]

[14] Tusculane, Conf.]

[15] Πασχασῖνος ἐπίσκοπος εἶπε· κελεύει ἡ θεοσέβεια ὑμῶν, τοῖς ἐπιτιμίοις τοῖς ἐκκλησιαστικοῖς χρησόμεθα κατ' αὐτοῦ, καθὰ διελάλησα; ἡ ἁγία σύνοδος εἶπεν· ναί, συναινοῦμεν...Πασχασῖνος ἐπίσκο-

Dioscorus. Juvenalis. Thalassius.

in the name of the bishop of Rome, under the authority of Peter: which sentence the whole council allowed. This being true, how did the civil magistrate condemn Dioscorus? Was then the bishop of Lilybœum, or the pope, in whose name he gave sentence, a civil magistrate? [b] *What is impudency, what is licentious lying, what is deceitful dealing, if this be not?*

Of Juvenalis, archbishop of Hierusalem, and Thalassius, archbishop of Cæsarea in Cappadocia, thus[1] *much I say: they might well have a rebuke for misusing themselves in the second council at Ephesus, where they sat like judges* [c] *without authority of the see of Rome (which, as Lucentius said in the synod of Chalcedon, was never orderly done, neither was it lawful to be done), they might, I say, take a rebuke for so presuming besides the pope's authority; but, forasmuch as they* [d] *maintained not their fact, but among other bishops of the east cried out,* Omnes peccavimus; omnes veniam postulamus[2]; *"We have all sinned; we all beseech pardon;" yea, forasmuch as Juvenalis rejected the fault upon Elpidius, who did not command Eusebius the accuser of Eutyches to come in, and Thalassius said he was not cause thereof, it may well be they were pardoned, although the honourable judges and senate said unto them:* In judicio fidei non est defensio[3]: *"In a judgment of faith this is no excuse." But, in case they were deposed,* [e] *then are we sure* [f] *it was not done by the civil magistrates, otherwise than that they might allow and execute the sentence of deposition before given.*

Act. 1. *Ex nov. translat.*

[b] This is the patience of M. Harding's spirit. When he shall read the council, and see his own error, he will be colder.

[c] Untruth, vain and childish. For then there belonged no such authority to the see of Rome.

[d] Untruth, shameless above measure. For they never asked pardon for sitting without the pope's authority.

[e] M. Harding is well assured before he know.

[f] Manifest untruth. Read the answer.

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

If the council of Chalcedon seem over-long, with better reading ye may make it shorter. That Dioscorus, Juvenalis, and Thalassius, were all three condemned in that council, that (ye say) ye find not. Howbeit, if ye had sought it better, ye might soon have found it. One of your own friends of Lovaine saith, that herein ye were too much overseen[4]. The very words, truly recorded in the council, are these: *Videtur nobis justum esse, ... eidem pœnæ Dioscorum reverendum episcopum Alexandriæ, et Juvenalem reverendum episcopum Hierosolymorum, et Thalassium reverendum episcopum Cæsariæ Cappadociæ, ... subjacere; et a sancto concilio, secundum regulas, ab episcopali dignitate fieri alienos*[5]: "Unto us it seemeth right that Dioscorus the reverend bishop of Alexandria, and Juvenalis the reverend bishop of Hierusalem, and Thalassius the reverend bishop of Cæsarea in Cappadocia, should be put to the same punishment, and by the holy council, according to the canons, should be removed from their episcopal dignities." The which words ye might also have found fully reported in Evagrius[6].

Cop. Dial. 1. p. 28. Concil. Chalced. Act. 1. p. 831.

Evagr. Lib. ii. cap. iv.

Likewise also saith pope Leo touching the same: *De nominibus ... Dioscori, Juvenalis, et Eustachii (vel potius, Thalassii) ad sacrum altare non recitandis, dilectionem tuam hoc decet custodire*[7]: "Touching the names of Dioscorus, Juvenalis, and Eustachius" (or rather, Thalassius), "not to be rehearsed at the holy altar" (which was the communion-table), "ye must keep this order."

Leo, Epist. 40. ad Anat.

But ye say: Notwithstanding these bishops were condemned in the council, yet the civil or lay-judges condemned them not. For they were there (ye say) only to see good order, and to keep peace. This, M. Harding, is your own only idle guess, without any manner further authority, only grounded upon yourself.

πος Διλυβαίου τῆς Σικελίας, καὶ μετ' αὐτοῦ Λουκήνσιος ἐπίσκοπος Ἐρκουλάνων, καὶ Βονιφάτιος πρεσβύτερος ἐκκλησίας τῆς μεγάλης Ῥώμης ... ἀπεφήναντο' ... ὅθεν ὁ ἁγιώτατος καὶ μακαριώτατος ἀρχιεπίσκοπος τῆς μεγάλης καὶ πρεσβυτέρας Ῥώμης Λέων, δι' ἡμῶν καὶ τῆς παρούσης ἁγιωτάτης συνόδου, μετὰ τοῦ τρισμακαριωτάτου καὶ πανευφήμου Πέτρου τοῦ ἀποστόλου, ὃς ἐστι πέτρα καὶ κρηπὶς τῆς καθολικῆς ἐκκλησίας, καὶ τῆς ὀρθοδόξου πίστεως ὁ θεμέλιος, ἐγύμνωσεν αὐτὸν τῆς τοῦ ἐπισκόπου, καὶ πάσης ἱερατικῆς ἠλλοτρίωσεν ἀξίας.—Concil. Calched. Act. III. in Concil. Stud. Labb. et Cossart. Lut. Par. 1671-2. Tom. IV. cols. 422, 3, 6. This was the judgment of Leo by his legates pronounced first, each of the other bishops similarly pronouncing afterwards his judgment.]

[1 This, Conf.]

[2 Ibid. cols. 140, 1.]

[3 Ibid. col. 145.]

[4 Copi Dialog. Sex, Antv. 1566. Dial. I. cap. v. p. 28. The author here admits that Juvenalis and Thalassius were condemned, but maintains that it was not by any civil magistrate, and accuses the Apology of falsehood for asserting the contrary.]

[5 Concil. Calched. Act. I. in Concil. Stud. Labb. et Cossart. Tom. IV. col. 323.]

[6 Evagr. in Hist. Eccles. Script. Amst. 1695-1700. Lib. II. cap. iv. pp. 290, 1. Conf. ibid. cap. xviii. p. 313.]

[7 Leon. Magni Op. Lut. 1623. Ad Anatol. Constant. Episc. Epist. xl. cap. iii. col. 355.]

Certainly the words of the council be plain: *Gloriosissimi judices et amplissimus senatus dixerunt*[8]: "The most noble judges and most worthy senate said." Likewise saith Evagrius: Οἱ ἀπὸ τῆς συγκλήτου βουλῆς ἐψηφίσαντο τάδε[9]: "The lords of the emperor's council decreed these things." Dioscorus. Juvenalis. Thalassius.

Neither were the civil judges then so scrupulous to think they might not deal in cases of religion, as it may well appear by their words. For thus they say: *Gloriosissimi judices et amplissimus senatus dixerunt, De recta et catholica fide perfectius sequenti die, convenienti concilio, diligentiorem examinationem fieri oportere, perspicimus*[10]: "The most noble judges and most worthy senate said, We see that touching the right catholic faith, the next day, when the council shall meet, there must be had a more diligent examination." Concil. Chalced. Act. I. Evagr. Lib. ii. cap. iv. Concil. Chalced. Act. I. p. 831.

And, when the matters were concluded and published, the bishops of the east brake out into favourable shouts, in this sort: *Justum et rectum judicium:... Vita longa senatui:... Multi anni imperatori*[11]: "Just and right is this judgment: Long life unto the senate: Many years unto the emperor." For in all cases, as well ecclesiastical as temporal, the emperor was judge over all. Whatsoever the council had determined, without the emperor's consent it had no force. And therefore both the bishops, and other temporal judges in the council, used oftentimes to suspend, and to stay their decrees in this sort: *Videtur nobis justum, si placuerit divinissimo et piissimo domino nostro*[12]: "Unto us it seemeth right, if it shall also like our most virtuous and most godly lord" (the emperor). In the end they conclude thus: *Omnibus quæ acta sunt ad sacrum apicem referendis*[13]: "So that all our doings be remitted to the emperor's majesty." All which words are borrowed, as the rest, out of the ecclesiastical story of Evagrius[14]. Concil. Chalced. Act. I. p. 831. Evagr. Lib. ii. cap. iv. εἰ παρασταίη τῷ θειοτάτῳ ...ἡμῶν δεσπότῃ.

Ye say: "Juvenalis and Thalassius might well have a rebuke for sitting like judges in the second council of Ephesus without authority of the pope." O M. Harding, either ye are much deceived, and presume to speak before ye know, which were great folly; or else ye speak directly against your knowledge and conscience, and willingly seek to deceive others, which were great wickedness. Verily ye might easily have known that these three bishops were condemned, not for intruding upon the pope's authority, as ye have imagined, but only for condemning other godly bishops wickedly, and without cause. The words of the council are plain: *Gloriosissimi judices dixerunt, Vos quidem primitus docuistis, quia per vim et necessitatem in pura charta coacti estis subscribere ad damnationem sanctæ memoriæ Flaviani. Orientales, et qui cum ipsis erant reverendissimi episcopi, clamaverunt, Omnes peccavimus, omnes veniam postulamus*[15]: "The most noble judges said, Ye have here proved before us that ye were driven by force and violence in a blank paper to subscribe your names to the condemnation of Flavianus of godly memory. The bishops of the east, and other reverend bishops that were with them, cried out, We have all offended, we all desire pardon." This indeed was their fault, M. Harding: all that you imagine, of usurping the pope's authority, is but a fantasy[16]. For the pope's huge and universal authority, whereby now he claimeth the whole jurisdiction of all the world, at that time was not known. Concil. Chalced. Act. I.

The same council of Chalcedon maketh him equal in authority and dignity with the bishop of Constantinople. The words be these: *Sedi senioris Romæ, propter imperium civitatis illius, patres consequenter privilegia reddiderunt. Et eadem intentione permoti centum quinquaginta Deo amantissimi episcopi æqua sanctissimæ sedi novæ Romæ privilegia tribuerunt; rationabiliter judicantes, imperio et senatu urbem ornatam æquis senioris regiæ Romæ privilegiis frui, et in ecclesiasticis, sicut illa, majestatem habere negotiis*[17]: "Unto the see of the old Rome, in Concil. Chalced. Act. XVI. Consulat.

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[8] Concil. Calched. Act. I. in Concil. Stud. Labb. et Cossart. Tom. IV. cols. 322, 3.]

[9] Evagr. in Hist. Eccles. Script. Lib. II. cap. iv. p. 290. Conf. Vales. Not. in loc. The formal sentence of deposition, it would seem, was pronounced by the bishops. See cap. xviii. pp. 313, 8.]

[10] Concil. Calched. Act. I. in Concil. Stud. Labb. et Cossart. Tom. IV. col. 322.]

[11] Ibid. col. 323.]

[12] Ibid.]

[13] Ibid.]

[14] Evagr. in Hist. Eccles. Script. Lib. II. cap. iv. pp. 290, 1.]

[15] Concil. Calched. Act. I. in Concil. Stud. Labb. et Cossart. Tom. IV. cols. 140, 1.]

[16] Fancy, 1567, 1570, 1609.]

[17] Ibid. Act. XVI. col. 795.]

Dioscorus. Juvenalis. Thalassius.

consideration of the empire of that city, our fathers have accordingly given privileges. And, upon like consideration, the hundred and fifty godly bishops have given equal and like privileges to the city of new Rome" (whereby is meant the city of Constantinople); "for that they thought it reasonable that the same city of Constantinople, being now adorned with empire and senate, should also have privileges equal with Rome the elder, and have the same majesty and authority in ecclesiastical affairs that Rome hath."

Thus ye see your pope had not then a power peerless over all the world; but was made like, and even and equal, in all respects, to one of his brethren. Therefore, if the bishop of Rome were the head of the church, then was the bishop of Constantinople likewise the head of the church. And, if the bishop of Rome's power were universal, then was the bishop of Constantinople's power universal, as well as his. For the council alloweth as much ecclesiastical authority to the one bishop as to the other.

Now, shortly to consider the whole substance of your talk: first, ye say, "These three bishops, Dioscorus, Juvenalis, and Thalassius, were never condemned in the council of Chalcedon." This, ye see, is one untruth. Secondly, ye say, "The civil magistrate never condemned them." This is another untruth. Thirdly, ye say, "Juvenalis and Thalassius were rebuked for sitting as judges in council without the pope's authority." These are two other untruths: for neither had the pope any such prerogative at that time, nor was this the cause of their condemnation. And yet, as if ye would run us over with terror of words, ye cry out with a courage, "What is impudency, what is licentious lying, what is deceitful dealing, if this be not?"

Touching these fiery terms, M. Harding, I dare not answer you. But as for plain lying without a difference, if ye know not what it is, look through your own books, and ye cannot fail of it. Verily it is to publish untruths so largely and so liberally, as you have done, only upon affiance of the simplicity and ignorance of your reader, without regard or fear of God or man.

THE APOLOGY, Chap. xiv. Division 2.

In the third council at Constantinople, Constantine, a civil magistrate, did not only sit amongst the bishops, but did also subscribe with them; for saith he, "We have both read and subscribed[1]."

M. HARDING.

*The subscribing is not the matter, but the judging. Constantine subscribed to the council, as now all christian princes, being required, ought to subscribe to the Tridentine council. *But Constantine used not this style when he subscribed,* Definiens subscripsi: *"I have subscribed with giving definitive sentence." *For so to subscribe it appertained only to bishops.*

* A vain distinction. * Untruth, manifest. Read the answer.

THE APOLOGY, Chap. xiv. Division 3.

In the second council, called Arausicanum, the princes' embassadors, being noblemen born, not only spake[2] their mind touching religion, but set to their hands also, as well as the bishops. For thus it is[3] written in the latter[4] end of that council: "Petrus, Marcellinus, Felix, and Liberius, being most noble men, and famous lieutenants, and captains[5] of France, and also peers of the realm, have given their

[1 Edict. Imp. Constant. in Concil. Const. III. in eod. Tom. VI. col. 1098.]
[2 Speake, Conf.]
[3 Is it, Conf.]
[4 Later, Conf. and Def. 1567, 1570.]
[5 Capitains, Conf.]

consent, and set to their hands." Further, "Syagrius, Opilio, Pantagathus, Deodatus, Cariattho, and Marcellus, men of very great honour, have subscribed[6]." The Temporal Magistrate subscribeth in Council.

M. HARDING.

What if all the laymen of the world had subscribed by the word of consenting or agreeing to the bishops' decrees, each one writing thus, as in that cause[7] the old manner was, Consentiens subscripsi? *What other thing is proved thereby than that they thought it necessary to allow that which bishops had determined? Which we wish ye would do.*

THE APOLOGY, Chap. xiv. Division 4.

If it be so then, that lieutenants, chief captains[5], and peers have had authority to subscribe in council, have not emperors and kings the like authority?

M. HARDING.

Kings and queens not only might, but ought to subscribe when they are required[8]. . . .

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

Here, M. Harding, ye are driven to many shifts. Some of you say, that princes' embassadors and civil magistrates had no right to subscribe in council, but only by licence and sufferance of the bishops. Some others have found out a certain difference in subscriptions. The bishop (ye say) subscribed in one form, and the civil magistrate in another: The bishop thus: *Definiens subscripsi:* "By giving my definitive sentence, I have subscribed:" the lay magistrate thus: *Consentiens subscripsi:* "Giving consent hereto, I have subscribed." Thus have you found out a knot in a rush, and devised a diversity without a difference. Certainly in the old councils there appeareth only one form of subscriptions, and no more. And afterward these two words, *definiens* and *consentiens*, wherein you imagine so great a difference, were used indifferently, as well of bishops, as of others, as each man was best affected. Sometime the bishop subscribed *consentiens;* sometime the layman subscribed *definiens*, without scruple. In the council of Chalcedon it is written thus: *Ego Dorotheus episcopus consensi et subscripsi*[9]: "I bishop Dorothee have consented and subscribed, &c.[10]" Likewise it is written in the council of Paris: [*Ego*] *Probianus . . . episcopus . . . Bituricensis consensi et subscripsi*[11]: "I Probiane the bishop of Bourges have consented and subscribed." Marius Victorinus saith: *Nicenæ fidei multa episcoporum millia consenserunt*[12]: "Many thousand bishops consented unto the Nicene faith."

Consentiens subscripsi. Concil. Chalced. Act. I. p. 780.

Concil. Paris.

Mar. Victor. contr. Arian. Lib. ii.

Of the other side, the lay prince in council hath had authority, not only to consent and agree unto others, but also to define and determine, and that in cases of religion, as by many evident examples it may appear. Evagrius saith, as it is before alleged: Οἱ ἀπὸ τῆς[13] συγκλήτου βουλῆς ἐψηφίσαντο τάδε[14]: "They that were

Definiens subscripsi.

Evagr. Lib. ii. cap. iv.

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[6] Petrus, Marcellinus, Felix, Liberius, viri clarissimi et illustres præfecti prætorii Galliarum atque patricii, consentientes subscripserunt. Syagrius vir clarissimus cons. subscripsit. Opilio vir clarissimus cons. subscripsit. Pantagathus vir clarissimus cons. subscripsit. Deodatus vir clarissimus cons. subscripsit. Cariattho vir clarissimus cons. subscripsit. Marcellus vir clariss. cons. subscripsit.—Concil. Araus. II. in Crabb. Concil. Col. Agrip. 1551. Tom. I. p. 629.]

[7] Case, Conf. and Def. 1567, 1570.]

[8] Harding adds here: And would God queen Elizabeth's majesty would subscribe to the late council of Trent.]

[9] Concil. Calched. Act. I. in Concil. Stud. Labb. et Cossart. Lut. Par. 1671-2. Tom. IV. col. 229.]

[10] 1567, 1570 have not &c.]

[11] Concil. Parrhis. in Crabb. Concil. Tom. II. p. 145.]

[12] Mar. Victorin. adv. Ar. Lib. II. 9. in Biblioth. Vet. Patr. Stud. Galland. Venet. 1765-81. Tom. VIII. p. 178. See Vol. I. page 358, note 3.]

[13] τις, 1609, 1611.]

[14] Evagr. in Hist. Eccles. Script. Amst. 1695-1700. Lib. II. cap. iv. p. 290.]

The Temporal Magistrate subscribeth in Council.

of the senate of[1] the lords of the council determined these things." Sozomenus saith: *Imperator Constantinus jussit decem episcopos orientis, et totidem occidentis, quos synodus designasset, ad aulam suam venire, et sibi exponere decreta concilii, ut ipse quoque*[2] *consideraret, an secundum scripturas inter se convenissent, et de rebus agendis, quæ optima viderentur, determinaret*[3]: "The emperor Constantine commanded that ten bishops of the east, and ten of the west, chosen by the council, should repair to his court, and open unto him the decrees of the council, that his majesty might consider whether they were agreed according to the scriptures; and that he might further" (not only consent, or agree, but also) "determine, and conclude what were best to be done." Æneas Sylvius, which afterward was pope Pius II., saith thus: *Visum est Spiritui Sancto, et nobis:... unde apparet, alios quam episcopos [in conciliis] habuisse vocem decidentem*[4]: "'It seemeth good to the Holy Ghost, and to us:' hereby it appeareth that some others[6] beside bishops had a voice definitive in councils." And again he saith: *Nec ego cujusvis episcopi mendacium, quamvis ditissimi, veritati præponam pauperis presbyteri. Nec dedignari debet episcopus, si aliquando ignarus et rudis sequacem non habeat multitudinem*[7]: "Neither will I set more by any bishop's lie, be he never so rich, than I would set by any priest's truth, be he never so poor. Neither may the ignorant and unlearned bishop disdain, if he see the people unwilling to follow him."

Soz. Lib. iv. cap. xvi. ὥστε καὶ αὐτὸν συνιδεῖν εἰ κατὰ τὰς ἱερὰς γραφὰς συνέβησαν ἀλλήλοις, καὶ περὶ τῶν πρακτέων ὅπῃ ἂν ἄριστα δοκῇ ἐπιτελέσαι.

Æn. Sylv. de Gest. Concil. Basil.[5] Lib. i. Rod. loc. Gers. Quæ veritates sint credendæ.

Gerson saith: *Judicium et conclusio fidei licet auctoritative spectent ad prælatos et doctores, spectare tamen possunt ad alios quam theologos deliberatio, sicut et cognitio super his quæ fidem respiciunt. Ita... ut ad laicos... [etiam] hoc possit extendi; et plus aliquando quam ad multos clericorum*[8]: "Notwithstanding the judgment and conclusion of faith belong by authority unto bishops and doctors, yet as well the deliberation hereof, as also the knowledge and judgment concerning matters that touch the faith, may belong unto others too, besides the divines, or doctors, and professors of divinity. Yea, it may sometimes be extended even unto the laymen; and more sometimes unto them than unto many priests."

The emperor Justinian in ecclesiastical causes oftentimes useth these words: *Definimus, mandamus, jubemus, &c.*: "We determine, we conclude, we command, we bid." Touching bishops he writeth thus: *Definimus, ut nullus Deo amabilium episcoporum foris a sua ecclesia, plus quam per totum annum, abesse audeat*[9]: "We define, or determine, that none of the godly bishops shall dare to be absent from his church, more than by the space of one whole year." Here ye see the temporal prince in an ecclesiastical cause saith, *definimus*. To be short, pope Nicolas himself saith, writing unto the emperor Michael: *Ubinam legistis imperatores antecessores vestros synodalibus contentionibus interfuisse? Nisi forte in quibus[dam, ubi] de fide tractatum est; quæ universalis est, quæ omnium communis est; quæ non solum ad clericos, verum etiam ad laicos, et ad omnes omnino pertinet Christianos*[10]: "Where have you read that your predecessors, being emperors, were ever present at our disputations in councils; unless happily it were in certain cases, where as matter was moved touching the faith? For faith is universal, and common to all; and pertaineth not only unto priests, but also unto laymen; and generally and thoroughly to all Christians."

Auth. Coll. i. Tit. vi. Quomodo oport. Episc.

Dist. 96. Ubinam.

Nicolaus Cusanus saith: *In sexta synodo... Basilius... imperator patriarchalium sedium vicariis et patriarchis in subscriptione se postposuit ex humilitate, tota synodo rogante, ut se præponeret*[11]: "In the sixth council of Constantinople the emperor Basilius subscribeth his name after the legates of the patriarchal sees, and after the patriarchs; but this he did of humility: for the whole council

Nic. Cusan. de Concord. Lib. iii. cap. xvi.

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[1] Or, 1567, 1570.]

[2] Quo, 1609, 1611.]

[3] Soz. in eod. Lib. iv. cap. xvi. pp. 456, 7.]

[4] Æn. Sylv. Op. Basil. 1551. Comm. De Gest. Basil. Concil. Lib. i. p. 27.]

[5] Constantien, 1567.]

[6] Other, 1567.]

[7] Ibid. where *episcopus debet*.]

[8] J. Gerson. Op. Antv. 1706. Quæ verit. sint cred. Tom. I. Pars i. col. 26; where *judicium et quæstiones fidei, tamen non potest ad*, and *posset*.]

[9] Corp. Jur. Civil. Amst. 1663. Auth. Coll. i. Tit. vi. Novell. vi. cap. 2. Tom. II. p. 13.]

[10] Nicol. Papa in Corp. Jur. Canon. Lugd. 1624. Decret. Gratian. Decr. Prim. Pars, Dist. xcvi. can. 4. cols. 465, 6. See before, page 913, note 19.]

[11] Nic. de Cusa Op. Basil. 1565. De Concord. Cathol. Lib. iii. cap. xvi. Tom. II. p. 798.]

besought him to subscribe his name before all others[12]." Thus ye see, M. Harding, by the pope's own judgment, that cases and disputations of the faith belong as well to the temporal prince as to the pope.

The Prince may deal in Ecclesiastical Causes.

THE APOLOGY, Chap. xiv. Division 5.

Truly there had been no need to handle so plain a matter as this is with so many words and so at length, if we had not to do with those men, who, for a desire they have to strive and to win the mastery, use of course to deny[13] all things, be they never so clear, yea, the very same which they presently see and behold with their own eyes.

M. HARDING.

*The matter ye speak of is so clear, that from the beginning of the world to this day *no secular prince can be named, who by the ordinary power of a prince, without the gift of prophecy or special revelation, did laudably intermeddle with religion as a judge and ruler of spiritual causes. The reason thereof is clear. Religion is an order of divine worshipping belonging to God only; whereupon no man hath power but he that is called thereto by God. He is called in the judgment of men, who can shew his calling outwardly; as by consecration and imposition of hands priests and bishops are called to be the dispensators of the mysteries of God. In that consecration the keys of knowledge and discretion, the power of binding and loosing, is[14] given. *If a secular prince cannot shew the keys given to him, how dareth he to adventure[15] to break up, rather than to open, the clasped book of God, the door of the church, and the gates of the kingdom of heaven? Wherefore St Ambrose said unto Valentinian,* Quando audivisti, ... imperator, in causa fidei laicos de episcopo judicasse[16]? *"When hast thou heard, emperor, laymen to have been judges of a bishop in the cause of faith?" And yet now these men think that, which St Ambrose never heard of, not only to have been used continually the first five hundred years after Christ's birth, but also to be as clear a matter as if we beheld it with our eyes.*

* Untruth, evident, as by sundry examples it shall appear.

Mat. xvi. & xviii.

* O vain man! What pertain these keys to general councils? For by them every poor priest hath as good right in council as the pope.

Lib. v. Epist. 32.

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

"The temporal prince (ye say) hath not the keys of the kingdom of heaven;" *ergo*, he may not judge in ecclesiastical causes, nor give definitive sentence in general council. This is a very silly poor argument, M. Harding, as hereafter it shall appear. But St Ambrose saith unto the emperor Valentinian: "When did your majesty ever hear that in a cause of faith laymen were judges over bishops?" Here, M. Harding, by the way, St Ambrose giveth you to understand that, unless it be in a cause of faith, a layman may be judge over a bishop; which thing is contrary, not only to your former doctrine[17], but also to the whole course and practice of your church of Rome.

Part VI. cap. ix. Div. 2.

Howbeit, touching the meaning of these words, it behoveth us to know, first, the cause wherefore St Ambrose so shunned and fled the emperor's judgment; next, before what judges he desired to be tried.

First, the emperor Valentinian at that time was very young, as well in age as also in faith: he was not yet baptized: he knew not the principles of Christ's religion: he was an Arian heretic, and believed not the Godhead of Christ, but bent all his study and power to maintain the Arians: he would have thrust out the Christians, and would have possessed the heretics in their churches; and to that end had raised his power, and filled Millaine full of soldiers: he said, "it

Allegatur imperatori licere omnia.

[12] The part of the paragraph from *Christians* is not in 1567.]

[13] Deem, 1611.]

[14] In, 1611.]

[15] He adventure, Conf. and Def. 1567, 1570, 1609.]

[16] Ambros. Op. Par. 1686-90. Epist. Class. I. Ad Valent. August. Epist. xxi. 4. Tom. II. col. 860; where *audisti*.]

[17] See before, page 958.]

The Prince may deal in Ecclesiastical Causes.

was lawful for him to do what him listed[1]." Briefly, his whole dealing was full of force and violence, such as hath been seen in some countries not many years sithence.

In consideration hereof, St Ambrose worthily refused him to be his judge; and therefore he said unto him: *Tolle ... legem, si vis esse certamen*[2]*:* "Take away the rigour of your law, if ye will have the matter tried by disputation." Again: *Noli te gravare, imperator, ut putes te in ea quæ divina sunt imperiale aliquod jus habere: Noli te extollere: ... esto Deo subjectus. Scriptum est, Quæ Dei Deo, quæ Cæsaris Cæsari*[3]*:* "O my lord, trouble not yourself to think you have any princely power over those things that pertain to God. Vaunt not yourself: be subject unto God. It is written, Give unto God that belongeth unto God; give unto Cæsar that belongeth unto Cæsar."

Ambros. Lib. v. Epist. 33. Mandatur denique, Trade basilicam. Ambros. Lib. v. Epist. 32. ad Valent. Lib. v. Epist. 33.

But as St Ambrose saith, "The emperor hath no power over God's causes;" so may we likewise, and as truly, say, The pope hath no power over God's causes. St Chrysostom saith: *Siquidem est in causa fidei, fuge illum, et evita; non solum si homo fuerit, verum etiam si angelus de cœlo descenderit*[4]*:* "If it be a matter of faith" (wherein he seeketh to abuse thee,) "flee him and shun him; not only if he be a man, but also if an angel should come down from heaven." Thus it appeareth St Ambrose refused not the emperor's power and authority of judgment in cases ecclesiastical, but only his wilful ignorance, and his tyranny, for that he knew his judgment was corrupted, and not indifferent.

Chrysost. ad Heb. Hom. 34.

And for that cause he saith: *Venissem, imperator, ad consistorium clementiæ tuæ, &c.*[5]*:* "O my lord, I would have made mine appearance at your consistory, to have uttered these things in your presence, if either the bishops or the people would have suffered me. For they told me that matters of faith ought to be disputed in the church openly before the people." Again he saith: *Veniant sane, si qui sunt, in ecclesiam: audiant cum populo; non ut quisquam resideat judex, sed ut unusquisque de suo affectu habeat examen, [et] eligat quem sequatur*[6]*:* "Let them hardly come to the church; let them hearken together with the people; not that any man should sit as judge, but that every man may after his own mind examine the matter, and so choose whom he may follow." Of such tyranny in councils Athanasius likewise complaineth: *Quo jure contra nos synodum ullam constituere potuerunt? aut qua fronte talem conventum synodum appellare audent, cui comes præsedit? ubi spiculator apparebat? ubi commentariensis, sive carcerarius, pro diaconis ecclesiæ adventantes introducebat? ... comes imperio utebatur: nos a militibus ducebamur*[7]*:* "By what law could they keep a council against us? or with what face could they call such an assembly by the name of a council? where as the lord lieutenant was president, where the hangman was apparitor, where the jailor presented the suitors instead of the deacons of the church? The lieutenant did all things by authority and commandment; we were taken by the soldiers, and carried to prison."

Ambros. Lib. v. Epist. 32.

Dicentes de fide, in ecclesia coram populo debere tractari. In ead. Epist.

Athanas. Apol. 2. Poteramus.

Therefore he saith: *Fiat ecclesiastica synodus longe a palatio; ubi nec imperator præsto est, nec comes se ingerit, nec judex minatur; et ubi solus timor Dei ad omnia sufficit, &c.*[8]*:* "Let there be made an ecclesiastical synod, far from the emperor's palace; where as neither the emperor is present, nor the lieutenant thrusteth in himself, nor the judge with his threats maketh men afraid, but where as the fear of God to all purposes is sufficient." For this cause St Ambrose refused to be tried by the emperor Valentinian; that is to say, as then it was, by a rash young man; by a man unbaptized, and therefore no Christian; by a tyrant, and by an Arian heretic, that utterly denied the Godhead of Christ.

Athanas. ad Solit. Vit. Agent. Has literas.

Otherwise Athanasius himself was well contented to commit his whole cause unto the emperor. For thus he saith: *Postulamus causam istam pientissimo impe-*

Athanas. Apol. 2. Cum multas.

[1 Id. ibid. ad Soror. Epist. xx. 19. col. 857.]

[2 Id. ibid. ad Valent. August. Epist. xxi. 16. col. 863.]

[3 Id. ibid. ad Soror. Epist. xx. 19. col. 857; where *Deo subditus.*]

[4 Chrysost. Op. Par. 1718-38. In Epist. ad Hebr. cap. xiii. Hom. xxxiv. Tom. XII. p. 311.]

[5 Venissem &c. tuæ, ut hæc coram suggererem; si me vel episcopi, vel populus permisissent, dicentes &c.—Ambros. Op. Par. 1686-90. Ad Valent. August. Epist. xxi. 17. Tom. II. col. 863.]

[6 Id. ibid. 6. col. 861; where *plane si qui sunt ad ecclesiam,* and *quisquam judex resideat.*]

[7 Athanas. Op. Par. 1698. Apolog. contr. Arian. 8. Tom. I. Pars 1. pp. 130, 1.]

[8 Id. Hist. Arian. ad Monach. 36. p. 365.]

ratori reservari; apud quem licebit et jura ecclesiæ et nostra proponere. Plane enim confidimus ejus pietatem, cognitis nostris rationibus, nequaquam nos condemnaturam esse[9]: "We require that the emperor's most godly and most religious majesty may have the hearing of the same matter; before whom we may open both our church's right, and also our own. For we have good hope that his godliness, understanding our reasons, will never condemn us." The Prince may deal in Ecclesiastical Causes.

Likewise St Augustine saith unto the Donatian heretics: *An forte de religione fas non est ut dicat imperator, vel quos miserit imperator? Cur ergo ad imperatorem vestri venere legati? Cur eum fecerunt causæ suæ judicem*[10]? "Is it not lawful for the emperor or his deputy to give sentence in a matter of religion? Wherefore then went your embassadors to the emperor? Why made they him the judge of their cause?" August. contr. Epist. Parm. Lib. i.

Thus, M. Harding, it appeareth that you, in defrauding emperors and kings of their imperial and princely right, are fain to take part with the Donatian heretics.

As for us, we claim no other right in ecclesiastical causes unto our christian princes this day, than that may well appear hath been justly used both by Constantinus the emperor, and also by other catholic and godly princes.

The emperor Theodosius wrote thus unto the council of Chalcedon: *Quoniam scimus magnificentissimum Florentium patritium esse fidelem, et probatum in recta fide, volumus eum interesse audientiæ synodi, quoniam sermo de fide est*[11]: "For that we know the most noble Florentius to be faithful and well approved in the right faith, therefore we will that he be present at the hearing and debating of cases in the council, forasmuch as the disputation is of the faith." Liberat. cap. xi.

For pope Nicolas himself saith, as it is alleged before: *Fides universalis est: fides omnium communis est: fides non solum ad clericos, verum etiam ad laicos, et ad omnes omnino pertinet Christianos*[12]: "*Faith is universal: faith is common to all: faith pertaineth not only unto priests, but also unto laymen, and generally to all Christians." Dist. 96. Ubinam. *He speaketh of questions of faith moved in councils.

As touching the pope and his universality of power in and over all councils of bishops, we may rightly say, as Athanasius saith of Constantius the Arian emperor: *Obtendit in speciem episcoporum judicium; sed interim facit quod ipsi libet.... Quid opus est hominibus titulo episcopis*[13]? "He maketh a shew of judgments or determinations of bishops: in the mean while he doth what he listeth himself. What are we the near for these men, that bear only the name of bishops?" Such commonly be the pope's prelates. Whatsoever learning they have besides, divinity is commonly the least part of their study. And therefore when they are assembled in council they may well judge by authority, but not by learning. Athanas. ad Solit. Vit. Agent.

Verily Luitprandus, saith: *Imperator, uti experientia didicimus, intelligit negotia Dei, et facit et amat ea, et tuetur omnibus viribus et ecclesiasticas res et civiles. Sed Johannes papa facit contra hæc omnia*[14]: "We see by experience that the emperor understandeth God's causes, and favoureth and performeth the same, and with all his power maintaineth both ecclesiastical and temporal matters. But pope John doth all the contrary." Luitprand. Johan. XIII.

The Apology, Chap. xiv. Division 6.

The emperor Justinian made a law to correct the behaviour of the clergy, and to cut short the insolent lewdness of[15] the priests. And, albeit

[9 Id. Apolog. contr. Arian. 79. pp. 196, 7.]

[10 August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. Contr. Epist. Parm. Lib. I. cap. ix. 15. Tom. IX. col. 20.]

[11 Liberat. Breviar. cap. xi. in Crabb. Concil. Col. Agrip. 1551. Tom. II. p. 107.]

[12 Nicol. Papa in Corp. Jur. Canon. Lugd. 1624. Decret. Gratian. Decr. Prim. Pars, Dist. xcvi. can. 4. cols. 465, 6. See before, page 913, note 19.]

[13 Athanas. Op. Hist. Arian. ad Monach. 52. Tom. I. Pars I. pp. 375, 6.]

[14 Imperator, quemadmodum reipsa experti sumus, ea quæ Dei sunt sapit, operatur: diligit ecclesiastica: et secularia negotia armis tutatur: moribus ornat: legibus emendat. Joannes papa his omnibus adversatur.—Luitprand. Ticin. Rer. Gest. per Europ. Libr. Par. 1514. Lib. VI. cap. vi. fol. 38. 2.]

[15 The insolency of, Conf.]

The Prince may deal in Ecclesiastical Causes.

he were a christian and a catholic prince, yet put he down from their papal throne two popes, Sylverius and Vigilius, notwithstanding they were Peter's successors and Christ's vicars.

M. HARDING.

*Justinian's law concerning good order to be kept among priests morally was good, and bound them by the force of reason. If he made any other law touching matters of religion, pope Joannes then being approved it, or at the least Justinian *asked approbation thereof; *as it may appear in his own epistle, wherein he confesseth in the fact itself, that his laws could not bind in supernatural causes belonging to faith, except the head of the universal church confirm them*[1]. *Sylverius and Vigilius were deposed rather by Theodora the empress than by Justinian the emperor. *Ye do wrong to impute that wicked tyranny unto him. *He is not to be burdened therewith, unless the man be countable for his wife's iniquities*[2]....

* Untruth. For he did but confer with the pope touching his laws. Touching the asking of allowance there appeareth nothing. * Untruth. For it was no tyranny, but just judgment. And Justinian gave Belisarius great thanks for so doing.

Howsoever it was, that extraordinary violence and tyranny cannot justly be alleged to the defence of your false assertion. Neither would yourself have mentioned the same, if ye could have found better matter. As hungry dogs eat dirty puddings, according to the proverb, clean enough for such unclean writers, so your foul matters be defended by foul facts.

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

Justinian, ye say, might well make some moral law to keep priests and bishops in good order. Wherein nevertheless pope Paul III. condemneth you utterly: for thus he writeth, and reasoneth substantially against the emperor Charles the fifth: *Ecce ego super pastores meos:* "Behold, saith Almighty God, I myself[3] will oversee my shepherds;" *ergo*, saith pope Paulus, the emperor may not deal with the manners of priests and bishops[4]. Thus it appeareth the pope and M. Harding cannot agree[5].

Ezek. xxxiv.

Paul. III. in Epist. ad Carol. V.

Howbeit, the emperors made laws touching the holy Trinity, touching the faith, touching baptism, touching the holy communion, touching the public prayers, touching the scriptures, touching the keeping of holy days, touching churches and chapels, touching the consecration of bishops, touching non-residences, touching perjury, &c.

Addition.

Addition. ☞ Michael, an emperor of the east, contrary to the custom and order of the church, made a law that no monk should serve the ministry in any cure[6]. The emperor Justinian giveth licence to a bishop to release a priest from part of his penance, and to restore him to the ministry[7]. Emperors had authority to appoint patriarchal sees, and that not by warrant from the pope, but, as Balsamon saith, *Secundum potestatem illis desuper datam*[8]; "According to that power that is given to them from above." By the ecclesiastical laws no bishop may give orders without his own diocese. Yet Balsamon saith: *Characterem dare extra diocœsim imperatorio jussu permissum est*[9]: "A bishop being without his own diocese may give orders, so that the emperor so command him." Here we see the emperor's commandment is above the law of the church. By the apostles' canons a priest may not wander from one diocese or cure to another. Yet Balsamon saith: *Nota, quod etiam imperatori concessum est facere clericorum translationes*[10]: "Mark thou, that the emperor hath a privilege to translate priests from one cure to another." ☞

Balsam. de Fid. Tit. i. Balsam de Pœc. Episc. Tit. ix.

Balsam. in Concil. Chalced. cap. 12.

Balsam. in Canon. Apost. can. 14.

Balsam. in Canon. Apost. can. 16.

[1 See below, page 1032, note 1.]

[2 Here Harding gives a detailed account of the proceedings against these two popes.]

[3 Meself, 1567, 1570.]

[4 Paul. III. Pont. Max. ad Carol. V. Imp. Epist. in And. Dudith. Orat. in Concil. Trident. habit. &c. Offenb. 1610. pp. 162, 3. See before, page 959.]

[5 This sentence is not in 1567.]

[6 ... ὁ παναγιώτατος ἡμῶν δεσπότης κύριος Μιχαὴλ ... διωρίσατο ἀπὸ μόνων λαϊκῶν ἱερέων τὰς διακονίας συνίστασθαι, καὶ τοὺς μοναχοὺς παρὰ ταῖς οἰκείαις προσεδρεύειν μοναῖς.—Theod. Balsam. in Phot. Nomocan. Tit. i. cap. iii. in Canon. Apost. Concil. &c. cum Comm. Lut. Par. 1620. p. 8.]

[7 ...ἄδειαν τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ δέδωκε θεωροῦντι μετάνοιαν τοῦ κυβεύσαντος κληρικοῦ...μειοῦν τὸ ἐπιτίμιον, κ. τ. λ.—Ibid. Tit. ix. cap. xxxviii. p. 150. Conf. Corp. Jur. Civil. Amst. 1663. Cod. Lib. i. Tit. iv. 34. Tom. II. p. 31.]

[8 Theod. Balsam. in Synod. Chalced. can. 12. Ibid. p. 338.]

[9 Id. in Canon. Apost. can. 14. ibid. p. 240.]

[10 Id. ibid. can. 16. p. 242.]

The Prince may deal in Ecclesiastical Causes.

It were much for you, M. Harding, to say, as now ye would seem to say, all these were moral laws, and pertained only to good order. But the pope, ye say, allowed the emperor's ecclesiastical laws; otherwise of the emperor's own authority they had no force. The truth hereof by the particulars may soon appear.

By one of the emperor's laws it is provided, that "the bishop of Constantinople shall have equal power and prerogative with the bishop of Rome[11]." This law the pope could never brook. And yet that notwithstanding Liberatus saith: "It holdeth still by the emperor's authority, whether the pope will or no[12]." Again it is provided in the same law, that churches[13] of Illyricum, in their doubtful cases, shall appeal to Constantinople, and not to Rome[14].

Cod. de Sac. Eccl. Omni Innovat. Liberat. cap. xiii. Imperatoris patrocinio.

The emperor Constantine saith: "If the bishop move trouble" (by doctrine or otherwise), "by my hand he shall be punished; for my hand is the hand of God's minister[15]."

Cod. de Sac. Eccl. Omni Innovat. Theodor. Lib. i. cap. xx. Ministri Dei, hoc est, mea manu coercebitur.

Justinian the emperor in his law commandeth that the priest or bishop in pronouncing the public prayers, and in the ministration of the sacraments, lift up his voice, and speak aloud, that the people may say Amen, and be stirred to more devotion[16]. Again he saith, as it is noted in the gloss upon the Authentics: *Papa temporalibus immiscere se non debet*[17]: "The pope may not intermeddle with temporal causes."

Auth. Tit. 123.

Auth. Coll. 1. Quomodo oporteat episcopos.

In the same laws the same emperor Justinian saith: "We command the most holy archbishops and patriarchs of Rome, of Constantinople, of Alexandria, of Antioch, and of Hierusalem[18]." The same emperor Justinian commandeth that all monks either be driven to study the scriptures, or else be forced to bodily labour[19]. Carolus Magnus made a law that nothing should be read openly in the church saving only the canonical books of the holy scriptures[20]; and that the faithful people should receive the holy communion every Sunday[21]. I leave the rehearsal of infinite other like examples.

Auth. Coll. 9. Tit. 15. de Sanct. Episc. Jubemus beatissimos archiepiscopos, senioris Romæ, &c. Auth. Tit. 133. Ansig. Lib. i. cap. xiii. Carol. Magn. Lib. vi. cap. 162.

Now, M. Harding, will you say, or may we believe, that all these and other like laws were allowed by the pope? Verily certain of them are made directly against the pope[22].

Indeed your glosser saith: *Ad quid... intromittit se imperator de spiritualibus vel ecclesiasticis, cum sciat ad se non pertinere*[23]? "Wherefore doth the emperor thus busy himself with these spiritual or ecclesiastical matters, seeing he knoweth they are no part of his charge?" To so profound a question, after a solemn[24] study, he deviseth this answer: *Dic, quod auctoritate papæ [hoc] facit*[25]: "Say thou, that he doth it by the pope's authority." And then the whole matter is discharged, and all is well.

Auth. Coll. 1. Tit. 6. Quomodo oporteat. Gloss. in Verb. Sanc.

Notwithstanding, some likelihood hereof ye would seem to gather even out of Justinian's own words. For thus he saith unto the pope, although far otherwise

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[11] ... canones...etiam per omnes Illyrici provincias servari præcipimus: ut, si quid dubietatis emerserit, id oporteat (non absque scientia viri reverendissimi sacrosanctæ legis antistitis [ecclesiæ] urbis Constantinopolitanæ, quæ Romæ veteris prærogativa lætatur) conventui sacerdotali sanctoque judicio reservari.—Honor. et Theod. in Corp. Jur. Civil. Cod. Lib. I. Tit. ii. 6. Tom. II. p. 6.]

[12] Liberat. Breviar. cap. xiii. in Crabb. Concil. Col. Agrip. 1551. Tom. II. p. 112. See Vol. I. page 413, note 18.]

[13] That the churches, 1567, 1609; that the church, 1570.]

[14] See above, note 11.]

[15] Theodor. in Hist. Eccles. Script. Amst. 1695-1700. Lib. I. cap. xx. p. 51. See before, page 964, note 1.]

[16] Corp. Jur. Civil. Auth. Coll. IX. Tit. xx. Novell. cxxxvii. 6. Tom. II. p. 196. See Vol. I. page 287, note 10.]

[17] Ibid. Lugd. 1569. Auth. Coll. I. Tit. vi. Not. in Præf. col. 51.]

[18] ... κελεύομεν τοίνυν τοὺς μὲν μακαριωτάτους ἀρχιεπισκόπους καὶ πατριάρχας, τουτέστι τῆς πρεσβυτέρας Ῥώμης καὶ Κωνσταντινουπόλεως καὶ Ἀλεξανδρείας καὶ Θεουπόλεως καὶ Ἱεροσολύμων.—Ibid. Amst. 1663. Auth. Coll. IX. Tit. vi. Novell. cxxiii. 3. Tom. II. p. 169.]

[19] Δεῖ γὰρ διπλοῦν τοῦτο ἔργον τοῖς μοναχοῖς καθεστάναι, ἢ ταῖς θείαις ἐνασχολεῖσθαι γραφαῖς, ἢ τὰ μοναχοῖς πρέποντα (ἅπερ καλεῖν εἰώθασιν ἐργόχειρα) μελετᾷν τε καὶ ἐργάζεσθαι.—Ibid. Tit. xvi. Novell. cxxxiii. 6. p. 189.]

[20] Kar. Magn. et Ludov. Pii Capit. ab Anseg. coll. Par. 1603. Lib. I. cap. xx. fol. 9. See before, page 816, note 4.]

[21] Placuit ut fideles...si fieri potest omni dominica die communicent.—Ibid. Lib. VI. cap. clxvii. fol. 159. 2.]

[22] This sentence is not in 1567.]

[23] Corp. Jur. Civil. Lugd. 1569. Auth. Coll. I. Tit. vi. Gloss. in cap. 1. col. 51.]

[24] A long solemn, 1567, 1570, 1609.]

[25] Ibid.]

The Prince may deal in Ecclesiastical Causes.

than you have forced him to say: *Omnia quæ ad ecclesiarum statum pertinent, festinavimus ad notitiam deferre vestræ sanctitatis.... Necessarium ducimus, ut ad notitiam vestræ sanctitatis pervenirent. Nec enim patimur quicquam, quod ad ecclesiarum statum pertinet,... ut non etiam vestræ innoteseat sanctitati, quæ caput est omnium sanctarum ecclesiarum*[1]: "Whatsoever things pertain to the state of the churches we have speedily brought to the knowledge of your holiness. We thought it necessary that your holiness should have knowledge thereof. We suffer not any thing that concerneth the state of the churches but it be brought to the knowledge of your holiness, which is the head or chief of all the holy churches."

Cod. de Sum. Trin. et Fid. Cath. Inter Clar.

The emperor willeth the pope to take knowledge of his laws, for that he was the chief of the four principal patriarchs, and, in respect of his see, the greatest bishop of all the world; for which cause also he calleth him "the head or chief of all churches." So Justinian saith: *Roma est caput orbis terrarum*[2]: "Rome is the head of all the world." So St Chrysostom saith: *Caput prophetarum Elias*[3]: "Elias the head of the prophets." So saith Prudentius: *Sancta Bethlem caput est orbis*[4]: "The holy town of Bethlem is the head of the world."

Cod. de Vet. Jure Enucl. Chrysost. ad Rom. Hom. 18. Prudent. in Enchir.

So Nazianzene calleth St Basil, τὸν τῆς οἰκουμένης ὀφθαλμόν: *Oculum orbis terrarum*[5]: "The eye of all the earth." So Justinian calleth the bishop of Constantinople an universal patriarch: *Epiphanio... universali patriarchæ*[6].

Naz. in Epist. ad Basil. 14.

Auth. Coll. 1. Ut determinatus.

These and other like words pass oftentimes in favour as titles of honour. But they import not always that universal government, or infinite authority, that the pope sithence hath imagined. But, touching the confirmation and allowance of the emperor's laws, in these words of Justinian, ye find nothing; unless ye will say *notitia* is Latin for *allowance*, or *pervenire* is Latin to *confirm*.

The emperor's purpose was, as it plainly appeareth by his words, by these and all other means to bring the see of Rome into credit. For thus he saith: *Properamus honorem et auctoritatem crescere sedis vestræ.... Omnes sacerdotes universi orientalis tractus et subjicere et unire sedi vestræ sanctitatis properavimus.... Plus... ita... vestræ sedis crescet auctoritas*[7]: "We labour to advance[8] the honour and authority of your see: we labour to subdue and to join all the priests of the east part unto the see of your holiness. Thus shall the authority of your see the more increase."

Cod. de Sum. Trin. et Fid. Cath. Inter Clar.

Notwithstanding, it is noted by the learned of your own side, that these epistles between the emperor and the pope in the oldest allowed books are not found; and therefore are suspected to savour of some Roman forgery. Hereby it is easy to understand, that until the time of the emperor Justinian, which was well-near six hundred years after Christ, the bishops of the east church were not subject to the bishop of Rome, and that for so long time the pope was not yet known for the head of the universal church of God. One of your own allowed doctors[9] saith thus: [*Dicere,*] *quod princeps non potest facere leges, vel eis uti, quousque fuerint approbatæ per papam,... falsum est*[10]: "To say that the prince cannot either make or use his laws before the pope have allowed them, it is plainly false." Abbat Panormitane, to qualify the matter, saith thus: *Lex principis præjudicialis ecclesiis non extenditur ad ecclesias, nisi expresse approbetur per papam; sed, si favet ecclesiis, intelligitur approbata, nisi expresse reprobetur*[11]: "The

Gregor. Haloan. et Azo.

Extr. de Const. Eccles. Sanct. Mar. Num. 9.

[1 Ibid. Amst. 1663. Cod. Lib. I. Tit. i. Tom. II. p. 5; where *duximus*, and *sanctitatis perveniant*.]

[2 ... Romæ... quæ caput est orbis terrarum.—Ibid. Lib. I. Tit. xvii. 1. p. 41. Justinian goes on: Romam autem intelligimus non solum veterem, sed etiam regiam nostram quæ Deo propitio cum melioribus condita est auguriis.]

[3 Chrysost. Op. Par. 1718-38. In Epist. ad Rom. Hom. xviii. Tom. IX. p. 636.]

[4 Aur. Prudent. Enchir. in Biblioth. Vet. Patr. per M. de la Bigne, Par. 1624. Nov. Test. 2. Tom. VIII. p. 561.]

[5 ... ὁ τῆς οἰκουμένης ὀφθαλμὸς—Gregor. Naz. Op. Par. 1778-1840. Ad Basil. Epist. xlvi. Tom. II. p. 41.]

[6 Corp. Jur. Civil. Amst. 1663. Auth. Coll. I. Tit. iii. Novell. iii. Tom. II. p. 6.]

[7 Ibid. Cod. Lib. I. Tit. i. Tom. II. p. 5; where the second clause quoted precedes the first, and *crescere vestræ sedis*.]

[8 Avance, 1567, 1570.]

[9 Here 1567 places in the margin *Hervæ. de Potest. Papæ. ca.* 17; 1570 *Johannes de Parisiis cap.* 18.]

[10 Johan. de Parrhis. De Potest. Reg. et Papal. in Goldast. Mon. Rom. Imp. Hanov. et Franc. 1612-14. Tom. II. cap. xviii. p. 133; where *per papam approbatæ*.]

[11 Panorm. sup. Prim. Primi Decretal. Lugd. 1534. Tit. ii. cap. 10. fol. 31.]

prince's law, if it be prejudicial or hurtful to the church, is not extended unto the church, unless it be expressly allowed by the pope; but, if it be profitable for the church[12], we must think it is allowed, unless it be expressly disallowed."

The Prince may deal in Ecclesiastical Causes.

But here, M. Harding, this one thing ye may note by the way, that, notwithstanding you cannot find by any shift or colour, whereof ye lack no store, that the pope hath authority to allow the emperor's laws, yet of the other side we are able readily to find that the emperor hath authority to allow the pope's laws. For so the emperor Justinian himself saith: *A præcedentibus nos imperatoribus et a nobis ipsis recte dictum est, oportere sacras regulas pro legibus valere*[13]: "It is well said, both by other emperors our predecessors, and also by us, that the holy canons must be holden for laws." Auth. Coll. 1. Quomodo oporteat.

Likewise saith pope Honorius III.: *Imperator Justinianus decrevit, ut canones patrum vim legum habere oporteat*[14]: "The emperor Justinian hath decreed that the canons of the fathers shall have the force of laws." Extr. de Jur. Calum. Inhær.

But what can be so plain as that Justinian hereof writeth himself? These be his words: *Nisi intra præscriptum tempus ad ecclesias suas redeant, deponantur, et alii in illorum locum surrogentur, idque auctoritate et vi hujus præsentis legis*[15]: "Unless bishops and priests repair again unto their churches by a day appointed, let them be deprived from their livings, and let others be placed in their rooms," (not by the authority of the pope, but) "by the force and authority of this present law." Auth. de Eccl. Div. Capit. κατὰ τὴν τοῦ παρόντος νόμου δύναμιν.

So saith St Augustine: *Reges in terris serviunt Christo faciendo leges pro Christo*[16]: "Kings in the world serve Christ, in that they make laws for Christ." August. Epist. 48.

Likewise saith Justinian: *Legum auctoritas... et divinas et humanas res bene disponit*[17]: "By the authority of the (emperor's) laws both heavenly and worldly things are well ordered." Cod. de Vet. Jur. Enucl. Lib. i.

And again: *Nullum genus rerum est, quod non sit penitus quærendum auctoritate imperatoris. Is enim recipit a Deo communem gubernationem et principalitatem super omnes homines*[18]: "There is no kind of thing but it may be thoroughly examined by the authority of the emperor. For he receiveth from God a general government and principality over all men;" that is, as well of the clergy as of the laity. Auth. Tit. 133. μηδὲν ἄβατον ἐστὶ εἰς ζήτησιν τῇ βασιλείᾳ.

So saith Paulus the bishop of Apamea unto the same emperor Justinian, upon the death of Agapetus the bishop of Rome: *Transtulit ipsum Dominus, ut plenitudinem directionis vestræ custodiret serenitati*[19]: "Our Lord hath taken the pope away, that he might reserve the whole fulness of order unto your majesty." Concil. Const. v. Act. i.

Touching the deprivation of the two popes, Sylverius and Vigilius, ye say, "it was done only by Theodora the empress, and not by the emperor Justinian;" and therein, ye think, ye have taken us in some great advantage. Notwithstanding, in your own Pontifical it is written thus: *Belisarium... interrogavit imperator, quomodo se haberet cum Romanis; vel quomodo in loco Sylverii statuisset Vigilium. Tunc gratias ei egerunt imperator et Augusta*[20]: "The emperor demanded of his captain Belisarius how he had done with the Romans, and how he had deposed pope Sylverius, and placed Vigilius in his stead. Upon his answer, both the emperor and the empress gave him thanks." Concil. Tom. II. in Vit. Vigil. ff. In Regulis Juris.

Now ye know it is a rule in law: *Ratihabitio retrotrahitur, et mandato comparatur*[21]: "The allowance of a thing done is as good as a commission for the doing."

Some of your friends have said: *Totus mundus non potest deponere aut judicare papam*[22]: "The whole world cannot depose or judge the pope." Yet Eutro- Petr. de Palud. de Potest. Pap. Art. 4.

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[12] But if the profitable for it be church, 1570.]

[13] Corp. Jur. Civil. Auth. Coll. i. Tit. vi. Nov. vi. 1. Tom. II. p. 12.]

[14] Honor. II. in Corp. Jur. Canon. Lugd. 1624. Decretal. Gregor. IX. Lib. ii. Tit. vii. cap. 1. col. 584; where *decreverit.*]

[15] Corp. Jur. Civil. Auth. Coll. ix. Tit. vi. Novell. cxxiii. 9. Tom. II. p. 170.]

[16] ... immo vero serviant reges terræ Christo, etiam leges ferendo pro Christo.—August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. Ad Vincent. Rogat. Epist. xciii. cap. v. 19. Tom. II. col. 239.]

[17] Corp. Jur. Civil. Cod. Lib. i. Tit. xvii. 1. Tom. II. p. 41.]

[18] Ibid. Auth. Coll. ix. Tit. xvi. Novell. cxxxiii. Præf. Tom. II. p. 187; where ἄβατόν ἐστιν.]

[19] Paul. Epist. Apam. Libell. ad Justin. Imp. in Concil. Constant. sub Menna, Act. v. in Concil. Stud. Labb. et Cossart. Lut. Par. 1671-2. Tom. V. col. 105.]

[20] Vigil. Decret. in Crabb. Concil. Col. Agrip. 1551. Tom. II. p. 3.]

[21] In maleficio ratihabitio mandato comparatur. —Corp. Jur. Civil. Ulp. in Digest. Lib. l. Tit. xvii. 152. Tom. I. p. 794.]

[22] Petr. de Palud. De Caus. Immed. Eccles. Potest. Par. 1506. De Potest. Pap. Art. Quart. Prim. Concl. fol. c. vi. See before, page 833, note 18.]

The Prince may deal in Ecclesiastical Causes.

pius saith: *Si quando imperialis legatus mitteretur a principe, ut Romanus pontifex proficisceretur Constantinopolim ad imperatorem, omni neglecta occasione, ibat, etiamsi pro certo sciret se iturum in exilium*[1]: "If the emperor's embassador had commanded the bishop of Rome to appear at Constantinople before the emperor, he went straightway without excuse, yea, although he certainly knew that he should be banished." Here I leave sundry examples of emperors that by their authority have deposed not only other bishops, but also popes; as the example of Honorius, that deposed pope Bonifacius[2]; of Theodoricus, that deposed pope Symmachus[3]; of Otho, that deposed pope John XII.[4]; of Henry, that deposed pope Benedictus IX., and that, as it is recorded, not by wilful might or tyranny, but *imperiali et canonica censura*[5]; "By his imperial, and by the canonical censures." Yea, one of your own friends saith thus: *Populus, commendabiliter zelo fidei commotus, Constantinum papam, qui erat ecclesiæ in scandalum, privavit oculis, et deposuit*[6]: "The people of Rome, moved with the zeal of faith, took pope Constantine and pulled out his eyes, and deposed him, for that he was slanderous unto the church; and they deserved great praise for the same."

Eutrop. App. de Sylv. Ennod. Inter Decret. Bonif. I. Johan. de Paris. de Pot. Reg. et Pap. cap. xiv. xxiii.[7] Idem. eod. loc.

Howbeit (ye say) these two popes, Sylverius and Vigilius, were good men and godly fathers; and therefore the removing of them was "violence and tyranny." And hereto ye apply the unsavoury similitude of your homely puddings. Notwithstanding, what virtue or holiness was in either of these men, it may soon appear by the story. Pope Sylverius was chosen pope by corruption and simony, contrary to the will of the clergy[8]: pope Vigilius accused him of treason, for that he would have betrayed the city of Rome to the Gotthians. As for pope Vigilius, your Pontifical saith: He was a false witness against his predecessor pope Sylverius: he sought undue means to remove him, and to place himself: he kept him in prison, and starved him for hunger: he gave a great sum of money to procure the popedom to himself: he killed his own notary: he killed a young man, being a widow's son; and of these crimes he was accused before the emperor[9]. Such virtue and such holiness the world found in them. Therefore the godly emperor, in removing of them, used neither extraordinary violence, as you say, nor injurious tyranny.

Concil. Tom. II. in Sylv.

Evagr. Lib. iv. cap. xix. Pontificale in Vigil.

Your own fellows say[10]: *Si papa sit incorrigibilis, nec cardinales possint per se amovere scandalum de ecclesia, tunc in subsidium juris deberent supplicando invocare brachium seculare; et tunc imperator, requisitus a cardinalibus, deberet procedere contra papam*[11]: "If the pope be uncorrigible, and the cardinals be not

Johan. de Paris. cap. xiv.[12]

[1 Eutrop. Tractat. de Jur. et Priv. Imp. in Goldast. Mon. Rom. Imp. Hanov. et Franc. 1612-14. Tom. I. pp. 8, 9. See before, page 682, note 15.]

[2 Bonifac. I. Decret. in Crabb. Concil. Col. Agrip. 1551. Tom. I. p. 489.]

[3 Ennod. Lib. in eod. Tom. I. pp. 1009, &c. This book was made in defence of Symmachus, against whom another pope had been set up, and the matter referred for judgment to Theodoric. Conf. Symmach. Decret. ibid. p. 999.]

[4 Plat. De Vit. Pont. Col. 1551. Johan. XIII. p. 133.]

[5 Unde commendabiliter Henricus imperator duos de papatu altercantes, non solum canonica censura, sed imperiali auctoritate deposuit.—Johan. de Parrhis. De Potest. Reg. et Papal. cap. xiv. in Goldast. Mon. Rom. Imp. p. 127. Conf. ibid. cap. xxiii. p. 143.]

[6 Sic enim commendabiliter populus zelo &c. qui ecclesiæ in scandalum erat, oculis privavit, et deposuit.—Ibid. cap. xxiii. p. 143.]

[7 1567 has not c. 14. 23.]

[8 Hic [Silverius] levatus est a tyranno Theodato sine deliberatione decreti: qui Theodatus, corruptus pecuniæ dato, talem timorem indixit clero, ut qui non consentirent in ejus ordinatione, gladio punirentur.—Silver. Decret. in Crabb. Concil. Tom. II. p. 1.]

[9 ... Augusta misit jussiones suas ad Belisarium ...per Vigilium diaconem...Et urgente jussione, exierunt quidam falsi testes, qui dixerunt: Quia nos... invenimus, Silverium papam scripta hujusmodi mittentem ad regem Gotthorum: Veni ad portam, &c.... Quem suscepit Vigilius ... et misit eum in exilium ad Pontianas, et sustentavit eum pane tribulationis et aqua angustiæ. Qui deficiens, mortuus est confessor factus.—Id. ibid. pp. 1, 2.

... quippe qui ... in morem Simonis ... data pecunia, meque repulso ... tempora mea nitaris invadere.—Silver. ad Vigil. Epist. in eod. ibid. p. 3.

Sic est in furorem versus, ut daret alapam notario suo; qui mox ad pedes ejus cadens expiravit. Item dedit nepotem suum Vigilius Asterio consuli filium mulieris viduæ, quo casu faciente, fecit eum teneri nocte, et tamdiu cædi quandiu vitam finiret. Quo audito, Augusta misit Anthemium Scribonem cum jussione sua, &c.—Vigil. Decret. in eod. ibid. p. 4. Conf. Evagr. in Hist. Eccles. Script. Amst. 1695-1700. Lib. IV. cap. xix. pp. 395, 6.]

[10 Saith, 1611.]

[11 ... et si incorrigibilis esset, nec possent [cardinales] per se amovere &c. juris haberent supplicando &c.—Johan. de Parrhis. De Potest. Reg. et Papal. cap. xiv. in Goldast. Mon. Rom. Imp. Tom. II. p. 127.]

[12 Hervæus De Potest. Papæ. ca. 13., 1567.]

able of themselves to remove the offence from the church, then ought they, for aid of the law, by way of entreaty, to call upon the secular power; and then the emperor, being thus desired, ought to proceed orderly against the pope."

The Pope's Power Supernatural.

Franciscus Zabarell[13] saith, as he is alleged before: *Papa potest accusari coram imperatore de quolibet crimine notorio; et imperator requirere potest a papa rationem fidei*[14]: "The pope in any notorious crime may be accused before the emperor; and the emperor may require the pope to yield a reckoning of his faith."

Francis. Zabarel.[13] de Schism. et Concil.

The Apology, Chap. xv. Division 1.

Let us see, then, such men as have authority over the bishops, such men as receive from God commandments concerning religion, such as bring home again the ark of God, make holy hymns, oversee the priests, build the temple, make orations touching divine service, cleanse the temples, destroy the hill-altars, burn the idols' groves, teach the priests their duties[15], write them out precepts how they should live, kill the wicked prophets, displace the high priests, summon together holy councils[16], sit together with the bishops, instructing them what they ought to do, examine[17], condemn, and punish heretics[18], be made acquainted with matters[19] of religion, subscribe[20] and give sentence to the determinations of councils[21]; and do all these things, not by any[22] other man's commission, but in their own name, and that both uprightly and godly: shall we say, it pertaineth not to such men to have to do with religion? or shall we say, a christian magistrate, which dealeth amongst others in these matters, doth either naughtily, or presumptuously, or wickedly? The most ancient and christian emperors and kings that ever were did occupy[23] themselves in[24] these matters; and yet were they never for this cause noted either of wickedness, or of presumption. And what is he that can find out either princes more catholic, or examples more notable[25]?

M. HARDING.

*Now then kings and emperors, *who have their first authority by the positive law of nations, *not by supernatural grace from God, as priests have; who can have no more power than the people hath, *of whom they take their temporal jurisdiction;... who have ever [a]been anointed and blessed by bishops, whosoever blesseth being greater than he that is blessed;... shall we say that such kings and emperors have authority to rule the church[b] whose sons they are? to be supreme heads over them whom they ought to kneel unto for absolution? to control their spiritual judges; whom, if they sin by humanity's*[26] *frailty, they [c]ought to cover with their cloaks, [c]as the great Constantine said? to degrade them of whom they must be baptized, anointed, crowned, and buried?...*

* Untruths, three together, open and manifest. Read the answer.
[a] Untruth, confessed by M. Harding's own doctors.
[b] And is not the pope a son of the church? then is he not the son of God.
[c] Untruth; for that so the prince ought to do[27], Constantinus never said it.

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

Now, M. Harding, ye huddle up hastily your poor arguments in heaps toge-

[13] Zarabella, 1567; Zabarella, in the text, 1570.]
[14] Francis de Zabarell. De Schism. Pont. in Auth. Var. de Jurisd. Autor. et Præem. Imper. a Schard. Basil. 1566. p. 691. See before, pages 968, 9.]
[15] Duty, Conf. and Def. 1567.]
[16] Call together the councils of bishops, Conf. and Def. 1567.]
[17] *Examine* is not in Conf. or Def. 1567.]
[18] Punish an heretical bishop, Conf.; punish heretical bishops, Def. 1567.]
[19] Matter, Def. 1570, 1609.]
[20] Which subscribe, Conf. and Def. 1567.]
[21] The preceding five words are not in Conf. or Def. 1567.]
[22] An, Conf.]
[23] Busy, Conf.] [24] With, Conf.]
[25] Either more catholic princes or more notable examples, Conf. and Def. 1567.]
[26] Human, Conf. and Def. 1567; humanitie, Def. 1570.]
[27] That the prince ought so do, 1567; that the prince ought so to do, 1570, 1609.]

The Pope's Power Supernatural.

ther. One or two of them only I mind to touch: the rest are not worth the stirring. First, ye say, The pope's power is of God, the prince's power is only of man; the one supernatural, the other natural. In such sort your pope Nicolas adorneth and magnifieth his own chair; for thus he saith with a jolly courage: *Illud Verbum, quo constructum est cœlum et terra, quo denique omnia facta*[1] *sunt elementa, Romanam fundavit ecclesiam*[2]: "The Word of God, whereby heaven and earth was made, and whereby all the elements were fashioned, the same Word founded the church of Rome." As if the church of Rome and other churches were not all of one foundation. Another of your pope's retainers saith: *Papatus est summa virtus creata*[3]: "The popedom is the highest virtue or power that ever God made;" that is to say, The popedom is above angels, archangels, thrones, dominations, and all the powers, in, under, or above the heavens. Another saith even as you say, and as I have partly said before: *Rex per hominem fit; sacerdos autem proxime nascitur ex Deo ipso: ... Quantum Deus præstat sacerdoti, tantum sacerdos præstat regi*[5]: "The king is made by man; but the priest is immediately begotten of God. As much as God excelleth the priest, so much the priest excelleth the king."

Dist. 22. Omnes.

Johan. de Paris. de Pot. Reg. et Pap. cap. xxv.[4]

Stan. Orichov. in Chimær. fol. 97. et 99.

And, notwithstanding all this supernatural power be as well in the simplest priest as in the pope, yet another of your doctors saith: *Papa eligitur secundum jus divinum; alii vero episcopi secundum jus humanum*[6]: "The pope is chosen by the law of God; but other bishops are chosen by the law of man." Thus ye think no colour too dear to paint out the pope's face, and to make it shine fair[7] and glorious.

Petr. de Palud. de Pot. Curat. Art. 6.

But the prince's power, ye say, is temporal and natural, and only from beneath, and only of man; and therefore can be no greater than man may give him. This is your Lovanian divinity, M. Harding; so highly ye esteem the dignity and majesty of the prince. But God himself saith: *Per me reges regnant:* "Kings rule by me," (and not by man). St Paul saith: *Non est potestas, nisi a Deo:* "There is no power or princehood but from God." Likewise Christ himself said unto Pilate: "Thou couldst have no power over me unless it were given thee," not from man, but "from above." To like purpose the emperor Justinian saith: *Maxima in omnibus sunt dona Dei, et*[8] *superna collata clementia, sacerdotium et imperium, &c. Ex uno eodemque principio utraque procedentia humanam exornant vitam*[9]: "Priesthood and princehood be in all things the greatest gifts of God, given unto us from the mercy above. These two flowing," not the one only from man, and the other from God, but "both from one Original, do adorn and beautify the life of man." Upon which words it is noted in your gloss: *Idem ... principium habent, ... et ... parum differunt*[10]: "Priesthood and princehood have one original, and small difference." He saith not, as you say, The odds between these two is so great as is between natural and supernatural, between heaven and earth, or between God and man: but he saith plainly, "Priesthood and princehood have one original, and little odds and small difference." Theodorus Balsamon saith thus: *Nota canonem, qui dicit, spirituales dignitates esse præstantiores secularibus seu mundanis dignitatibus. Sed ne hoc eo traxeris, ut ecclesiasticæ dignitates præferantur*[11] *imperatoriis; illis enim subjiciuntur*[12]: "Mark well this canon that saith, The spiritual dignities are better than the temporal or worldly dignities. But ye may not gather thereof that the dignities of the church are above the dignity of an emperor; for they are subject and inferior to him." Thus

Prov. viii. Rom. xiii. John xix.

Auth. Coll. 1. Quomodo oporteat episcopos. Maxima.

Glossa in Verb. Utraq.

Balsam. in Sext. Synod. Can. 7.

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[1] Ficta, 1567, 1570, 1609.]

[2] Nicol. Papa in Corp. Jur. Canon. Lugd. 1624. Decret. Gratian. Decr. Prim. Pars, Dist. xxii. can. 1. col. 100; where *verbum per quod constructum, terra per quod denique,* and *condita sunt.*]

[3] Johan. de Parrhis. De Potest. Reg. et Papal. cap. xxiv. in Goldast. Mon. Rom. Imp. Hanov. et Franc. 1612-14. Tom. II. p. 143. Conf. ibid. p. 146.]

[4] 1567 has not *cap. 25.*]

[5] Stan. Orichov. Chimær. Col. 1563. fol. 97; where *ex ipso Deo.* See before, pages 674, 5, note 15.]

[6] ... in papatu successio est ordinaria secundum jus divinum, in aliis autem secundum jus humanum.—Petr. de Palud. De Caus. Immed. Eccles. Potest. Par. 1506. De Potest. Curat. Art. Sext. fol. f. vi.]

[7] It fair, 1567; it to shine fair, 1570, 1609.]

[8] A, 1567, 1570.]

[9] Corp. Jur. Civil. Amst. 1663. Auth. Coll. 1. Tit. vi. Novell. vi. Præf. Tom. II. p. 11.]

[10] Ibid. Lugd. 1569. ibid. Gloss. col. 50.]

[11] Dignitatis præferuntur, 1570.]

[12] Theod. Balsam. in Synod. vi. in Trull. can. 7. in Canon. Apost. Concil. &c. cum Comm. Lut. Par. 1620. p. 369.]

you see, M. Harding, how easily your light conjectures may deceive you[13]. And therefore another of your doctors saith: *Supponunt quod potestas regalis sit*[14] *corporalis, et non spiritualis; et* [*quod*] *habeat curam corporum, et non animarum; quod falsum est*[15]: "They imagine that the prince's power is only bodily, and not ghostly; and that the prince hath the charge of men's bodies, but none of their souls; but this is stark false." The Pope's Power Supernatural.

And, whereas you so highly extol your pope's universal power, as if it were supernatural and heavenly, and came only from God, another of your doctors saith: *Ea, quæ sunt jurisdictionis papæ, non sunt supra naturam et conditionem negotii, nec supra conditionem hominum; quia non est supra conditionem hominis, quod homines præsint hominibus: imo naturale est quodammodo*[18]: "Such things as belong to the pope's jurisdiction are not above nature, nor above the condition of the thing itself, nor above the capacity of a man; for it is not above the nature of a man for man to rule over men: nay rather, in a sort, it is natural." Johan. de Paris. cap. xviii.[16] Johan. de Paris. de Pot. Reg. et Pap. cap. xxv.[17]

Now, M. Harding, if the prince's power be from God as well as the pope's; if the pope's power concerning jurisdiction be natural as well as the prince's; if they flow both from one original; if they have so small difference, what meant you then by these odious comparisons so highly and so ambitiously to advance[19] the one, and so disdainfully and scornfully to abase the other? What meant you so vainly to say, that kings and emperors have their authority by the positive law of nations, and popes have their authority by the supernatural grace of God?[20] Touching the prince's power, we are certainly assured by God's holy word it is from God. As for the pope's infinite and universal power, throughout the whole scriptures, from the Genesis unto the Apocalypse, unless it be the power of darkness, ye can find nothing.

Ye say, "Kings have evermore been anointed and blessed by bishops." This is another foul untruth. For you might easily have known that christian kings in old times were never anointed. Your own doctor saith: *In novo testamento non legimus quod sacerdotes debeant inungere reges; nec etiam* [*nunc*] *observatur in omnibus regibus* [*christianis; ut patet in regibus*] *Hispaniæ*[21]: "We read not in the new testament that priests or bishops ought to anoint kings. Neither is that order at this day used amongst all kings that be christened; as it appeareth by the kings of Spain." For they are not anointed[22]. Again ye say, and that ye bring in as a special good argument of your side, "The emperor kneeleth to the priest for absolution;" *ergo*, The emperor is not the head of the church. How may a man answer such follies better than with the like folly? The pope himself by your own decrees is bound to confess his sins, and kneeleth down to a[23] simple priest for absolution. For your canonists say: *Papa tenetur confiteri peccata sua uni sacerdoti; et simplex sacerdos potest illum ligare et absolvere*[24]: "The pope is bound to confess his sins to some one priest; and a simple priest may both bind him and absolve him." *Ergo*, by your own conclusion, the pope is not head of the church. Such a handsome proctor the pope hath gotten to promote his cause. Herv. de Pot. Pap. cap. xviii.

With such pretty stuff, M. Harding, ye think to overrun and to conquer the world.

The Apology, Chap. xv. Division 2.

Wherefore, if it were lawful for them to do thus, being but civil magistrates, and having the chief rule of common-weals; what offence have

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[13] The sentences from *odds and small difference* are not in 1567.]

[14] Fit, 1570.]

[15] Johan. de Parrhis. De Potest. Reg. et Papal. cap. xviii. in Goldast. Mon. Rom. Imp. Tom. II. p. 132; where *supponit*.]

[16] Hervæus De Potesta. Papæ, ca. 15., 1567.]

[17] 1567 has not *cap.* 25.]

[18] ... ea quæ jurisdictionis sunt, non sunt super naturam &c. negocii, et super conditionem &c. est super conditionem &c.—Id. ibid. cap. xxiv. p. 147.]

[19] Avance, 1567, 1570.]

[20] This sentence is not in 1567.]

[21] Id. ibid. cap. xix. p. 133; where *inungere debeant*.]

[22] These five words are not in 1567.]

[23] Kneeleth to, 1567.]

[24] Panorm. sup. Quint. Decretal. Lugd. 1534. De Pœn. et Remiss. Tit. xxxviii. cap. 12. fol. 161. 2. See before, page 674, note 14.]

our princes at this day committed, that they, being in the like degree, may not have leave to do the like?[1] Or what especial gift of learning, or of judgment, or of holiness, have these men now, that they, contrary to the custom of all the ancient and catholic bishops, who used to confer with princes and peers concerning religion, do[2] now thus reject and cast off christian princes from knowing of the cause, and from their meetings?

M. HARDING.

* Untruth, as it may easily appear by that hath been said before.

.... *We answer, It was *never lawful in any temporal prince to judge in causes of religion. *Neither did any prince before this time ever use it.....*

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

Part VI. cap. xiv. Div. 4 & 5.

This is another of your absolute truths, M. Harding. For answer whereof it may please you indifferently to weigh that I have written a little before touching the same[3].

THE APOLOGY, Chap. xv. Division 3.

Affiance in Darkness.

Well, thus doing, they wisely and warily[4] provide for themselves, and for their kingdom, which otherwise they see is like shortly to come to nought. For, if so be they whom God hath placed in greatest dignity did see and perceive these men's practices, how Christ's commandments be despised by them, how the light of the gospel is darkened and quenched out by them, and how themselves also be subtilly beguiled and mocked, and unawares[5] be deluded by them, and the way to the kingdom of heaven stopped up before them; no doubt they would never so quietly suffer themselves, neither to be disdained after such a proud sort, nor so despitefully to be scorned and abused by them. But now through their own lack of understanding, and through their own blindness, these men have them fast yoked, and in their danger.

M. HARDING.

* Otherwise it were not the kingdom of darkness. b When they be once espied, and not before.

*Bishops *cannot uphold their kingdom by wrong doing. bThat is the way to pull them down. Therefore we are well assured that your schismatical superintendentship cannot stand, though all the power of the world were bent to hold it up. Your wicked state is not planted of God, and therefore it shall be rooted out. It is God that ruleth: it is God that setteth up and putteth down. This state of Christ's church hath continued, and the successor of Peter hath governed it; whereas the groundless building of all the heretics, from Simon Magus downward to this day, hath failed... Luther is rotten, and his new-found religion decayed; and the pope sitteth in Peter's chair, and so shall his successors to the end....*

Ye would men to believe that emperors and kings are deceived by the popes and bishops. But, I pray you, what is the cause that princes cannot espy these deceits (if any such were) as well as ye? If themselves lack your knowledge, yet have they wise men about them, who for their duties' sake, and their allegiance to them, would soon advertise them how by the bishops they be subtilly beguiled and mocked....

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

Luke xxii.

Of the maintenance of your kingdom, M. Harding, Christ said unto certain of your[6] forefathers: *Hoc est tempus vestrum, et potestas tenebrarum:* "This is

[1] Day made which may not have leave to do the like being in the like degree, Conf. and Def. 1567.]

[2] *They* is placed before *do* instead of after *that*, Conf.]

[3] See before, pages 1025, &c.]

[4] Warely, Conf.]

[5] Unwares, Conf. and Def. 1567, 1570.]

[6] Certain your, 1567.]

your time, and the power of darkness." "Blind they are, and the guides of the blind. If the blind lead the blind[7], they will both fall into the ditch." The lion, or wild bull, be they never so cruel or great of courage, yet, if ye may once closely cover their eyes, ye may easily lead them whither ye list, without resistance. Even so doth the pope hoodwink and blindfold the princes of the world, and hold them in ignorance[8]; which done, he maketh them to hold his stirrup, to lead his horse, to kneel down, and to kiss his shoe, and to attend upon him at his pleasure. But, if they knew either him or themselves, they would not do it.

Affiance in Darkness. Matt. xv.

St Chrysostom saith, as it is noted before: *Hæretici sacerdotes claudunt januas veritatis. Sciunt enim,... si manifestata esset veritas, quod ipsorum ecclesia esset relinquenda; et ipsi de sacerdotali dignitate ad humilitatem venirent popularem*[9]: "Heretical bishops shut up the gates of the truth. For they know that, if the truth be once laid open, their church shall be forsaken; and they, from their pontifical dignity, shall be brought down to the baseness of the people." Chrysost. in Op. Imperf. Hom. 44.

Petrus Ferrariensis, in consideration hereof, complaineth thus: *O miseros imperatores et seculares principes, qui hæc et alia sustinetis, et vos servos ecclesiæ facitis; et mundum per eos infinitis modis usurpari videtis; nec de remedio cogitatis; quia prudentiæ et sapientiæ non intenditis*[10]: "Alas, miserable are ye, the emperors and princes of the world, that abide these and other like things" at the pope's hands, "and make yourselves slaves unto their[11] church. Ye see the world is by innumerable ways miserably abused by them; yet ye never bethink yourselves of any remedy, because ye apply not your minds to wisdom and knowledge." Petr. Ferrar. Citat. ab Illyr. inter Test. Verit.

St Hierome saith: *Ut sagittent in obscuro rectos corde. Isti tantam sibi assumunt auctoritatem ut, sive dextra doceant seu sinistra, id est, sive bona sive mala, nolint discipulos ratione discutere, sed se præcessores sequi. Tunc hi, qui prius decipiebant, nequaquam ultra ad eos valebunt accedere, postquam se senserint intellectos*[12]: "To strike in the dark them that be simple of heart, these men challenge unto themselves such authority, that, whether they teach with the right hand, or with the left, that is to say, whether they teach good things, or bad, they will not have their disciples or hearers with reason to examine their sayings, but only to follow them being their leaders. For then they, which before deceived the people, can no more come unto them, after they once perceive they be espied." Hieron. in Esai. Lib. ix. cap. xxx.

The Apology, Chap. xvi. Division 1.

Verily we for[13] our parts, as we have said, have done nothing in altering religion upon either[14] rashness or arrogancy; nor nothing, but with good leisure and great consideration. Neither had we ever intended to do it, except both the manifest and most assured will of God, opened to us in his holy scriptures, and the regard of our own salvation, had even constrained us thereunto. For, though we have departed from that church which these men call catholic, and by that means get us envy amongst them that want skill to judge; yet is this enough for us, and it ought to be enough for every wise and good man, and one that maketh account of everlasting life, that we have gone from that church which hath[15] power to err; which Christ who cannot err told so long before it should err; and which we ourselves did evidently see with our eyes to have gone from the old holy[16] fathers, and from the apostles, and from Christ himself[17], and

[7 Lead blind, 1570.]

[8 These five words are not in 1567.]

[9 ... hæretici &c. januam &c. fuerit veritas, eorum ecclesia est &c. venient popularem.—Chrysost. Op. Par. 1718-38. Op. Imperf. in Matt. Hom. xliv. ex cap. xxiii. Tom. VI. p. clxxxvi.]

[10 Sed heu miseri imperatores, et principes seculares, qui &c. servos pontificum facitis: &c.—Petr. Ferrar. in Catalog. Test. Gener. 1608. col. 2097.]

[11 The, 1567.]

[12 Hieron. Op. Par. 1693-1706. Comm. Lib. IX. in Isai. Proph. cap. xxx. Tom. III. col. 258; where *corde*. *Qui tantam*, and *ut seu dextera*.]

[13 We truly for, Conf.]

[14 Either upon, Conf.]

[15 Had, Conf. and Def. 1567.]

[16 Gone both from the *holy*, Conf.]

[17 Christ his own self, Conf.]

from the primitive and catholic church of God[1]; and we are come, as near as we possibly could, to the church of the apostles and of the old catholic bishops and fathers; which church, we know, was sound[2] and perfect[3], and, as Tertullian termeth it, a pure virgin, spotted as then[4] with no idolatry, nor with any foul or shameful fault; and have directed, according to their customs and ordinances, not only our doctrine, but also the sacraments, and the form of common prayer.

M. HARDING.

... Ye have treated thereof[5] *after*[6] *your accustomed manner, that is to say, with all untruth and lies.*

... Ye come in[7] *with many gay words: ... whereto with guilty conscience inwardly ye say, yea; thereto with lying tongue outwardly do ye not say, nay? ...*[8]

... This[9] *generation ... of ... loose apostates, incestuous vow-breakers, sacrilegious church-robbers, despisers of all holiness, breakers of the dead men's wills, overthrowers of all ancient order and discipline....*

If it be so, where be your signs? where be your miracles? where be the examples of your rare virtue and holiness? ...

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

The rest of your speech we will pass over, as talk of course. Touching your curious demand of signs and miracles, pope Leo may answer you. For, whereas
Matt. xxvii. certain of your forefathers in old times said, "If he be the king of Israel, let him come down from the cross, and we will believe[10];" pope Leo saith thus unto
Leo in Serm. de Pass. Dom. them: *Non erat vestræ cœcitatis arbitrio, stulti scribæ et impii sacerdotes, ostendenda potentia Salvatoris*[11]: "Ye foolish scribes and wicked priests, the power of our Saviour was not to be shewed at the discretion of your blindness." God sheweth his miracles when, and where, and to whom he will.

Chrysost. in Matt. Hom. 49. St Chrysostom saith: *In fine ... temporis concedenda est potestas diabolo, ... ut faciat signa utilia: ... ut jam ministros Christi non per hoc cognoscamus, quia utilia faciunt signa, sed quia omnino hæc signa non faciunt*[12]: "In the end of time power shall be given to the devil to work profitable signs and miracles; so that then we cannot know the ministers of Christ by that they work profitable miracles, but by that they work no miracles at all."

August. de Unit. Eccles. cap. xvi. St Augustine saith: *Non dicat, ... Ideo verum est, quia illa vel illa mirabilia fecit ... vel iste, vel ille; aut quia homines ad memorias mortuorum nostrorum orant, et exaudiuntur; aut quia illa vel illa ibi contingunt, &c. Removeantur ista vel figmenta mendacium hominum, vel portenta fallacium spirituum*[13]: "Let no man say, Therefore it is true, for that this man, or that man, hath wrought this or that miracle; for[14] that men make their prayers at the tombs of our dead, and obtain their desires; or for that these or these miracles be wrought there, &c. Away with these things: they may be either the jugglings and mockeries of deceitful men, or else illusions of lying spirits."

Chrysost. in Matt. Hom. 49. Again, St Chrysostom saith: *Per signa cognoscebatur, qui essent veri Christiani, qui falsi. Nunc autem signorum operatio omnino levata est: magis autem invenitur apud eos qui falsi sunt Christiani*[15]: "In old times it was known by miracles who

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[1] Conf. has not *of God.*]

[2] Know hath hitherto been sound, Conf. and Def. 1567.]

[3] Perfite, Conf. and Def. 1567, 1570.]

[4] Yet, Conf.]

[5] Hereof, Def. 1567.]

[6] Have ye treated of the same after, Conf.]

[7] *In* is not in Conf.]

[8] Here Harding says Luther was actuated with covetousness and malice, because the preaching of pardons in Saxony was taken from the Augustine friars, his own order, and entrusted to a Dominican.]

[9] The, Conf.]

[10] Believe him, 1567, 1570.]

[11] Leon. Magni Op. Lut. 1623. De Pass. Dom. Serm. xvii. 1. col. 185; where *erat* comes after *ostendenda.*

[12] Chrysost. Op. Par. 1718-38. Op. Imperf. in Matt. Hom. xlix. ex cap. xxiv. Tom. VI. p. ccviii.; where *non hæc faciunt signa.*]

[13] August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. Contr. Donat. Epist. seu Lib. de Unit. Eccles. cap. xix. 49. Tom. IX. cols. 371, 2; where *quia illa et illa* twice, and *fecit Donatus vel Pontius vel quilibet alius aut.*]

[14] Miracle or for, 1567, 1570.]

[15] Et per hæc cognoscebantur qui erant veri &c.

were the true Christians, and who[16] the false. But now the working of miracles is taken quite away, and is rather found among them that be false Christians." The Pattern of Faith[17].

Therefore St Augustine saith: *Contra illos... mirabiliarios cautum me fecit Deus meus, dicendo, In novissimis diebus exsurgent pseudoprophetæ, facientes signa et portenta, ut inducant in errorem, si fieri possit, etiam electos*[18]: "Against these mongers of miracles my God hath armed me, saying, 'In the latter[19] days there shall rise up false prophets working signs and wonders to deceive the elect of God, if it be possible.'" August. in Johan. Tract. xiii. Matt. xxiv.

Neither is the gospel of Christ preached this day utterly without miracles. The blind see: the dumb speak: your idols are fallen: your great Babylon is come to ground. These, M. Harding, if you have eyes to see them, are no small miracles. St Chrysostom saith: "The conversion of the world is a miracle[20]." St Augustine saith: *Modo caro cæca non aperit oculos miraculo Domini; et cor cæcum aperit oculos sermone Domini*[21]: "Now-a-days the blind flesh openeth not her eyes by the miracle of our Lord; but the blind heart openeth his eyes at the word of our Lord." And again: *Modo aures corporis surdæ non aperiuntur; sed quam multi habent clausas aures cordis, quæ tamen, verbo Dei penetrante, patescant*[22]: "Now-a-days the deaf ears of the body be not opened: yet many there are that have the ears of their heart shut up; which ears notwithstanding are opened by entering of the word of God." Chrysost. in 1 Cor. Hom. 6. August. de Verb. Dom. sec. Matt. Serm. 18. Eod. loc.

Therefore we may rightly say to you with other words of St Augustine: *Quisquis adhuc prodigia, ut credat, inquirit, magnum est ipse prodigium; qui, mundo credente, non credit*[23]: "Whosoever yet requireth miracles to bring him to the faith is himself a great miracle, that, the world believing, remaineth still in unbelief." August. de Civ. Dei. Lib. xxii. cap. viii.

Whereas the Pharisees said of Christ, "Let him now come down from the cross, and we will believe him;" St Hierome saith unto them, *Etiamsi de cruce descenderet*[24], *similiter non credideretis*[25]: "Yea, although he should come down from the cross, yet would ye not believe him." Hieron. in Matt. xxvii.

But it were a world to behold the glorious countenance of your miracles, M. Harding[26]. Your crosses can speak: your idols can go: your images can light their own lamps: your holy water is able to calm the sea, to chase away mice, and to make barren women to conceive. If you[27] doubt hereof, confer with M. Cope, one of your own Lovanian company[28], or with that worthy prelate the bishop of Verona, your holy father Lipomanus. I am ashamed to remember the things that[29] you are not ashamed, even now in these days, to publish in writing. Howbeit, such religion, such miracles. St Hierome saith: *Mendacium antichristi Christi veritas devorabit*[30]: "The truth of Christ shall devour and consume the falsehood[31] of antichrist." Cop. Dial. l. p. 18. Hieron. ad Algas.

The Apology, Chap. xvi. Division 2.

And, as we know both Christ himself and all good men heretofore have done, we have called home again to the original and first foundation that religion which hath been foully neglected[32] and utterly

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autem et apud eos invenitur &c.—Chrysost. Op. Op. Imperf. in Matt. Hom. xlix. ex cap. xxiv. Tom. VI. p. cciv.]

[16 Whom, 1570.]

[17 The Pattern of the Faith, 1567, 1570.]

[18 Nam et contra istos &c. meus, dicens, In novissimis temporibus exsurgent &c. et prodigia, ut in errorem inducant, si fieri potest, etiam electos.—August. Op. In Johan. Evang. cap. iii. Tractat. xiii. 17. Tom. III. Pars II. cols. 398, 9.]

[19 Later, 1567, 1570.]

[20 ...ἄλλως δὲ, εἰ σημεῖα ζητεῖς, καὶ νῦν ὄψει σημεῖα,...τῆς οἰκουμένης τὴν ἐπιστροφήν, κ. τ. λ.—Chrysost. Op. In Epist. I. ad Cor. Hom. vi. Tom. X. pp. 46, 7.]

[21 August. Op. De Verb. Evang. Matt. xx. Serm. lxxxviii. 3. Tom. V. col. 470; where *sermoni*.]

[22 Id. ibid.; where *aures clausas*, and *patescunt*.]

[23 Id. De Civ. Dei, Lib. XXII. cap. viii. 1. Tom. VII. col. 663.]

[24 Descenderit, 1611.]

[25 Ergo si etiam de cruce &c.—Hieron. Op. Par. 1693-1706. Comm. Lib. IV. in Matt. cap. xxvii. Tom. IV. Pars I. col. 138.]

[26 1567 has not *M. Harding*.]

[27 Ye, 1567, 1570.]

[28 Copi Dial. Sex, Antv. 1566. Dial. I. cap. iii. p. 18. See Vol. III. page 179, note 11.]

[29 Remember that, 1567.]

[30 Hieron. Op. Quæst. ad Algas. Quæst. xi. Tom. IV. Pars II. col. 210.]

[31 Falshead, 1567.]

[32 Forslowed, Conf.]

The Pattern of Faith[1].

corrupted by these men. For we thought it meet thence to take the pattern of reforming religion, from whence the ground of religion was first taken; because this one reason, as saith the most ancient father Tertullian, hath great force against all heresies: "Look, whatsoever was first, that is true; and, whatsoever is latter[2], that is corrupt[3]." Irenæus oftentimes appealed to the oldest churches, which had been nearest to Christ's time, and which it was hard to believe had been in [4]error[5]. But why at this day is not the same common regard[6] and consideration had? Why return we not to the pattern of the old churches? Why may we not[7] hear at this time amongst us the same saying which was openly pronounced in times past in the council at Nice, by so many bishops and catholic fathers, and nobody once speaking against it, ἔθη ἀρχαῖα κρατείτω[8], [9]"Hold still the old customs?"

M. HARDING.

Ye say much in your own commendation; but lies be no proofs. Ye have not "called religion home again to the original and first foundation," as ye say; but ye have quite overthrown all true religion from the foundation. As for your apish novelty, ye have taken the pattern thereof from Satan, author of division, the ancient enemy of Christ, and of his true religion. We admit the saying of Tertullian (though it be not altogether as ye allege it), that this reason hath great force against all heresies: "Whatsoever was first, that is true; whatsoever is latter[10], that is corrupt[11]." Of the blessed sacrament Christ said first, &c.[a]... *Contra Praxeam.*

[a] Here followed somewhat touching the sacrament, and sacrifice; which matters are otherwhere answered more at large.

Ye would seem to be fain that we followed the advice of Irenæus. We are content with all our hearts. And with Irenæus we appeal to that tradition which is from the apostles, which (as he saith) is kept in the churches by priests that succeeded them. With Irenæus (leaving other churches, whose successions of bishops it were a long work to rehearse) we require to have recourse, for trial of our faith, to the tradition of doctrine of the Roman church, which he termeth "greatest, oldest, best known to all, founded and set up by the two most glorious apostles, Peter and Paul: we appeal to the faith of that church, taught abroad in the world, and by successions of bishops brought down unto us[12]." "For to this church," [b]saith Irenæus, "must all the church of Christ repair, wheresoever it be, for that it is the chief of all, and for that the tradition of the true doctrine, which the apostles left behind them, [c]is there faithfully kept[13]." Wherefore, if ye would, after the counsel of Irenæus, resort to Rome for decision of the controversies that be betwixt you and us, and would them to be tried by that sense of doctrine, [d]which hath continued by successions of bishops even from Peter to Pius the Fourth, now pope, and would stand to the authority of that see apostolic; all strife were ended, we should be at accord. But we have little hope ye will follow this godly counsel of St Irenæus, that blessed martyr, whose body your brethren, the Huguenots of France, villanously burned at Lyons, Anno Dom. 1562, *after it had rested there thirteen hundred years, and more....*[14] *Lib. iii. cap. 2.*

[b] Irenæus never knew the disorders and deformities that now are in the church of Rome.
[c] Untruth. For as now it is all unfaithfully perverted.
[d] Untruth, manifest, and apparent to all the world.

Lib. iii. cap. 3.

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[1] The Pattern of the Faith, 1567, 1570.]
[2] Later, Def. 1567, 1570.]
[3] Tertull. Op. Lut. 1641. Adv. Prax. 2. p. 635. See Vol. I. page 25, note 9.]
[4] Heard to believe had erred, Conf.]
[5] Iren. Op. Par. 1710. Contr. Hær. Lib. III. capp. iii. iv. pp. 175, &c.]
[6] The common respect, Conf.]
[7] Not we, Conf. and Def. 1567, 1570, 1609.]
[8] Concil. Nic. can. 6. in Concil. Stud. Labb. et Cossart. Lut. Par. 1671-2. Tom. II. col. 32; where ἀρχαῖα ἔθη.]
[9] Here Conf. introduces *that is to say.*]
[10] Later, Def. 1570.]
[11] See above, note 3.]
[12] Sed quoniam valde longum &c.; maximæ, et antiquissimæ, et omnibus cognitæ, a gloriosissimis duobus apostolis Petro et Paulo Romæ fundatæ, eam quam habet ab apostolis traditionem, et annuntiatam hominibus fidem, per successiones episcoporum pervenientem usque ad nos indicantes, confundimus omnes eos, &c.—Iren. Op. Contr. Hær. Lib. III. cap. iii. 2. p. 175.]
[13] Ad hanc enim ecclesiam propter potiorem principalitatem necesse est omnem convenire ecclesiam...in qua semper ab his, qui sunt undique, conservata est ea quæ est ab apostolis traditio.—Id. ibid. pp. 175, 6.]
[14] Harding here says that the reformed could shew no succession of their doctrine, or bishops.]

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

The pre-eminence that Irenæus giveth to the church of Rome standeth in consent, and unity, and agreement of doctrine; not in superiority, or government over all the world. For proof whereof ye may understand, that Irenæus in the same place likewise specially noteth the church of Smyrna, planted by Polycarpus; and the church of Ephesus, planted by St John; and generally sundry other great churches, planted by men of apostolical dignity; unto which he willeth us in like manner to repair; and not only to the church of Rome[15]. The emperor Theodosius willeth his subjects to conform themselves in doctrine, not only to the Roman bishop, but also "either to Nectarius the bishop of Constantinople, or to Timotheus the bishop of Alexandria; or to Pelagius the bishop of Laodicea; or to Diodorus the bishop of Tharsus; or to Amphilochius the bishop of Iconium; or to Optimus the bishop of Antioch; or to Helladius the bishop of Cæsarea; or to Otreius the bishop of Melite; or to Gregorius the bishop of Nice; or to Terennius the bishop of Scythia; or to Marmarius the bishop of Martianopolis[16]." Unto all and every of these notable great churches the emperor willeth all other inferior churches to repair.

Iren. Lib. iii. cap. iii. Valde longum est... omnium ecclesiarum enumerare successiones.

Cod. Theod. Lib. xvi. Tit. 3.

By such examples the fathers in the council of Chalcedon were contented to direct their faith. For thus they brake out in a general shout: *Omnes ita credimus: Leo papa ita credit:... Cyrillus ita credit:... Leo et Anatolius ita credunt*[17]: "All we believe thus: pope Leo believeth thus: Cyrillus (the bishop of Alexandria) believeth thus: Leo and Anatolius (the bishop of Constantinople) believe thus."

Concil. Chalced. Act. 2.

So saith Tertullian: *Videamus quod lac a Paulo Corinthii hauserint; ad quam regulam Galatæ sint recocti; quid legant Philippenses, Thessalonicenses, Ephesii; quid etiam Romani de proximo sonent, quibus evangelium... Petrus et Paulus sanguine quoque suo signatum reliquerunt*[18]: "Let us see what milk the Corinthians suck[19] of St Paul; after what pattern the Galatians were reformed; what the Philippians read, what the Thessalonians, what the Ephesians; what sound the Romans give, that are so near us, unto whom Peter and Paul have left the gospel, sealed and confirmed with their blood." In like sort writeth Gregory Nazianzene of the church of Cæsarea: *Cujuslibet ecclesiæ, tanquam corporis Christi, habenda est ratio; maxime vero nostræ (Cæsariensis), quæ et ab initio fuit, et nunc est, mater prope omnium ecclesiarum: eam christiana respublica, velut centrum suum circulus, undique observat, non solum propter orthodoxam doctrinam ubique ab initio prædicatam, sed etiam propter conspicuam concordiæ gratiam, quam divinitus accepit*[20]: "We must make great account of all churches, even as of the body of Christ; but specially of this our church of Cæsarea; for that it hath been from the beginning, and still is, in a manner the mother of all churches. The whole christian common-weal beholdeth this church of every side, even as the circle beholdeth the centre; not only for the catholic doctrine that from thence hath been published every where, but also for the notable grace of concord that it hath received from above."

Tertull. contr. Marc. Lib. iv.

Naz. Epist. 18.

Thus the ancient godly fathers willed the faithful to have recourse unto every of these churches, of Smyrna, of Ephesus, of Constantinople, of Alexandria, of Laodicea, of Tharsus, of Iconium, of Antioch, of Cæsarea, of Melite, of Nice, of Scythia, of Martianopolis, of Corinthus, of Galatia, of Philippi, of Thessalonica, of Ephesus, and of Rome; not for any secret unremoveable virtue in them contained, but only, as Irenæus saith, "for that the tradition and doctrine of the apostles had continued there still without corruption[21]."

Iren. Lib. iii. cap. iii. In qua semper...conservata est ea quæ est ab apostolis traditio.

Therefore Tertullian saith: *Percurre ecclesias apostolicas, apud quas ipsæ*[22]

Tertull. de Præsc. contr. Hæret.

[15] Id. ibid. 4. cap. iv. 1. pp. 176, 7, 8.]

[16] Grat. Valent. et Theod. in Cod. Theodos. Par. 1607. Lib. XVI. Tit. i. 3. p. 481. See before, page 1002, note 2. *Nice* in the text here appears to be a misprint for *Nyssa*.]

[17] Concil. Calched. Act. II. in Concil. Stud. Labb. et Cossart. Lut. Par. 1671-2. Tom. IV. col. 343.]

[18] Tertull. Op. Adv. Marcion. Lib. IV. 5. p. 505; where *Galatæ sint recorrecti*.]

[19] Sucked, 1567, 1570.]

[20] Gregor. Naz. Op. Par. 1778-1840. Ad Cæsar. Epist. xli. Tom. II. p. 36; where μάλιστα δὲ τῆς ὑμετέρας, ἣ μητὴρ σχεδὸν ἁπάντων τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν ἦν τε ἀπ' ἀρχῆς, καὶ νῦν ἐστι, κ. τ. λ.]

[21] Iren. Op. Cont. Hær. Lib. III. cap. iii. 2. pp. 175, 6. See above, notes 12, 13.]

[22] Ipse, 1611.]

The Pattern of Faith[1].

adhuc cathedræ apostolorum suis locis præsidentur; apud quas ipsæ authenticæ literæ eorum recitantur, sonantes vocem et repræsentantes faciem uniuscujusque. Proxima est tibi Achaia: habes Corinthum. Si non longe es a Macedonia, habes Philippos, habes Thessalonicenses. Si potes in Asiam tendere, habes Ephesum. Si autem Italiæ adjaces, habes Romam; unde nobis quoque auctoritas præsto est[2]: "Run over, and behold the apostolic churches, where as the apostles' chairs are yet still continued, and where as the authentical writings of the apostles are openly pronounced, sounding out the voice, and representing the face of each one of them. The next country to you is Achaia: there have you the church of Corinth. If ye be not far from Macedonia, there have ye the church of Philippi, and the church of Thessalonica. If ye may go over in[3] Asia, there have ye the church of Ephesus. If ye border near to Italy, there have ye the church of Rome; from whence we also (dwelling in Africa) may with speed receive authority."

Tertull. de Præsc. contr. Hæret.

Again, touching the name of a church apostolic, whereby ye would evermore seem to understand the church of Rome, he saith thus: *Tot ac tantæ ecclesiæ una est illa ab apostolis prima, ex qua omnes. Sic omnes primæ, et* [*omnes*] *apostolicæ, dum unam omnes probant unitatem*[4]: "These so many and so great churches are all that same one first church planted by the apostles, from whence issued all the rest. And so are they all first churches, and all apostolic, in that they all follow one unity."

Thus the ancient fathers taught the people to reform themselves by the example and doctrine, not only of the church of Rome, but also of all other notable apostolic churches.

Neither were they directed only by the authority of ancient churches, but also by the authority of certain particular worthy men. For resolution in cases of doubt, some sent to St Augustine; some to St Hierome; some to the bishops of France; some to the bishops of Rome; and some to others[5]. St Hierome thus writeth unto St Augustine: *Tu, ut episcopus in toto orbe notissimus, debes hanc promulgare sententiam, et in assensum tuum omnes coepiscopos trahere*[6]: "Thou, as the most notable bishop in all the world, oughtest to publish this decree, and to draw all thy fellow-bishops unto thy judgment." Yet was St Augustine the bishop of Hippo in Africa, not[7] of Rome. Certainly wheresoever any flame of truth and learning may appear, out of what place soever it break forth, men will of themselves willingly and greedily flee unto it.

Euseb. Lib. v. cap. iii.

August. Epist. 11.

Damas. Hieron. Hieron. ad Algas.

Damasus the bishop of Rome wrote unto St Hierome in doubtful cases, to know his counsel[8]. St Hierome himself saith: *Filius meus Apodemius... de oceani littore, atque ultimis Galliarum finibus, Roma præterita, quæsivit Bethlehem*[9]: "My son Apodemius, coming from the shore of the ocean sea, and from the furthest coast of France, leaving Rome, sought for Bethlehem" (where I dwell, to confer with me).

Thus we see godly men, desirous to know the truth and to be resolved of their doubts, left the bishop of Rome, with all his cardinals, and went eight hundred miles further to seek counsel of poor Hierome[10]. Likewise St Ambrose saith: *Post... Alexandrinæ ecclesiæ, episcopi quoque Romanæ ecclesiæ definitionem, per literas plerique meam adhuc expectant sententiam*[11]: "After the resolution of the church of Alexandria, and also of the bishop of the church of Rome, many men yet write letters unto me, and would also understand my judgment." Pope Liberius himself writeth thus unto Athanasius the bishop of Alexandria: *Si mecum sentis,... quæso subscribas, quo certiores reddamur, num ejusdem nobiscum suffragii sis, eademque statuas de vera fide; ut et ego securior efficiar, tuaque mandata indesinenter*

Ambros. Lib. x. Epist. 83.

Apud Athan. Tom. I.

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[1] Of the faith, 1567, 1570.]

[2] Tertull. Op. Lut. 1641. De Præscript. Hæret. 36. p. 255; where *locis præsident.*]

[3] Into, 1567, 1570, 1609.]

[4] Id. ibid. 20. p. 238; where *omnes prima,* and *dum una omnes.*]

[5] Euseb. in Hist. Eccles. Script. Amst. 1695-1700. Lib. v. cap. iii. p. 136.]

[6] August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. Hieron. ad August. Epist. lxxv. 5. Tom. II. col. 170.]

[7] Africa and not, 1567, 1570, 1609.]

[8] Hieron. Op. Par. 1693-1706. Damas. Papæ ad Hieron. Epist. Tom. II. cols. 561, 2.]

[9] Id. Quæst. ad Algas. Præf. Tom. IV. Pars I. col. 187.]

[10] This sentence is not in 1567.]

[11] Ambros. Op. Par. 1686-90. Ad Episc. per Æmil. const. Epist. xxiii. 8. Tom. II. col. 882; where *definitiones episcopi quoque Romanæ ecclesiæ per.*]

obeam[13]: "If ye be of my judgment, then I beseech you to subscribe" (your name unto these articles), "that I may be out of doubt whether you think as I think touching the true faith; and that I may be the better confirmed in myself[14], and may evermore do your commandments without delay." Here you see your head of the church offereth himself, with all his universal power, to be at the commandment of another inferior bishop. Bernard, being but an abbat, writeth thus unto pope Eugenius: *Aiunt non vos esse papam, sed me; et undique ad me confluunt, qui habent negotia*[15]: "They say that I am pope, and not you; and on[16] every side they that have suits come running unto me." The Pattern of Faith[12]. Bernard. Epist. 236.

Thus were men wont to seek for counsel, not only at Rome, but also wheresoever it might be found. And therefore was Origen called *Magister ecclesiarum*[17], "The informer or master of the churches;" St Basil, *Canon fidei*[18], "The ruler[19] of the faith;" Eusebius Samosatensis, *Regula veritatis*[20], "The standard of the truth;" Athanasius, *Orbis oculus*[21], "The eye of the world:" and in doubtful cases they were as diligently sought upon as the pope. Hieron. in Apolog. adv. Ruffin. Naz. ad Simplic. Naz. ad Heron.

Here, by the way, it were a worthy matter to consider some of the profound and learned resolutions that we have received from the see of Rome. Augustine, the Italian monk, whom some have called the "apostle of England," demanded of pope Gregory, by way of great counsel, whether a woman with child might be baptized or no, and how long afterward it might be lawful for her to come to the [22]church[23]. Gregor. Lib. xii. Ind. 7. cap. ix.

Bonifacius, the apostle of Germany, demanded the like questions of pope Zachary, whether jays, daws, storks, beavers, otters, hares, and wild horses, be man's meat, or no; what order were to be taken with man, or horse, having the falling sickness; at what time of the year it may be lawful, or wholesome, for folks to eat bacon; and, if a man list to eat it raw, how old it ought to be before he eat it[24]; what may be done if a priest have a black in his eye; who may hallow oil; who may wear the pall; at what time, in what place, in what sort, over or under, openly or secretly, it may be lawful to wear it[25]. Inter Decret. Zach. Inter Decret. Alex. III. Part. xxx. cap. ii. Si maculam in oculo. Inter Decret. Gregor. II. ad Bonif.

To these, and other like doubtful and profound questions, the pope hath given out his answers, and that in such grave and solemn sort, as if no other creature under heaven besides his holiness were able to understand such high mysteries.

There fell out sometime an odious quarrel between the Thomists and Scotists, whether the blessed virgin were conceived in sin, or no. The one side said yea; the other cried nay. There were learned men of both sides: parties grew: the schools were inflamed: the world was troubled: no conference, no doctor, no August. de Civ. Dei. Lib. xx. cap. xxvi. Vives.

[12] Of the faith, 1567, 1570.]

[13] Athanas. Op. Par. 1698. Liber. ad Athanas. Epist. Tom. II. p. 664. This epistle is not genuine.]

[14] Meself, 1567, 1570.]

[15] Bernard. Op. Par. 1690. Ad Eugen. Pap. Epist. ccxxxix. Vol. I. Tom. I. col. 235. This pope had been a monk in the religious house over which Bernard presided.]

[16] One, 1611.]

[17] Ecclesiarum magistrum a me dictum esse Origenem, in tuis laudibus objicis.—Hieron. Op. Apol. adv. Rufin. Lib. I. Tom. IV. Pars II. col. 377.]

[18] ...τὸ τῆς πίστεως ἔρεισμα, τὸν τῆς ἀληθείας κανόνα.—Gregor. Naz. Op. Par. 1778-1840. Ad Simplic. Epist. lxxix. Tom. II. p. 70.]

[19] Rule, 1567, 1570.]

[20] ...κανόνα πίστεως, ἢ πρεσβευτὴν ἀληθείας.—Id. ad Euseb. Samos. Episc. Epist. xliv. Tom. II. p. 39.]

[21] ... τὸν μὲν ἁγιώτατον τῆς οἰκουμένης ὀφθαλμὸν...Ἀθανάσιον οἶδ' ὅτι πάντες ἐν τοῖς λόγοις ἀνέγνωτε.—Id. in Laud. Heron. Orat. xxv. 11. Tom. I. p. 462.]

[22] To church, 1567.]

[23] Si prægnans mulier debeat baptizari, aut postquam genuerit, post quantum tempus possit ecclesiam intrare.—Gregor. Magni Papæ I. Op. Par. 1705. Epist. Lib. XI. Indict. IV. Ad August. Angl. Episc. Epist. lxiv. Tom. II. col. 1157. To this interrogation Gregory replies at length.]

[24] In primis de volatilibus, id est, graculis et corniculis atque ciconiis, quæ omnino cavendæ sunt ab esu Christianorum, etiam et fibri atque lepores, et equi sylvatici multo amplius cavendi....De his qui regio morbo vexantur, inquisisti, sive homines sive equi sint, quid faciendum sit de illis. Si homines ex nativitate...hi extra civitatem comitari debebunt....Equi vero, qui præfato morbo fuerint coinquinati, si curari non valuerint, in puteis et foveis projiciendi sunt... Nam et hoc inquisisti, post quantum temporis debet lardum comedi....Tibi autem petenti consilium præbemus, quod non oporteat illud mandi, priusquam super fumo siccetur, aut igne coquatur. Si vero libet, ut incoctum manducetur, post paschalem festivitatem erit manducandum.—Zach. Papæ ad Bonifac. Epist. in Crabb. Concil. Col. Agrip. 1551. Tom. II. pp. 452, 3.]

[25] ...hinc jure tibi sacri pallii direximus munus.... Qualiter enim eo utaris, ex mandato apostolico informatus cognosces, ita ut dum missarum solennia geris, vel episcopum te contigerit consecrare, illo tantummodo tempore eo utaris.—Gregor. Papæ II. ad Bonifac. Epist. in eod. p. 433. See also p. 434. In the other specified place there is nothing to the point. There is a large collection of decrees, however, there on a multitude of various subjects. See Concil. Later. sub Alex. III. in eod. Tom. II. pp. 836, &c.]

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council, was able to quiet the matter, and to make them friends. The Scotists alleged for themselves the council of Basil: the Thomists cried out, the council of Basil was disorderly summoned, and therefore unlawful. In the midst of this heat pope Sixtus took upon him to be judge between them, and to determine the bottom of the cause. In conclusion, when all the world looked to be resolved and satisfied in the question, the pope commanded both the Thomists and the Scotists to depart home, and to dispute no more of the matter, but to let all alone; and so left them as doubtful as he found them[2]. This was a resolution for a pope[3].

Joh. Calvin. de Reliq.

A great contention fell out between them of Ratispone in Germany and the abbey of St Denis in France, whether of them had the whole body of St Denis; for that either part said, and bare the world in hand, they had the whole. To Rome they went: the pope sat sadly in judgment, and examined their allegations, and grew to conclusion; and in the end gave his advised and definitive sentence, that either part, as well they of France as also the others of Germany, had the whole body of St Denis; and that whosoever would say nay should be an heretic[4]. Of such substance and certainty are the oracles of your see of Rome.

Nic. Cusan. ad Bohem. Epist. 2.[6]

Some of your friends have said: *Veritas... per Christum cathedræ alligata est, ...non personis*[5]*:* "Christ hath fastened his truth, not to the pope's person[7], but to his chair;" meaning thereby that the pope, whatsoever he decree or say, sitting in St Peter's chair, can never err. And thus by this doctor's judgment we are taught to give credit rather to the pope's chair than to the pope.

Euseb. Lib. v. cap. xxiii. Cypr. ad Pomp.

Yet, nevertheless, the same Irenæus, whom ye have here alleged, openly reproved pope Victor[8]; and St Cyprian likewise reproved pope Stephen[9]; for that they thought, notwithstanding their chair, they were in error. Erasmus, speaking of the answer of pope Innocentius unto the council of Carthage, saith thus: *In hac epistola et dictionem, et ingenium, et eruditionem, tali præsule dignam, cogimur desiderare*[10]*:* "In this epistle we miss both eloquence, and wit, and learning, meet for such a prelate." St Ambrose saith: *In omnibus cupio sequi ecclesiam Romanam. Sed tamen et nos homines sensum habemus. Ideo quod alibi rectius servatur, et nos recte custodimus*[11]*:* "I desire in all things to follow the church of Rome. Howbeit, we ourselves, for that we be men, have understanding and judgment too. Therefore, whatsoever is better kept in other places, we do well to keep the same."

Inter Epist. August. Epist. 91. Erasm. Ambros. de Sacr. Lib. iii. cap. i.

But, touching the state of Rome that now is, Arnulphus said openly in the council of Rheims: *Cum hoc tempore Romæ nullus... sit, ut fama est, qui sacras literas didicerit,... qua fronte aliquis illorum docere audebit, quod non didicerit*[12]*?* "Forasmuch as now-a-days, as it is reported, there is none in Rome" (neither pope nor cardinal)[13] "that hath learned the scriptures, with what face dareth any of them to teach us that thing that he himself never learned?"

Arnulph. in Conc. Remen.

It is not sufficient to say, the pope sitteth in Peter's chair. As antichrist may sit in place of Christ, so may Judas sit in the place[14] of Peter. St Hierome saith: *Bethel,... quæ prius vocabatur domus Dei, postquam vituli in ea positi sunt, appellata est Bethaven, id est, domus inutilis, et domus idoli*[15]*:* "Bethel, that before

Hieron. in Osee, Lib. i. cap. 4.

[1] Of the faith, 1567, 1560.]

[2] Definivit concilium Basilien. nulla unquam macula sanctissimam virginem vel leviter attactam fuisse. Id concilium quum parum legitime coiise Dominicani causarentur,... contra Minoritæ sacrosanctum affirmarent, ... res ... exitura videbatur in rabiem, ni decreto suo Sixtus Pontif. Romanus mature subvenisset, quo alterutram in partem ea de re vetabat disputari.—August. De Civ. Dei, cum Comm. Lod. Viv. Basil. 1522. Lib. xx. cap. xxvi. p. 702.]

[3] This sentence is not in 1567.]

[4] Qui apud Sandionysum ... diceret corpus illic non esse, lapidibus obrueretur: qui vero negaret esse Ratisponæ, haberetur pro hæretico.—Calvin. Op. Amst. 1667. De Reliq. Admon. Tom. VIII. p. 213.]

[5] Nic. De Cusa Op. Basil. 1565. Ad Bohem. Epist. ii. Tom. II. p. 836. See before, page 1009, note 18.]

[6] Card. Cusanus, De Authoritat. Ecclesi. et Con. supra et contra scripturam, 1567.]

[7] Persons, 1570, 1609, 1611.]

[8] Euseb. in Hist. Eccles. Script. Amst. 1695-1700. Lib. v. cap. xxiv. p. 156.]

[9] Cypr. Op. Oxon. 1682. Ad Steph. Epist. lxxii. pp. 196, &c.]

[10] August. Op. Basil. 1541-3. Not. in Innoc. Epist. ad Aurel. &c. xci. Tom. II. col. 417; where *tali dignam præsule desiderare cogimur.*]

[11] Ambros. Op. Par. 1686-90. De Sacram. Lib. iii. cap. i. 5. Tom. II. col. 363; where *nos rectius custodimus.*]

[12] Arnulph. in Catalog. Test. Genev. 1608. col. 1561; where *eorum docere,* and *quod minime didicit.*]

[13] These four words are not in 1567.]

[14] In place, 1567, 1570, 1609.]

[15] Hieron. Op. Par. 1693-1706. Comm. Lib. i. in Osee Proph. cap. iv. Tom. III. col. 1263.]

was called the house of God, after that Hieroboam's golden calves were set up in it, was called Bethaven, that is to say, a house unprofitable, and the house of an idol." And what marvel is it if the like have happened to the church of Rome[17]? The Pattern of Faith[16].

Therefore we think it better to examine and try the grounds of your religion by the word of God, that is one, and uniform, and endureth for ever, than by your touch of Rome, that is so uncertain and so mutable, and so often hath deceived us. St Cyprian saith: *Si ad divinæ traditionis caput et originem revertamur, cessat error humanus*[18]: "If we return to the head and original of the heavenly tradition," which is the word of God, "all human error giveth place." Cypr. ad Pomp.

Touching the rest of your needless talk, our brethren in France, whom in your pleasant manner ye call Huguenots, burnt not the body of Irenæus. They knew he was a blessed martyr of God, and his body sometime the temple of the Holy Ghost. Without any reproach or villany, either done or meant to that holy father, if they burnt any thing, which also may well be doubted, they burnt only an idol, that you had so unreverently set up against the glory of God. Chrysostom saith: *Joseph moriens ait, Ossa mea efferetis hinc vobiscum, ... ne Ægyptii memores beneficiorum ejus .... corpus justi haberent in occasionem impietatis*[19]: "Joseph, lying in his death-bed, said unto his children and nephews, Ye shall carry my bones with you forth out of Egypt; lest the Egyptians, remembering the good things he had done, should use that good man's body to an occasion of wickedness or idolatry." Chrysost. in Gen. Hom. 67.

So saith St Augustine: *Nemo conscius erat sepulchri Mosis, ne populus, si cognovisset ubi esset, adoraret*[20]: "No man was made privy to Moses' grave, lest, if the people had known where his body had been, they should adore it." August. de Mirab. Sacr. Script. Lib. i. cap. ult.

Your objection of the sacrifice is otherwhere answered more at large[21]. St Augustine saith: *Nunc manibus non offerimus carnem, sed corde et ore offerimus laudem*[22]: "Now we offer not up flesh with our hands, but with heart and mouth we offer praise." Again, he saith: *Intus habeo sacrificium, quo flectam Deum meum*[23]: "Within myself[24] I have a sacrifice wherewith I may pacify my God." In the former Reply, Art. xvii. August. contr. Jud. cap. ix. August. in Psal. xli.

The Apology, Chap. xvii. Division 1 and 2.

When Esdras went about to repair the ruins of the temple of God, he sent not to Ephesus, although the most beautiful and gorgeous temple of Diana were[25] there; and, when he purposed to restore the sacrifices and ceremonies of God, he sent not to Rome, although peradventure he had heard that there were[26] the solemn sacrifices called *hecatombæ*, and other called *solitaurilia, lectisternia,* and *supplicationes*[27], and Numa Pompilius' ceremonial books, or manuals, or portueses, containing the service of their gods[28]. He thought it enough for him to set before his eyes, and follow[29] the pattern of the old temple, which Salomon at the beginning builded, according as God hath[30] appointed him, and also those old customs and ceremonies which God himself had written out by special words for Moses.

The prophet Aggæus, after the temple was repaired again by Esdras, and the people might think they had a very just cause to rejoice on their

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[16] Of the faith, 1567, 1570.]

[17] This sentence is not in 1567.]

[18] Cypr. Op. Ad Pomp. Epist. lxxiv. p. 215.]

[19] Chrysost. Op. Par. 1718-38. In cap. I. Gen. Hom. lxvii. Tom. IV. pp. 642, 3.]

[20] ...mortis ejus et sepulcri nemo conscius erat... ne sepulcrum ejus populus...si &c.—August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. De Mir. Sacr. Script. Lib. I. cap. xxxv. Tom. III. Append. col. 16. This work, it would seem, is spurious.]

[21] See Vol. II. pages 708, &c.]

[22] Id. Tractat. adv. Jud. cap. ix. 12. Tom. VIII. col. 38; where *quia* for *nunc*.]

[23] Id. in Psalm. xli. Enarr. 17. Tom. IV. col. 364.]

[24] Meself, 1567, 1570.]

[25] Was, Conf.]

[26] Heard in that place were, Conf.]

[27] Supplications, Conf.]

[28] The words from *books* are not in Conf.; 1567 has not after *portueses*.]

[29] And to follow, Conf.]

[30] Had, Conf. and Def. 1567, 1570, 1609.]

own behalf for so great a benefit received of Almighty God, yet made he them all burst out into[1] tears, because that they which were yet alive, and had seen the former building of the temple before the Babylonians destroyed it, called to mind how far off it was yet from that beauty and excellency which it had in the old times past before. For then indeed would they have thought the temple worthily repaired, if it had answered to the ancient pattern, and to the majesty of the first temple. St[2] Paul, because he would amend the abuse of the Lord's supper, which the Corinthians even then begun to corrupt, he set before them Christ's institution to follow, saying: "I have delivered unto you that thing that I[3] first received of the Lord." And, when Christ confuted the[4] error of the Pharisees, "Ye must," saith he, "return to the first beginning; for from the beginning it was not thus." And, when he found great fault with the priests for their uncleanness of life and covetousness, and would cleanse the temple from all evil abuses, This house, saith he, at the first beginning it[5] was "a house of prayer," wherein all the people might devoutly and sincerely pray together. And so it were your part[6] to use it now also at this day. For it was not builded to the end it should be a "den of thieves." Likewise also[7] the good and commendable princes mentioned of in the scriptures were praised specially by these[8] words, that they had walked in the ways of their father David; that is, because they had returned to the first and original foundation, and had restored the religion[9] even to the perfection wherein David left it. And therefore, when we likewise saw that all[10] things were quite trodden under foot by[11] these men, and that nothing remained in the temple of God but pitiful spoils and decays; we reckoned it the wisest and the safest way to set before our eyes those churches which we know[12] for a surety that they never had erred, and yet never had neither private mass, nor prayers in a strange[13] and barbarous language, nor this corruption[14] of sacraments, and other toys[15].

And, forsomuch as our desire was to have the temple of the Lord restored anew, we would seek none[16] other foundation than the same which we knew was long ago[17] laid by the apostles, that is to wit, our Saviour Jesus[18] Christ. And, forsomuch as we heard God himself speaking unto us in his word, and saw also the notable examples of the old and primitive church; again, how uncertain a matter it was to wait for a general council, and that the success thereof would be much more uncertain; but specially, forsomuch as we were most ascertained of God's will, and therefore[19] counted it a wickedness to be too careful and overcumbered about the judgments of mortal men; we could no longer stand taking advice with flesh and blood, but rather thought good to do[20] the same thing that both might rightly be done, and hath many[21] a time

[1] In, Conf.]
[2] Conf. has not *St.*]
[3] You that which I, Conf.]
[4] Christ did confute the, Conf.]
[5] *It* is not in Conf. or Def. 1567.]
[6] So were your parts, Conf.]
[7] All, Conf. and Def. 1567, 1570.]
[8] Those, Conf.]
[9] Restored religion, Conf.]
[10] Saw all, Conf.]
[11] Of, Conf.]
[12] Knew, Conf. and Def. 1567, 1570.]
[13] Erred nor never had private mass nor prayers in strange, Conf.]
[14] Corrupting, Conf.]
[15] The reply of Harding to this paragraph is omitted. He retorts that it was not necessary for the reformers to send for Bucer, Martyr and others to England.]
[16] No, Conf.]
[17] Agone, Conf. and Def. 1567.]
[18] Jesu, Conf.]
[19] *Therefore* is not in Conf.]
[20] Good do, Conf.]
[21] Hath also many, Conf.]

been done, as well of other good men as also of[22] many catholic bishops; that is, to remedy our own churches by a provincial synod. For thus we know[23] the old fathers used to put matters[24] in experience, before they came to the public universal council. There remain yet at this day sundry[25] canons, written in councils of free cities, as of Carthage under Cyprian, as of Ancyra, Neocæsarea, and Gangra[26], which is in Paphlagonia, as some think, before that the name of the general council at Nice was ever heard of. After this fashion in old time did they speedily meet with and cut short those heretics the Pelagians, and the Donatists at home, by[27] private disputation, without any general council. Thus also, when the emperor Constantius[28] evidently and earnestly took part with Auxentius, the bishop of the Arians' faction; Ambrose, the bishop of the Christians, appealed not unto a general council, where he saw no good could be done, by reason of the emperor's might and great labour, but only to his own[29] clergy and people, that is to say, to a provincial synod. And thus it was decreed in the council at Nice, that the bishops should assemble twice every year[30]. And in the council at Carthage it was decreed that the bishops should meet together in each of their provinces at least once in the year[31]: which was done, as saith the council of[32] Chalcedon, of purpose that, if any errors or[33] abuses had happened to spring up any where, they might immediately at the first entry be destroyed[34], even[35] where they first began[36]. So likewise, when Secundus and Palladius rejected the council of Aquileia[37] because it was not a general and common council, St[2] Ambrose, bishop of Milan, made answer that no man ought to take it for a new or strange matter that the bishops of the west part of the world did call together synods, and make private assemblies in their provinces; for that it was a thing before that time not seldom used by the bishops of the west church, and[38] by the bishops of Græcia used oftentimes, and commonly to be done[39]. And so Charles the great, being emperor, held a provincial council in Germany for putting away images, contrary to the second council at Nice. Neither pardy even amongst us is this so very a strange and a new[40] trade: for we have had ere[41] now in England provincial synods, and have governed[42] our churches by home-made laws. What should one say more? Of a truth, even those greatest councils, and where most assembly of people ever was (whereof these men use to make such an exceeding reckoning), com-

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[22] Of good men as of, Conf.]

[23] Know we, Conf.]

[24] *Matters* is not in Conf.]

[25] *Sundry* is not in Conf. or Def. 1567.]

[26] And of Gangra, Conf.]

[27] With, Conf.]

[28] Constantinus, 1609, 1611.]

[29] But appealed to his own, Conf.]

[30] ...καλῶς ἔχειν ἔδοξεν, ἑκάστου ἐνιαυτοῦ καθ' ἑκάστην ἐπαρχίαν δὶς τοῦ ἔτους συνόδους γίνεσθαι. —Concil. Nic. can. 5. in Concil. Stud. Labb. et Cossart. Lut. Par. 1671-2. Tom. II. col. 32.]

[31] ...placuit, ut...singulis quibusque annis concilium convocetur.—Concil. Carthag. III. cap. 2. in eod. Tom. II. col. 1167]

[32] At, Conf. and Def. 1567.]

[33] And, Conf.]

[34] Ὥρισε τοίνυν ἡ ἁγία σύνοδος κατὰ τοὺς τῶν ἁγίων πατέρων κανόνας δὶς τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ ἐπιτοαυτὸ συντρέχειν καθ' ἑκάστην ἐπαρχίαν τοὺς ἐπισκόπους, ... καὶ διορθοῦν ἕκαστα τὰ ἀνακύπτοντα.—Concil. Calched. Act. xv. can. 19. in eod. Tom. IV. cols. 763, 6.]

[35] *Even* is not in Conf.]

[36] Begonne, i. e. begun, Conf.]

[37] At Aquila, Conf.; at Aquileia, Def. 1567.]

[38] Thing before then used by the west bishops no few times and, Conf.; thing before then used by the west bishops not seldom and, Def. 1567.]

[39] Ambrosius episcopus dixit: Interim quia superioribus temporibus concilium sic factum est, ut orientales in orientis partibus constituti haberent concilium, occidentales in occidente: nos in occidentis partibus constituti convenimus ad Aquileiensium civitatem juxta imperatoris præceptum.—Concil. Aquilei. in eod. Tom. II. col. 980. See before, page 1005, note 19.]

[40] New a, Conf. and Def. 1567.]

[41] Or, Conf.]

[42] And governed, Conf.]

pare them with all the churches which throughout the world acknowledge and profess the name of Christ, and what else, I pray you, can they seem to be but certain private councils of bishops and provincial synods? For admit peradventure Italy, France, Spain, England, Germany, Denmark, and Scotland, meet together; if there want Asia, Græcia, Armenia, Persia, Media, Mesopotamia, Egypt, Ethiopia, India, and Mauritania, in all which places there be both many christian men, and also bishops; how can any man, being in his right mind, think such a council to be a general council? And[1], where so many parts of the world do lack, how can they truly say they have the consent of the whole world? Or what manner of council ween you was the same last of[2] Trident? Or how might it be a general council, whereas out[3] of all christian[4] kingdoms and nations there came unto it but only forty bishops, and of the same some[5] so cunning that they might be thought meet to be sent home again to learn their grammar, and so well learned, that they had never studied any part of divinity[6]?

M. HARDING.

... Your waiting for a general council was not uncertain: for at the setting forth of your Apology it was far and well entered and almost ended. Whatsoever success thereof should follow, ye ought not to have refused it, [a]*being in all respects lawful.*

[a] Untruth. For in many respects it was unlawful.

Your assurance of God's will is none. That is but your common by-word, as it hath always been of heretics. Ye ought to have shewed good evidence for your being sure of God's will, before ye attempted these great and dangerous changes in religion.... Neither becometh it you to call the determinations of a general council "the judgments of mortal men," so much as concerneth declaration of necessary points of faith, but the prompting and teaching of the Holy Ghost.

As for your provincial synod, it was none. Synods cannot be kept without bishops. Before ye claim the name of a synod for your packing and huddling together, ye must prove yourselves bishops, which ye are not able to do. Whatsoever ye say, [b]*there were never good men, nor catholic bishops, that kept provincial synods, contrary to approved and lawful general councils,* [c]*as your synod is most contrary. Neither can ye pretend that ye followed any old fathers putting things in experience before the coming to an universal council....*

[b] Untruth, by many examples soon reproved.
[c] Untruth. For our synod is most agreeable to the old councils.

Your council provincial, holden in Germany by Charles the great, against the second Nicene council general, [d]*is a false forged matter, as the book against images is, which one Eli Phili, the man in the moon's son, Calvin, Illyricus, and other heretics, have fathered upon that most godly and catholic emperor.*

[d] A great untruth. As it may soon appear.

The council which ye[7] *mean was a godly and a catholic council, holden at Frankford by pope Adrian and Charles the great,* **against the wicked council of the heretics named* **Image-breakers, which they held a little before that at Constantinople, which of those heretics was called the seventh and general, of the catholics* Pseudosynodus, *that is to say, the false or forged council. Of both these councils thus writeth Abbas Urspergensis, so much commended of Melancthon*[9]*: "The council, which a few years before was assembled at Constantinople, in the time of Irene and Constantine her son, of them called the seventh and general,*

* Untruth. For the words be plain: *Pseudosynodus...pro adorandis imaginibus, abdicata [est].* Ado.[8]

In Præfat. ad Ducem Bavariæ.

[1] Or, Conf.]
[2] At, Conf. and Def. 1567, 1570.]
[3] Be termed a general council, when out, Conf.; be termed a general council, whereas out, Def. 1567, 1570, 1609.]
[4] Christians, Def. 1567.]
[5] Of those some, Conf.]
[6] Studied divinity, Conf. and Def. 1567.]
[7] You, Conf. and Def. 1567, 1570, 1609.]
[8] Adon. Vienn. Comm. Ætat. VI. ad calc. Gregor. Turon. Op. Par. 1522. fol. 181. See below, page 1055, note 17.]
[9] Itaque fui hortator Cratoni typographo viro optimo, ut recuderet nobis hoc Chronicon abbatis Urspringensis: nullum enim in hoc genere scriptum hominis Germanici et de rebus nostratibus aliud reliquum est locupletius, atque utilius. &c.—Chronic. Abbat. Ursperg. Argent. 1537. Phil. Melanchth. ad Duc. Bavar. Epist. Nunc. fol. *ii. 2.]

(in this council holden at Frankford) was repealed and put away by consent of all, as void and superfluous, so as from thenceforth it should be named neither the seventh nor ought else[10]*."* ...

If you believe not this as the witness of a catholic writer, then believe Anselmus Rid, an earnest professor of your own the newest gospel; who writeth that Adrian the bishop of Rome, and king Charles, at the council holden at Frankford, "execrated and accursed as heretical the council of the empire of Constantinople and of the Greeks; which they held for the abolishing of saints' images[11]*." Those be his very words. Believe Peucerus, Philip Melancthon's son-in-law, writing that the council of Nice was kept by common consent of the Greek emperor and of Charles*[12]*. If the second council of Nice, which was altogether for images, was holden by consent of Charles, how held he a council in Germany for putting away images, against the council of Nice? Believe Carion, and specially Pantaleo of Zurich, a man of your own the most evangelical religion; who, upon warrant of the authority of Regino, writeth that the council of Frankford abrogated and disannulled the Greeks' council that was against the worship of images*[13]*. Briefly, how falsely you and sundry other of your sect have herein belied that worthy prince, Charles the great, it may easily appear by that Paulus Æmylius writeth of him; that he sent twelve bishops out of France to the council then holden at Lateran in Rome, in which the image-breakers' false-named and forged council was abrogated*[14].

In Catalogo annorum et principum, &c. Bernæ impresso anno 1550.

In additionib. ad Carion.

Pantaleo.

Where of general councils ye make private and provincial synods, ye do besides learning, reason, and custom of the church. A council is not accounted general because[15] *bishops of all countries under heaven be assembled, [e]but because many be assembled, and all be lawfully called. Else, in times when heresies reign, the church should never have the necessary remedy of a general council; for always heretics would refuse to come to it, as ye have to come to the late council at Trident*[16].

[e] By this rule the council of Trident was not general.

In Persia, Media, Egypt, Mauritania, I ween ye find few bishops at this day, nor many in the other countries which ye reckon, and those in manner altogether ignorant and schismatics. Yet the patriarchs of Assyria, or Syria Orientalis, and of Armenia, who of late years were at Rome, have for their provinces both subscribed to the council of Trent, [f]and received the whole decrees of the same for their people[17].

[f] Untruth, without shame or measure.

Your report of forty bishops only present at the council of Trent, and of their slender learning, is as true as your doctrine contrary to that council is, [g]that is to say, in plain terms, stark false. It[18] *is well known there were at this late council of Trent in this pope's time well-near two hundred bishops.*

[g] Untruth, manifest. Read the records and subscriptions of the same council.

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

What hope we might conceive of your[19] late chapter of Trident, we were sufficiently warned by the former, holden under pope Paulus III. and pope Julius III., wherein, notwithstanding your many years' study, and great conference of so many, and so learned, and so excellent, and so much ado, yet in the end ye were never able neither to suppress your open stews, nor to avoid your priests' concubines, nor to cause your bishops to be resident upon their charge and to do their

[10] Synodus etiam quæ ante paucos annos in Constantinopoli congregata sub Hirene et Constantino filio ejus, septima et universalis ab ipsis appellata est, ut nec septima nec aliquid diceretur, quasi supervacua ab omnibus abdicata est.—Ibid. p. 187.]

[11] Tum Stefanus III.... Græcorum...de abolendis divorum imaginibus synodum tanquam hæreticam execravit. Idem egere Hyerene imperatrix Nicomediæ, Adrianus pontifex Romæ, et Carolus rex Francofordiæ.—Anselm. Ryd, Catalog. Annor. et Princ. Bern. 1540. fol. 38. 2.]

[12] ...sub quo [Carolo Magno] certamen de cultu statuarum tandem eo deductum est, artibus episcoporum et consensu imperatoris utriusque, ut celebrata sit synodus Niceæ, quæ vocatur Oecumenica septima, &c.—Chronic. Carion. Tert. Pars, a Casp. Peucer. expos. et auct. Franc. 1581. Lib. IV. p. 525.]

[13] Pontifex duos episcopos ad Carolum misit, qui una cum Francorum et Germanorum episcopis Franckfordiæ synodum congregantes, Fœlicianam hæresim et Græcorum synodum de abolendis imaginibus damnant.—Pantal. Chronograph. Christ. Eccles. Basil. 1561. p. 64. See below, page 1055, note 16.]

[14] Duodecim delecti episcopi e Francia ivere.... Abrogata etiam Constantini Cæsaris Græci synodus, ubi...decretum fuerat, qui imagines in templis retinerent, eos idolorum cultores videri.—Paul. Æmyl. De Gest. Franc. Par. 1544. Lib. II. fol. 37.]

[15] General be because, Conf.]

[16] Trent, Conf. and Def. 1567, 1570, 1609.]

[17] Peoples, Conf. and Def. 1567, 1570.]

[18] Is, 1611.]

[19] Conceive your, 1570.]

duties, nor to resolve us whether the pope be above the council, or the council above the pope. In the summon and first entry of your assembly there pope Paul had forgotten Christ, and left him quite out of company, and supplied the want of him with the authority of Peter and Paul[1], as it is plain and evident by his bull[2]. Another of your reverend fathers there maketh Mary, the blessed virgin, equal with Christ, and calleth her his "most faithful fellow:" *Fidelissimam Christi sociam*[3]. Another of the same company telleth us that the pope is the "light that is come into the world:" *Papa lux venit in mundum*[4]. To be short, the whole issue and conclusion of all your doings there, by the full agreement of all your fathers, hangeth upon the pope's only pleasure[5], as by express words uttered in the sixth session of the same council it may appear[6]. And, by your doctrine, the pope may not be controlled, whatsoever he do, neither by the clergy, nor by all the whole world; and, whatsoever the pope shall will to stay or pass, your doctors tell us, "His will only must stand for law[7]."

Omnipotentis Dei benignitate...et apostolorum Petri et Pauli auctoritate freti. Ambros. Catharin. Cornel. Episc. Bitont. Sess. 6. Salva semper in omnibus sedis apostolicæ auctoritate.

ix. Quæst. 3. Nem.

For these and other like causes both the emperor Charles V. and also Francis the French king, beside sundry other christian princes, made open protestation against your said Tridentine conventicle, being then removed to Bononia, and said it was no lawful general council, but only an assembly of a few certain persons, to serve one man's affection and to seek for gain[8]. Such is the opinion that your own princes have of your assemblies.

Johan. Sleid. Anno 1551.

Illyr. in Prot. adv. Concil. Trid. p. 24.

It becometh us not, ye say, to call the determinations of your general councils "the judgment[9] of mortal men." Yet it became St Augustine to call the same, *Concilia contendentium episcoporum*[10], "The councils of quarrelling bishops;" and again, *Humanarum contentionum animosa et perniciosa certamina*[11], "The bold and hurtful contentions of worldly quarrels." If it like you not that your councils should be called the judgments of men, then call them, as St Augustine doth, "the councils of quarrelling bishops;" or, "the hurtful contentions of worldly quarrels[12]." But what need we many words? Your own Panormitane saith: *Leges summorum pontificum et conciliorum appellantur statuta humana; et sic stricte non possunt dici jus divinum*[13]: "The laws and determinations of popes and councils are called the determinations and laws of men, and so in strait manner of speech they cannot be called the laws of God."

August. de Unit. Eccles. cap. x. Eod. Lib. cap. vii.

Extr. de Consang. et Affin. Non debet.

Ye say, we are no bishops, and therefore have no authority to hold a synod. Even so your fathers in old time said that St Paul was no apostle, and that St Basil and St Hilary were no bishops. Of St Paul it is plain; therefore he saith in his own defence: "Am not I an apostle? Am not I a free man? Have I not seen the Lord Jesus[14]?" St Hilary saith of himself: [*Auxentius*] *de persona* [*mea*] *calumniatus est, damnatum... me a Saturnino audiri ut episcopum non oportere*[15]: "The heretic Auxentius layeth a quarrel to my person; and, forasmuch as Saturninus the heretic hath condemned me, he saith I may not be heard as a bishop."

1 Cor. ix.

Hilar. contr. Arian. et Auxent.

Likewise the Arian heretics used to say that St Basil and other like learned and catholic fathers of that time were no bishops. St Basil thereof writeth thus: "They call the council of catholic bishops a council of wicked men; neither will they once vouchsafe to name them bishops, lest they should seem to allow the

Basil. Epist. 72. Σύνοδον

[1 Paul. Papæ III. Bull. pro celebr. Concil. Trident. in Crabb. Concil. Col. Agrip. 1551. Tom. III. p. 967; where *beatorumque ejus apostolorum.*]

[2 These nine words are not in 1567.]

[3 Ambros. Catharin. Orat. in eod. ibid. p. 988. See Vol. III. page 121, note 12.]

[4 Cornel. Episc. Bitont. Orat. in eod. p. 981.]

[5 See before, page 773, note 18.]

[6 The clause from *pleasure* is not in 1567.]

[7 Innoc. Papa in Corp. Jur. Canon. Lugd. 1624. Decret. Gratian. Decr. Sec. Pars, Caus. IX. Quæst. iii. can. 13. col. 877. See Vol. I. page 68, note 8; 442, note 17.]

[8 Protest. Concion. August. Confess. adv. Convent. Trident. 1563. pp. 77, 8, 9. Conf. pp. 23, 4. See before, page 948, notes 1, 2. Conf. J. Sleidan. Comm. Argent. 1572. Lib. XXII. p. 279. See before, page 905, note 22. It was when the council had re-assembled at Trent that the French king's letter was delivered.]

[9 Judgments, 1567, 1570, 1609.]

[10 August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. Contr. Donat. Epist. seu Lib. de Unit. Eccles. cap. xii. 31. Tom. IX. col. 358; where *ex conciliis.*]

[11 Id. ibid. col. 346.]

[12 This sentence is not in 1567.]

[13 Panorm. sup. Quart. Decretal. Lugd. 1534. Tit. xiv. cap. 8. fol. 33.]

[14 The sentences from *plain* are not in 1567.]

[15 Hilar. Op. Par. 1693. Lib. contr. Auxent. 7. col. 1267.]

decrees that they have made against them. And they challenge them to be no bishops, for that, as they say, they are the captains of a wicked heresy[16]." In like sort he writeth unto Patrophilus of the heretic Eustathius: "He taketh great heed lest he should happily be forced to call us bishops[17]." Thus, M. Harding, in denying us to be bishops, ye do none otherwise but as other your predecessors have done before you.

Councils General repealed by Provincial.

ἀθετούντων προσαγορεύουσι,...μὴ καταδεχόμενοι ἐπισκόπους αὐτοὺς λέγειν... καὶ τὴν αἰτίαν προσετίθεσαν τοῦ μὴ εἶναι αὐτοὺς ἐπισκόπους, διότι αἱρέσεώς, φησι, πονηρᾶς προεστήκασι. Basil. Epist. 82.

Of the bishops and prelates of your side I will say nothing. What your own friends have thought of them, I have said before.

As for us, it shall be sufficient if we be only the voice of a crier in the wilderness. St Paul, to avouch his apostleship, said openly thus: *Gratia Dei sum id quod sum:* "By the grace of God I am that I am."

Ye say, A provincial council may not repeal a council general: as if the authority of your councils stood only in number, and not in truth. Howbeit the simple truth of God shall overweigh falsehood[18], be it never so general. But even thus said Auxentius, the Arian heretic, against St Hilary. These be his words: *Ego quidem, piissimi imperatores, existimo non oportere sexcentorum episcoporum unitatem, post tantos labores, ex contentione paucorum hominum refricari*[19]: "My most gracious lords, in my judgment it is not meet, after so great pains taken, for the contentious striving of a few, to hazard the consent and unity of six hundred bishops." Thus the heretic Auxentius alleged great multitudes of his companions against St Hilary and the catholics; which, he said, were but a few.

φροντίζει τοῦ μὴ εἰς ἀνάγκην ἐλθεῖν προσειπεῖν ἡμᾶς ὡς ἐπισκόπους. Mark i. 1 Cor. xv. Epist. Auxent. apud Hilar.[20] Concil. Aphr. cap. 92.

Notwithstanding, it were no hard matter to shew evident examples of general councils that have been overruled by particulars. The general council of Nice determined, as you say, but you say it untruly[21], that all appeals out of all parts of the world should lie to Rome. Yet the particular or provincial council of Africa saith: *Si...provocandum putaverint, non provocent, nisi ad Aphricana concilia....Ad transmarina autem qui putaverit appellandum, a nullo intra Aphricam in communionem recipiatur*[22]: "If they shall think it good to appeal, let them not appeal but only to such councils as shall[23] be holden within Africa. But whosoever shall appeal beyond the seas" (that is to say, to the bishop of Rome[24]), "let no man within Africa receive him to his communion."

The general council of Nice durst not to dissolve priests' marriage[25]: the particular council of Carthage dissolved it utterly[26]. The order of private or auricular confession, which in your fantasy was received generally throughout the whole church of God, was notwithstanding quite abolished in the church of Constantinople only by the particular advice of Nectarius[27].

Soz. Lib. i. cap. xxiii. Concil. Carth. II. cap. 2. Socrat. Lib. v. cap. xix.

Your black friars, in their particular chapters, have controlled and cut off the general determination of the council of Basil touching the conceiving of our lady in original sin[28]. And Albertus Pighius, by his like particular authority, telleth you that as well this council of Basil, as also the council of Constance, being both general, in that they said the council is above the pope, "decreed plainly against nature, against the manifest scriptures, against all antiquity, and against the catholic faith of Christ[29]."

August. de Civit. Lib. xx. cap. xxvi. Vives. Alb. Pigh. in Hierarch.

Certainly the truth of God is not bound neither to person nor to place. Wheresoever it be, either in few or in many, it is evermore catholic, even because

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[16] Basil. Op. Par. 1721-30. Ad Evæsen. Epist. ccli. 2. Tom. III. p. 386; where προσαγορεύοντες, and λέγειν, ἵνα μὴ τὴν κατ' αὐτῶν ἐξενεχθεῖσαν ψῆφον κυρώσωσι.]

[17] Id. ad Petroph. Epist. ccxliv. 2. p. 378; where φροντίζων.]

[18] Falshead, 1567, 1570.]

[19] Hilar. Op. Lib. contr. Auxent. 13. Exempl. Blasph. Auxent. col. 1270; where *imperatores æstimo non.*]

[20] This reference is inserted from 1567, 1570.]

[21] The last five words are not in 1567.]

[22] Concil. Aphr. cap. 92. in Crabb. Concil. Tom. I. p. 517; where *suscipiatur.*]

[23] To councils that shall, 1567.]

[24] To Rome, 1567.]

[25] Soz. in Hist. Eccles. Script. Amst. 1695-1700. Lib. I. cap. xxiii. pp. 356, 7.]

[26] Omnibus placet, ut episcopi, presbyteri, et diaconi, vel qui sacramenta contrectant, pudicitiæ custodes, etiam ab uxoribus se abstineant.—Concil. Carthag. II. cap. 2. in Crabb. Concil. Tom. I. p. 424.]

[27] Socr. in Hist. Eccles. Script. Lib. v. cap. xix. pp. 228, 9.]

[28] August. De Civ. Dei, cum Comm. Lod. Viv. Basil. 1522. Lib. xx. cap. xxvi. p. 702. See before, page 1046, note 2.]

[29] Alb. Pigh. Hierarch. Eccles. Col. 1538. Lib. VI. cap. ii. fol. 213. 2. See Vol. I. page 35, note 7.]

it is the truth of God. In the council of Constantinople it is written thus: Hist. Trip. Lib. ix. cap. xiii. *Definierunt pariter ut, si quid in provincia qualibet emergeret, provinciæ concilio finiretur*[1]: "The fathers agreed all together that, if any matter should happen to grow in the province, by a council of the province it should be ended." Likewise saith Isidorus: Isidor. in Præf. in Conc. *Manifestum est, quod illa, quæ sunt per unamquamque provinciam, ipsius provinciæ synodus dispenset, sicut Niceno constat decretum esse concilio*[2]: "It is clear that matters, happening in every province, by a provincial synod may be ordered, as it is concluded in the council of Nice." Likewise St Ambrose saith: In Concil. Aquil. *Sciebant [esse] consuetudinem, ... ut in oriente orientalium esset concilium; intra occidentem, occidentalium*[3]: "They knew it was a custom that a council of the East bishops should be holden in the East, and a council of the West bishops should be holden apart[4] in the West." St Augustine saith: August. de Bapt. contr. Don. Lib. ii. cap. iii. *Literas episcoporum, ... et per sermonem forte sapientiorem*[5] *cujuslibet in ea re peritioris, ... licet reprehendi, si quid in eis forte a veritate deviatum est*[6]: "Bishops' letters, if they swerve anything from the truth, may be controlled by the discretion of any other man that hath more skill in the matter."

In like sort abbat Panormitane, your own doctor, saith, as it hath been alleged before: Extr. de Elect. et Elect. Pot. Signif. Abb. *In concernentibus fidem etiam dictum unius privati esset præferendum dicto papæ, si ille moveretur melioribus rationibus novi et veteris testamenti*[7]: "In matters concerning the faith the saying of any one private man were to be taken before the saying of the pope, if he were moved with better reasons of the old and new testament than the pope."

Howbeit we have not by our provincial council removed or shaken the authority of any one ancient general council, M. Harding. For of all the ancient councils that have been, touching the cases that lie between us in controversy, ye are not yet able to allege one. We have upon good causes removed your vanities and unseemly follies, and have restored again, so much as in us lie[8], the decrees and canons of the ancient councils. Hincmarus, the bishop of Rheims, saith thus: Hincmar. Rem. cap. xx. *Cum ... duarum aut trium provinciarum præsules in unum conveniunt, si antiquorum canonum institutione muniti aliquid prædicationis aut dogmatis instituunt, quod tamen ab antiquorum patrum dogmatibus non discrepet, catholicum est, quod faciunt, et fortasse dici potest universale*[9]: "When the bishops of two or three provinces meet together, if they by the warrant of the old councils appoint any matter of preaching or doctrine, so that it disagree not from the doctrine of the ancient fathers, it is catholic that they do, and perhaps may be called universal." Such are our doings, M. Harding: they agree with the doings of the ancient fathers, and have the warrant of the councils of the primitive church; and therefore they are catholic[10].

The credit of the emperor Charles' book, reporting the decrees of the council of Frankford touching the adoration of images, I leave wholly to the indifferent discretion of the reader.

It was printed not at Geneva, as you surmise, but in Paris. The setter out proveth it not to be forged, by many good and likely reasons. An ancient copy of the same is yet still to be seen in Rome, in Laterane, even in the pope's own library. Augustinus Steuchus, the master of the same library, reporteth the same[11]. The emperor Ludovicus, son unto Charles, wrote a book, yet extant and August. Steuch. de Don. Const Lib. i. cap. vi.

[1 Hist. Tripart. Par. Lib. IX. cap. 13. fol. S. Conf. Socr. in Hist. Eccles. Script. Amst. 1695-1700. Lib. v. cap. viii. p. 218.]

[2 Isidor. Præf. in Op. Concil. in Crabb. Concil. Col. Agrip. 1551. Tom. I. p. 4.]

[3 Concil. Aquilei. in Concil. Stud. Labb. et Cossart. Lut. Par. 1671-2. Tom. II. col. 980; where *scierunt.*]

[4 Bishops apart, 1567.]

[5 Sapientiorum, 1609, 1611.]

[6 August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. De Bapt. contr. Donat. Lib. II. cap. iii. 4. Tom. IX. col. 98; where *episcoporum autem literas,* and *licere.*]

[7 Panorm. sup. Prim. Prim. Decretal. Lugd. 1534. De Elect. Tit. vi. cap. 4. fol. 122.]

[8 Lay, 1567, 1570.]

[9 Hincmar. Op. Lut. Par. 1645. Opusc. lv. capp. cap. xx. Tom. II. p. 457; where *et trium,* and *discrepat.*]

[10 This sentence is not in 1567.]

[11 Hoc sciens perceptumque habens Carolus Magnus imperator...scribens et ipse de imaginibus...sic scribit libro primo capite sexto: (est autem liber vetustissimus literis Lomgobardicis scriptus in bibliotheca Palatina; non credenti videndi fiet potestas,) Antequam, inquit, &c.—August. Steuch. Op. Venet. 1591. De Donat. Constant. Lib. II. Tom. III. fol. 226. Conf. Car. Magn. Op. Inlustr. contr. Synod. pro ador. Imag. 1549. Lib. I. cap. vi. fol. 50.]

remaining in France, to like purpose. Eckius[13] also beareth witness unto the same book of the emperor Charles, although untruly and guilefully, as his manner is: for he saith that Charles wrote four books in defence of images[14]; whereas indeed the books are directly written against images. Council[12] of Frankford.

Although ye think Eli Phili, or I know not who, may easily be charged with corruption and forgery, yet why the pope himself should corrupt and forge his own book in his own library against himself, it were hard for you to shew good reason. Eck. de Imagin.

"The council of Frankford (ye say) was godly and catholic, and made decrees against image-breakers, in the behalf of images." Yet notwithstanding Aventinus saith: [*In Frankfordiensi concilio*] *scita Græcorum de adorandis imaginibus rescissa sunt*[15]: "In the council of Frankford the Græcians' decrees for the adoration of images were quite abolished." Regino saith: *Pseudosynodus Græcorum, quam pro adorandis imaginibus fecerunt, ... rejecta est*[16]: "The false council of the Greeks, which they had made for adoration of images, was repealed in the council of Frankford." Likewise Ado saith: *Pseudosynodus, quam Græci septimam vocant, pro adorandis imaginibus, abdicata* [*est*] *penitus*[17]: "The false council, which the Greeks call the seventh, wherein decrees were made for the adoration of images, was there utterly put away." Aventin. fol. 337. Regino. Ado.

Hincmarus, the archbishop of Rheims, speaking of the same council of Frankford, saith thus: *Pseudosynodus Græcorum destructa* [*est*] *et penitus abdicata: de cujus destructione non modicum volumen, quod in palatio adolescentulus legi, ab eodem imperatore Romam est per quosdam episcopos missum*[18]: "The false council of the Greeks was repealed and utterly overthrown in the council of Frankford: whereof when I was a young man I read a pretty big book in the pope's palace in Rome; which book was sent thither by certain bishops from the said emperor Charles." Hincmar. cap. xx.

Certain words of the said lewd or false council of the Greeks amongst others are these: *Qui timet Deum, adorat ... imagines, ut Filium Dei*[19]: *Qui adorat imaginem, ... dicit*[20], *... hoc est Christus, ... non peccat*[21]: *peccat qui non adorat imaginem. Qui non adorat imaginem est hæreticus*[22]: *Imago adoranda est eodem cultu quo sancta Trinitas*[23]: "He that feareth God adoreth an image as he would adore the Son of God: He that adoreth an image, and saith, 'This is Christ,' offendeth not: he offendeth that adoreth not an image: He that adoreth not an image is an heretic: We must adore an image with the same reverence wherewith we adore the holy Trinity." Citat. in Lib. Carol. Magni.

Now whether these and other like worthy sayings and sentences were to be reproved, or no, it may please you, M. Harding, to consider.

"That council (ye say) is called general, not whereunto all christian nations do resort indeed, but whereunto all christian nations are lawfully summoned." As this answer is true, and not denied, so by the same your late council of Trident may in no wise be called general. For what lawful summons sent your pope Pius either to Peter[24] Gian into Ethiopia, or to other bishops and Christians in India, or (Europa only, and that not[25] whole, excepted) what summons sent he[26] into any other kingdom or country of the world?

But ye say, "In Persia, Media, Egypt, Mauritania, and in other countries adjoining, there are few Christians at this day to be found." Yet the authors of *Novus Orbis*, describing the state of the world say thus: "In all countries whither- Novus Orbis.

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[12] The council, 1567, 1570.]

[13] Freere Eckius, 1567.]

[14] Carolus magnus quatuor libros scripsit contra volentes tollere imagines.—J. Eck. Enchir. Loc. Comm. Par. 1541. De Imag. cap. xvi. fol. 100.]

[15] Aventin. Annal. Boior. Ingolst. 1554. Lib. IV. p. 337; where *de imaginibus adorandis.*]

[16] Regin. Chron. Lib. II. in Germ. Rer. Quat. Chronogr. Franc. 1566. fol. 30. 2; where *fecerant.*]

[17] Adon. Vienn. Comm. Ætat. VI. ad calc. Gregor. Turon. Op. Par. 1522. fol. 181; where *quam septimam Græci appellant.*]

[18] Hincmar. Op. Opusc. lv. capp. cap. xx. Tom. II. p. 457; where *Græcorum pseudosynodus.*]

[19] Car.Magn.Op. Inlustr. contr. Synod. pro ador. Imag. Lib. III. cap. xxviii. p. 452; where *sicut filium.*]

[20] Imaginem et dicit, 1567, 1570.]

[21] Ibid. Lib. IV. cap. i. p. 479; where *hic est.*]

[22] ...anathematizat omnes qui non instruunt omnem Christo dilectum populum adorare et venerari imagines.—Ibid. Lib. III. cap. vii. p. 329. See Vol. II. pages 653, 664, &c.]

[23] ...fatetur se quale sanctæ Trinitati, tale illis exhibere servitium.—Ibid. cap. xvii. p. 384.]

[24] Preter, 1567, 1570.]

[25] No, 1570.]

[26] The last four words are not in 1567.]

A Council general.

soever ye come, there be some Christians." Again: "In India many kings and princes profess Christ." And again: "In Armenia and Cilicia in a manner the whole people is christened: only they are subject to the cham of Tartary. Their priests be married; and whoso is unmarried may be no priest[1]."

Fol. 324.

Ye say, "the patriarchs of Assyria and Armenia" (that never saw neither the one country nor the other) "were at Rome" (ye know not when), "and subscribed to all the articles of your council of Trident." O M. Harding, ye can get no great credit by open mockery. It is no hard matter for your pope, out of his own guard, to make such patriarchs enow[2], one for Hierusalem, another for Constantinople, another for Alexandria, another for Antioch, another for Sidon, another for Tyrus; and I marvel if there be not some patriarch, one or other, for Sodom and Gomorrah. These poor holy and hungry fathers are contented at all times to yield their submissions, and to set their hands to whatsoever they shall be required, and, in the names of those countries that they scarcely ever heard of, to confess the pope, their master, to be all, and more than all. With such vain shews and vizards it pleaseth you to smoothe the world.

Concil. Basil.

If ye doubt hereof, ye may easily find that one Augustinus de Roma, in your late council of Basil, bare the name of the archbishop of Nazareth in Jewry[3]; and yet, poor man, had he never seen Nazareth in all his life[4]: likewise, that one Petrus Paludensis, a poor friar observant, not long sithence, bare the name of the patriarch of Hierusalem[5]; and yet had he never seen Hierusalem, nor knew which way to go to it[6]. But what need more examples? Your own ceremoniary of Rome telleth you thus: *Consueverunt antiqui ponere patriarchas quatuor ecclesiarum principalium inter episcopos cardinales mixtim. Nostro tempore... ponuntur immediate post cardinales. Sunt enim quodammodo titulares*[7]: "They were wont in old times to place the patriarchs of the four principal churches together with the cardinal bishops, one with another. But now-a-days they are placed next beneath all the cardinals. For, in a manner, they have now nothing else but the name[8] of patriarchs." Such guests were your patriarchs of Assyria and Armenia, that subscribed to your council of Trident. They bare the names of these countries, M. Harding, but the countries they had never seen[9].

Petr. Palud. Patr. Hieros.

Ceremon. Lib. i. sec. 3.

It is most certain that the christian patriarchs and bishops of those countries will neither communicate with the pope, either in sacraments or in prayers, nor anywise yield to his authority, nor give any manner of honour or reverence to his person, no more than to Mahomet, or antichrist, as I have sufficiently shewed before.

Touching the number of bishops present at your former assembly at Trident, I refer myself[10] to the records of the same. If ye find there more than forty bishops, I am content to lose my credit. And yet of the same number, blind sir Robert of Scotland, as I have said before, and M. Pates of England, were silly poor bishops, God knoweth, endowed only with bare names, without bishopricks. In your latter[11] assembly two of your holy fathers were slain there presently in advoutery[12]: by mean of which misfortune your number by so much was abated.

Flac. Illyr. in Protest. adv. Concil. Trid.

These be the great worthies of the world; these Cornelius Bitontinus, one of

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[1 ...ubique Christus in mundo suos habet cultores...quum tamen ibi fere omnes sint Christiani, id quod ego expertus sum in Cilicia et Armenia minori, quæ parent Tartarorum principi: et tamen sunt meri Christiani, qui eas inhabitant regiones....Sacerdotes omnes sunt uxorati: nec aliquis permittitur exequi sacerdotis officium, nisi legitimam habeat uxorem.—Terr. Sanct. Descript. in Nov. Orb. Basil. 1537. pp. 325, 6. Conf. Aloys. Cadamus. Nav. cap. liii. ibid. p. 56; M. Paul. Venet. De Reb. Oriental. Lib. iii. capp. xxxviii. xliii. ibid. pp. 410, 12, &c.]

[2 Enough, 1567, 1570.]

[3 De condemnatione libelli fratris Augustini de Roma, archiepiscopi Nazareni.—Concil. Basil. Sess. xxii. in Crabb. Concil. Col. Agrip. 1551. Tom. III. p. 64. This is the title of the decree of the council.]

[4 The words from *Jewry* are not in 1567.]

[5 Finit tractatus reverendi domini Fratris Petri de Palude patriarchæ Ierosolimitani &c.—P. de Palud. Tract. de Caus. Immed. Eccles. Potest. Par. 1506. fol. h iii.]

[6 The words from *Hierusalem* are not in 1567.]

[7 Rit. Eccles. sive Sacr. Cer. Rom. Eccles. Libr. Col. Agrip. 1557. Lib. i. Sect. iii. fol. 41; where the clause *cum sint quodammodo titulares* precedes *ponuntur*.]

[8 Names, 1567, 1570, 1609.]

[9 These two sentences are not in 1567.]

[10 Meself, 1567, 1570.]

[11 Later, 1567, 1570.]

[12 Protest. Concion. August. Confess. adv. Convent. Trident. 1563. p. 79. See before, page 905, note 20.]

the same company, calleth "the stars of the churches, and the mighty army of God's angels[13]." These have power to determine matters that they never understood, by authority only, but not by knowledge.

Alphonsus de Castro, as I have shewed you before, saith thus: "It is certain that some popes be so void of learning, that they understand not the grammar rules[14]." Erasmus, speaking of sundry the great learned of your side, saith thus: *Sibi... videntur semi-dei, miro supercilio præ se despicientes grammaticos; qui si grammaticæ litassent, non ad hunc modum se pueris deridendos propinarent*[15]: "They think themselves half-gods, and with high looks they despise poor grammarians: but, if they had well learned their grammar, they would not offer such occasions that children and babes should scorn at their folly." Alphons. adv. Hær. Lib. i. cap. iv. Erasm. in Epist. Hieron. ad Eust.

Concerning the whole matter your doctors of Sorbona in Paris have concluded thus: *Ut concilium legitime congregetur, sufficit, quod solennitas et forma juris solenniter sit servata; quia, si quis trahere velit hoc in disputationem, utrum prælati, qui ibi sedent, habeant rectam intentionem, et utrum sint docti, et utrum habeant scientiam sacrarum literarum, et animum obediendi sanctæ doctrinæ, esset processus in infinitum*[16]: "That the council be lawfully assembled, it is sufficient that the solemnity and form of law be solemnly observed. For, if a man would cast doubts whether the bishops that sit in council have a good meaning, and whether they be learned, and whether they be skilful in the scriptures, and whether they have a mind to obey sound doctrine, or no, then we should never make an end." Art. xxii.

These be they, M. Harding, to whom ye would have us to give ear, whatsoever they say, even as to the secretaries of the Holy Ghost. But St Augustine saith: *Ecclesiæ inter nos agitur causa, non mea. Ecclesia in nullo homine spem ponere a suo didicit Redemptore*[17]: "It is the church's cause that we talk of: it is not mine. The church hath learned of her Redeemer to put no trust in any man." August. contr. Cresc. Lib. iii. cap. lxxx.

The Apology, Chap. xviii. Division 1.

Howsoever[18] it be, the truth of the gospel of Jesus Christ dependeth not upon councils[19], nor, as St Paul saith, upon the judgments of mortal creatures[20]. And, if they which ought to be careful for God's church will not be wise, but slack their duty, and harden their hearts against God and his Christ, going on still to pervert the right ways of the Lord; God will stir up the very stones, and make children and babes cunning, that there may ever be some to confute their lies[21].

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

Hereto M. Harding answereth nothing else but thus: "The council is the school of truth:" "the bishops cannot foreslow their duties:" "the church of Rome cannot err." Which tales we have so often, and not without weariness, heard already. Petrus de Palude, amongst other your doctors, saith: *Non est credendum, ecclesiam Romanam errasse a fide.... Ipsa enim potest e contrario cum Christo dicere, Ego testimonium perhibeo de meipsa. Testimonium meum verum est*[22]: "No man may believe that the church of Rome may err from the faith: contrariwise, Petr. de Palud. de Pot. Pap. Art. iv.

[13] Et cur quæso putatis omnis ordinis viri prudentissimi, magnam hanc angelorum frequentiam, luminaria hæc ecclesiarum, tot inquam episcopos, &c. —Corn. Episc. Bitont. Orat. in Concil. Trident. in Concil. Stud. Labb. et Cossart. Lut. Par. 1671-2. Tom. XIV. col. 991.]

[14] Alfons. de Castro adv. Hær. Col. 1539. Lib. I. cap. iv. fol. 8. 2. See Vol. I. page 381, note 13.]

[15] Hieron. Op. Par. 1534. In Epist. ad Eustoch. Schol. Tom. I. fol. 55.]

[16] See Vol. I. page 66, note 7.]

[17] August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. Contr. Crescon. Donat. Lib. III. cap. lxxx. 92. Tom. IX. col. 481; where *mea: ecclesiæ inquam quæ in.*]

[18] Whatsoever, Conf.]

[19] Upon the councils, Conf.]

[20] Upon mortal creatures' judgments, Conf.]

[21] Cunning whereby there may ever be some to confute these men's lies, Conf.; cunning that there may ever be some to confute these men's lies, Def. 1567.]

[22] P. de Palud. Tract. de Caus. Immed. Eccles. Potest. Art. Quart. Tert. Concl. fol. diii. 2; where *a fide errasse,* and *et potest ipsa e contrario.*]

The building of God's Church.

that church may say with Christ, 'I bear witness of myself[1]; and my witness is just and true.'" Therefore, so long as the church of Rome can speak for herself, there is no doubt but all is well.

THE APOLOGY, Chap. xviii. Division 2.

For God is able (not only without councils, but also will the councils, nil the councils) to maintain and advance[2] his own kingdom. "Full many be the thoughts of man's heart (saith Salomon); but the counsel of the Lord abideth stedfast:" "there is no wisdom, there is no knowledge, there is no counsel against the Lord." "Things endure not (saith Hilarius) that be set up with man's[3] workmanship: by another manner of means must the church of God be builded and preserved; for that church is grounded upon the foundation of the apostles and prophets, and is holden fast together by one corner-stone, which is Christ [4]Jesus[5]."

Hilar. in Psal. cxxvi.

M. HARDING.

... *Where ye say, that "by another manner of means the church of God must be builded and preserved," shew us what other means they are*[6]*; and we must say ye are very cunning men, who correct, I will not say,* Magnificat, *but Christ's own ordinance for government of his church, who "hath ordained* *apostles, prophets, *evangelists, shepherds, and teachers" (as is before mentioned),* in ædificationem corporis Christi, *"to the building up of the body of Christ," which is his church. Ye shall pardon us if we believe St Paul before you. We see what is the mark ye shoot at, that, the lawful successors of the apostles, prophets, and evangelists, and the lawful shepherds and doctors, being put from the building of Christ's body the church, yourselves may take the work in hand, and govern all. Set your hearts at rest: it shall not be so....*

* By this reckoning it appeareth not that God ever ordained popes or cardinals to build his church.

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

Indeed Christ hath ordained apostles, prophets, evangelists, pastors, and teachers, for the government of his church; notwithstanding the same be not always allowed to sit in councils, nor be always known by rochets or mitres. If God had not provided other pastors and feeders besides your prelates, the whole church might starve for hunger. St Paul's words be true; but your idle constructions are untrue. We find not fault with God's ordinance; but we rejoice in God's mercy, for that it hath pleased him to visit his people, and to discover the multitude of these vanities, wherewith you have so long, and so uncourteously, beguiled the world. Therefore we correct not *Magnificat*, M. Harding, as you say; but rather we humbly sing *Te Deum laudamus*, and rejoice in God our Saviour. The right and only way of building God's house is to lay the foundation thereof upon the everlasting word and will of God. St Paul saith: "Other foundation no man can lay, but the same that is laid already, which is Christ Jesus." The prophet Esay saith, "To the law (of God) and to the testimony. If they speak not according to this word, they shall have no morning-light." Therefore St Hilary saith, as it is alleged in the Apology: *Aliter exstruenda, aliter custodienda ecclesia est:...fundamentum ejus super prophetas et apostolos collocandum est. Ecclesia ita a Deo, id est, doctrinis Dei, ædificata non concidet*[7]: "Otherwise must the church be built, and otherwise must it be kept. The foundation of it must be laid upon the apostles and prophets. The church, being thus built by God, that is to say, by the doctrine of God, shall never fall."

1 Cor. iii.

Isai. viii.

Hilar. in Psal. cxxvi.

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[1] Meself, 1567, 1570.]
[2] Avance, Conf. and Def. 1567, 1570.]
[3] Men's, Conf.]
[4] Jesu, Conf.]
[5] See below, note 7.]
[6] Erre, Conf.]

[7] Humanis enim operibus exstructa non permanet....Exstruenda aliter est, custodienda aliter est: &c. locandum est....Hæc ita a &c. doctrinis ejus ædificanda, non concidet.—Hilar. Op. Par. 1693. Tractat. in Psalm. cxxvi. 8. col. 417.]

THE APOLOGY, Chap. xix. Division 1.

But marvellous notable, and to very good purpose for these days, be St[8] Hierome's words: "Whomsoever[9] (saith he) the devil hath deceived and enticed to fall asleep, as it were, with the sweet and deadly[10] enchantments of the mermaids the sirens, those persons doth God's word awake up, saying unto them, 'Arise, thou that sleepest: lift up thyself[12]; and Christ shall give thee light.' Therefore at the coming of Christ, of God's word, of the ecclesiastical doctrine, and of the full destruction of Ninive, and of that most beautiful harlot, then shall the people, which heretofore had been cast in a trance under their masters, be raised up, and shall make haste to go to the mountains of the scripture[13]; and there shall they find hills, I mean[14] Moses, and[15] Joshua the son of Nun; other hills also, which are the prophets; and hills of the new testament, which are the apostles and the evangelists. And, when the people shall flee for succour to such hills, and shall be exercised in the reading of this[16] kind of mountains; though they find not one to teach them (for the harvest shall be great, but the labourers few), yet shall the good desire of the people be well accepted, in that they have gotten them to such hills, and the negligence of their masters shall be openly reproved[17]." These be St Hierome's words[18], and that so plain as there needeth no interpreter. For they agree so just with the things we now see with our eyes have already come to pass, that we may verily think he meant to foretell, as it were by the Spirit of prophecy, and to paint before our face the universal state of our time, the fall of the most gorgeous harlot Babylon, the repairing again of God's church, the blindness and sloth[19] of the bishops, and the good-will and forwardness of the people. For who is so blind but he seeth these[20] men be the masters, by whom the people, as saith St[8] Hierome, hath been led into error and lulled asleep? Or who seeth not that Rome[21], that is their Ninive, which sometime was painted with fairest colours, now, her vizard[22] being pulled off, is both better seen and less set by? Or who seeth not that good men, being awaked as it were out of their dead sleep, at the light of the gospel, and at the voice of God, have resorted to the hills of the scriptures, waiting not at all for the councils of such masters?

Hieron. in Naum, cap. iii.

Eph. v. 11

M. HARDING.

Ye wrest the saying of St Hierome to your purpose, that is to say, so as it may

[8] Conf. has not *St.*]
[9] Whosoever, Conf.]
[10] Deathly, Conf.]
[11] This reference is not in Conf.]
[12] Theeself, Def. 1567, 1570.]
[13] Scriptures, Def. 1567.]
[14] Conf. has not *I mean.*]
[15] Moses verily and, Conf.]
[16] Those, Conf.]
[17] ... quoscunque ille deceperit, et quasi suavi et pernicioso carmine Sirenarum illexerit ad dormiendum, excitat sermo divinus et dicit: Surge qui dormis, et elevare, et illuminabit te Christus. In adventu ergo Christi et sermonis Dei et doctrinæ ecclesiasticæ, et consummationis Ninive speciosissimæ quondam meretricis, elevabitur et properabit populus, qui sub magistris ante fuerat consopitus; et ibit ad montes scripturarum, ibique inveniet montes Moysen et Jesum filium Nave, montes prophetas, montes novi testamenti apostolos et evangelistas: et quum ad tales montes confugerit, et in hujuscemodi montium fuerit lectione versatus, si non invenerit qui eum doceat, (Messis enim multa, operarii autem pauci,) tunc et illius studium comprobabitur, quia confugerit ad montes, et magistrorum desidia coarguetur.—Hieron. Op. Par. 1693-1706. Comm. in Naum Proph. cap. iii. Tom. III. col. 1590.]
[18] These be Hierome's sayings, Conf.]
[19] Slewthe, Conf.]
[20] Blind that he seeth not these, Conf.]
[21] Not Rome, Conf.]
[22] Colours but now her vizer, Conf.]

seem to be spoken against[1] *the church that now is; wherein ye make him a prophet. And that this place might sound the more against the clergy, to the commendation of the people, and to stir them to read the scriptures, after your accustomed manner, ye stick not to add somewhat of your own in one place, to take away a little of the doctor in another place, to alter the words in another place. Who looketh so narrowly for trial of this, as your secretary thought maliciously when he wrote it, by diligent conference of this Apology with St Hierome he shall find it.*

Now concerning the right sense of the place, St Hierome's intent was, not "to foretell and paint before our face (as you say) the universal state of our time," but to tell and declare the meaning of the prophet Nahum, [a]*signifying the state of the time now past, to wit, the time of Christ's first coming into the world; for the words do expressly speak thereof. After St Hierome's exposition, by Ninive that prophet meaneth the world, by the Assyrian king the devil; and there he prophesieth the ruin of the world and of the devil at the coming of Christ. St Hierome* [b]*speaketh never a word of your harlot Babylon, whereof ye and your unlearned ministers have never done babbling, meaning thereby the holy Roman church.*

The right sense of St Hierome truly reported.

[a] Untruth. For St Hierome in the same place saith: [*Hæc*] *in consummatione* [*mundi*] *magis complentur, &c. Hucusque de mundi ruina*[3].

[b] Untruth. For he speaketh oftentimes of her; and saith plainly that Rome is Babylon.

First, you, sir Defender, that penned this gear, have played a false part, by dividing the one member of the sentence into two; or rather, by putting in one word, and leaving out another. For, where St Hierome hath thus, Et consummationis Ninive speciosissimæ quondam meretricis, *whereby he meant the undoing of the devil's power in the world, once (that is to say,* [c]*before the coming of Christ) a most beautiful harlot; that you might give occasion of reproach to the Roman church, which, falsifying the doctor's sense, you understand by Ninive, you have set it forth thus:* Et consummationis Ninive, et speciosissimæ meretricis[4]. *Then you descant upon it, as though St Hierome had so written, and say, that he setteth before our face "the fall of the most gorgeous harlot Babylon," which you interpret to be Rome. And then, further corrupting St Hierome's sense, you make him to speak of "the repairing again of God's church," as though at this day it were by default of the catholic clergy fallen down, and should be set up again by you and your ministers; also of the blindness of the bishops of our time, that they be "the masters by whom the people hath been led into error, and lulled asleep*[5]*." And hereto ye add, "as saith Hierome," where St Hierome saith not so, neither of the masters at Christ's first coming, but of the devil, who brought the people asleep; by whom he understandeth* [d]*not the people that liveth now, but them that were deceived by the devil under evil masters, before the coming of Christ.*

In Comm. in Nahum, cap. iii.

[c] As though sithence the birth of Christ there never had been neither Ninive, nor Babylon, nor ignorance, nor negligence in the clergy.

[d] No doubt, if there be credit[6] sufficient in this commentary.

But, because this defender thinketh he hath acquitted himself like a clerk, by alleging this place out of St Hierome against the catholic church, I require all the learned to read over what St Hierome writeth upon the end of the prophet Nahum, from these words of the text, Brucus irruit et evolavit, &c.[7], *forth to the end of the chapter, and most diligently to mark that goeth immediately before the place by this defender alleged. As for thee, good reader, that understandest not the Latin tongue, I assure thee, St Hierome speaketh those words of* [*]*heretics,* [*]*of teachers of evil doctrine, of such as will not hear the voice of the church; of which sort this new English clergy is. And in that discourse he commendeth to true believers, not only the hills, that is, the written scriptures, but also the doctrine of the church (as thou seest in the allegation put in the Apology); and before that he commendeth likewise* Latibula doctorum[9], *"the caves of the doctors," in which the faithful people also, as by flying to the hills, couch themselves safe from danger of the devil, stirrer of heresies. So that, if the place be well scanned, by that allegation they shall seem to have made a rod to whip themselves. The whole place being over long to recite here, a sentence or two, that are specially meant of such as they be, may suffice.*

In Nahum, cap. iii.

[*] As though the pope's clerks were not heretics and teachers of false doctrine.[8]

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[1] Again, 1611.]
[2] This marginal note is inserted from Conf.]
[3] Id. ibid. cols. 1577, 89.]
[4] See last page, note 17.]
[5] A sheep, Conf.]
[6] Credits, Def. 1611.]
[7] Id. ibid. cols. 1587, &c.]
[8] Teacher, 1611.]
[9] Omnis populus tuus...confugit ad montes, et se sub apostolorum Christi atque doctorum latibulis collocavit.—Id. ibid. col. 1589.]

Rome. Ninive. Babylon.

Væ itaque his, &c.[10]: "*Woe then to those which are teachers of perverse doctrines in Ninive, by which is signified the world. And aptly to them it is said,* Psal. cxxxii. *'Thy shepherds have slept, for they have given sleep to their eyes, and slumbering to their eye-lids; and therefore have they not found a place for our Lord, nor a tabernacle for the God of Jacob. Neither have they heard out of Ephrata,' that is to say,* Frugifera ecclesia, *'the fruitful church.' 'Nor have they found the church in the thickets of the woods.' Neither only the shepherds of this rifraff* (mixtitii hujus, *he meaneth by ὁ συμμικτὸς, which is the word of the seventy translators, all sorts of people deceived by false teachers*), *and of the locust (they are the captain*[11] *hereties) which in time of frost sitteth in the hedges, have slept; but by the king of Assyrians (who is the devil) they have been lulled asleep. For always it is the study of the devil how he may bring asleep waking souls." Thus St Hierome.*

Now I report me to those that have eyes to see, whether our new clergy may not seem those whom the devil "lulled[12] *asleep" (gladly I use their own term) in their new devices, in their own liked conceits, in their schisms and heresies, in their unjust possession of benefices and bishopricks, those yet living to whom the right belongeth, in their presumption of that office they are not duly called unto, in their malice toward the church, in the continual satisfying of their fleshly lusts, and in their unlawful and lecherous embracings.*

Let them fear the dreadful saying of St Hierome, following straight after their allegation: Non est sanitas contritioni tuæ, &c.[13]: "*There is no health for thy bruise: thy wound swelleth. Therefore the rifraff of Ninive cannot be healed, because he layeth not down his pride, and the wound is always fresh, and daily he is*[14] *wounded, whiles the devil strike*[15] *at him. And, when all cometh to all, there is no health for his bruise. For, although he seem to himself whole, yet is his soul broken and crushed with the beetle of the whole earth, that founceth*[16] *down upon it. And it is not healed, because continually it is lifted up with pride. But, if it become* Psal. li. *humble, and submit itself to Christ, a contrite and humble heart*[17] *God despiseth not." Thus describeth St Hierome these men. Neither let them say, they submit themselves to Christ, whom and whose gospel they have so much in their mouths, until they follow his doctrine, saying of the governors of his church,* Luke x. *"He that heareth you heareth me; and he that despiseth you despiseth me." And thus*[18] *much for answer to the place of St Hierome.*

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

Here is a marvellous work: "Sir Defender singeth descant, and quitteth himself like a clerk. He altereth St Hierome's mind: he saith St Hierome saith so, whereas St Hierome saith not so: he, of proud Ninive, hath made the church of Rome: he, of the devil, hath made antichrist: he babbleth about Babylon: he divideth one sentence into two: he putteth in one word, and leaveth out another: he is lulled asleep: he scattereth his rifraff: he doth, and saith," I know not what, whatsoever it shall please M. Harding of his courtesy to report.

Touching this heinous imagined corruption, and altering of St Hierome's mind, St Chrysostom saith: *Qui mendax est, neminem putat verum dicere, ne ipsum* [*qui-* Chrysost. in Matt. Hom. 19. In opere imperfecto.[19]

[10] Væ itaque his qui perversarum doctrinarum magistri sunt in Ninive. Et congrue ad eos dicitur: Dormitaverunt pastores tui; dederunt enim somnum oculis suis, et palpebris suis dormitationem: et propterea non invenerunt locum Domino, neque tabernaculum Deo Jacob. Nec audierunt de Ephratha, id est, frugifera ecclesia; nec invenerunt eam in condensis sylvarum. Non solum autem pastores mixtitii hujus, et locustæ, quæ imminente glacie sedet in sepibus, dormitaverunt; sed a rege quoque sunt Assyriorum consopiti....Semper diaboli studium est vigilantes animas consopire.—Id. ibid. cols. 1589, 90.]

[11] Capitain, Conf. and Def. 1567.]

[12] Devil hath lulled, Conf. and Def. 1567, 1570.]

[13] Non est &c. tumet plaga tua. Propterea mixtitius Ninive sanari non potest, quia superbiam non deponit, et recens semper vulnus est, et quotidie diabolo feriente percutitur. Et post hæc omnia non est sanitas contritioni ejus: licet enim sibi sanus esse videatur, tamen anima ejus fracta est et contrita, percutiente desuper malleo totius terræ; et non sanatur, quia semper erecta est. Si autem humilietur, et se Christo subjiciat, eor contritum et humiliatum Deus non despicit.—Id. ibid. col. 1590.]

[14] Is he, Conf.]

[15] Striketh, Conf. and Def. 1567, 1570.]

[16] Founceth: pounceth; for which word it is possibly a misprint.]

[17] And an humbled heart, Conf.; and an humble heart, Def. 1567, 1570.]

[18] This, Conf. and Def. 1567, 1570.]

[19] 1567, 1570 have not *in opere imperfecto.*]

Rome. Ninive. Babylon.

dem] *Deum*[1]: "He that himself is a liar imagineth that no man saith the truth, no, not God himself." With such corruption and change of words Palladius, a lewd fellow, thought himself sometime able to charge St Hierome. St Hierome's words thereof are these: *Concionatur me* [*esse*] *falsarium; me verbum non expressisse de verbo; pro honorabili dixisse carissimum.... Hæc et hujusmodi nugæ mea crimina sunt*[2]: "He preacheth and publisheth abroad that I am a falsary; that I have not precisely translated word for word; that I, instead of this word 'honourable,' have written these words, 'dearly beloved.' These things, and such trifles, are laid to my charge."

Hieron. ad Pammach. de Opt. Gen. Interp. Tom. II.

In ead. Epist.

To these follies St Hierome answereth thus: *Cum ipsa epistola doceat, nihil mutatum esse de sensu, nec res additas, nec aliquod dogma confictum, faciunt næ*[3] [*isti*] *intelligendo ut nihil intelligant*[4]; *et, dum alienam imperitiam volunt coarguere, produnt suam*[5]: "Whereas the epistle itself declareth that there is no alteration made in the sense, and that there is neither matter of substance added, nor any doctrine imagined, verily by their great cunning they prove themselves fools, and, seeking to reprove other men's unskilfulness, they betray their own."

Ye say, St Hierome in these words spake nothing neither of the church of Christ, nor of your clergy of Rome. For trial whereof let St Hierome himself be heard to speak, as a witness indifferent of himself. First, in other places he saith thus (to this place we shall resort afterward): *Dicimus, non venient super nos mala. Audiamus sententiam Domini:... Sion, et Hierusalem, et mons templi, speculatorium, et visio pacis, et templum Christi in consummatione et in fine*[6]: "We say, there shall no hurt come upon us. Let us hear the saying of our Lord. Sion, and Hierusalem, and the mount, that is the watch-tower of the temple, and the sight of peace, and the temple or church of Christ, shall be consumed and brought to an end."

Hieron. in Mich. cap. iii.

These words be plain, not only that the[7] haught lady Ninive, but also that the[8] church or temple, that beareth the name of Christ, shall be consumed and brought to an end.

Hieron. in Soph. cap. ii.

Likewise he saith: *Quos Deus inseruit ex oleastro in radicem bonæ olivæ, si* [*illi*] *immemores... recesserint a Conditore suo, et adoraverint Assyriam*[9], [*cur illos Deus non*] *evertat, et ad eandem sitim reducat, in qua prius fuerunt*[10]? "Even they whom God hath grafted[11] from out of the wild olive-tree into the root of the good olive" (that is to say, the children of the church), "if they forget themselves, and flee from their Maker, and worship the king of Assyria" (that is to say, antichrist, or any other creature that is not God), "why may not God overthrow them, and bring them to the same thirst and drouth they were in before?"

Hieron. in Matt. cap. xxiv. Lib. iv.

Mark, M. Harding, St Hierome applieth these words, not only unto Ninive, but also unto the church of God[12]. Again he saith: *Abominatio desolationis intelligi potest... omne dogma perversum; quod cum viderimus stare in loco sancto, id est, in ecclesia,... debemus fugere de Judæa ad montes*[13]: "The abomination of desolation may be taken for any wicked doctrine; which when we shall see standing in the holy place, that is to say, in the church of Christ, then we must flee from Jewry to the mountains" (of the scriptures.)

Hieron. in Isai. cap. xxiii.

And again likewise he saith: *Paxillus auferetur de loco fidei*[14], *hoc est, de ecclesia, per impietatem quotidie succrescentem; et qui super eum ante pependerant fide, postea infidelitate frangentur, et cadent, et peribunt*[15]: "The pin or bar"

[1 Chrysost. Op. Par. 1718-38. Op. Imperf. in Matt. Hom. xix. ex cap. vii. Tom. VI. p. xcvii.; where *putat dicere veritatem neque ipsum.*]

[2 Hieron. Op. Par. 1693-1706. Ad Pammach. de Opt. Gen. Interpr. Epist. xxxiii. Tom. IV. Pars II. col. 249; where *concionentur*, and *et istiusmodi nugæ crimina mea sunt.*]

[3 Ne, 1609, 1611.]

[4 Intelligunt, 1611.]

[5 Id. ibid. col. 250; where *ne*, and *suam produnt.*]

[6 Id. Comm. Lib. I. in Mich. Proph. cap. iii. Tom. III. col. 1521.]

[7 *The* is not in 1567.]

[8 Also the, 1567.]

[9 Assyrium, 1567, 1570.]

[10 ...cur non e contrario eos...quos inseruit de oleastro &c. Assyrium, &c. fuerant?—Id. Comm. in Soph. Proph. cap. ii. Tom. III. col. 1668.]

[11 Graffed, 1567, 1570.]

[12 This sentence is not in 1567.]

[13 Id. Comm. Lib. IV. in Matt. cap. xxiv. Tom. IV. Pars I. col. 115; where *hoc est.*]

[14 Fideli, 1567, 1570.]

[15 Id. Comm. Lib. VII. in Isai. Proph. cap. xxii. Tom. III. col. 201; where *de loco fideli.*]

(whereby he meaneth Christ, for that the faithful hang upon him, as in a house things are hanged up safely upon a pin) "shall be taken away from the place that was faithful, that is to say, from the church, because of the wickedness that daily groweth; and they, that before hung upon him by faith, afterward by infidelity shall be broken down, and fall, and perish." Rome. Ninive. Babylon.

Whatsoever gloss ye shall give to the other words of St Hierome, certainly these words are plain and evident, and will not easily receive your gloss. Likewise St Gregory, speaking, not of the first coming of Christ, but of the time that is described to be before the end of the world, saith thus: *In diebus illis ecclesia, quasi quodam senio debilitata, per prædicationem parere filios non valebit*[16]: "In those days the church, as being over-much weakened with age, shall not be able by preaching to bear children." Gregor. in Job, cap. ix. Lib. xix. cap. xxix.

Now touching your clergy, St Hierome himself saith: *Ipsi quoque sacerdotes, qui legem Domini docere deberent, et subjectos sibi populos a leonis furore defendere, quodam stupore infatuati, vertentur in amentiam*[17]: "The priests themselves that ought to teach the law of our Lord, and to defend the people committed to their charge from the fury of the lion" (that is the devil), "being amazed, and bereft of their wits, shall be turned into madness." Hieron. in Jerem. Lib. i. cap. iv.

Again he saith: *Scit... rex Assyrius non posse se oves decipere, nisi pastores ante consopierit. Semper diaboli studium est vigilantes animas consopire*[18]: "The king of Assyria" (that is the devil) "knoweth that he can never deceive the sheep, unless first he cast the shepherds into a trance. It is evermore the devil's policy to lay watchful souls asleep." Hieron. in Naum, iii.

And therefore again he saith: *Auferet... Dominus nomina vanæ gloriæ et admirationis falsæ, quæ versantur in ecclesia.... Sed et nomina sacerdotum cum sacerdotibus, qui frustra sibi applaudunt in episcopali nomine, et in presbyterii dignitate, et non in opere*[19]: "God will take away the names of vain glory and false credit, that are in the church, and the names of priests, together with the priests themselves, that vainly boast themselves of the names[20] of bishops, and of the dignity of priesthood, but do nothing." Hitherto, I trow, it is plain, that St Hierome by these words meant not only Ninive, as you say, but also the church, and the same church that is called the church of God[12]. Hieron. in Soph. cap. i.

"But about Babylon (ye say) ye never make an end of babbling." What babling then, I pray you, made St Hierome, when he said, *Petrus in prima epistola, sub nomine Babylonis,... Romam significat*[21]? "St Peter in his first epistle meant Rome, under the name of Babylon." Hieron. in Catolog. Script. Eccles. in Marc.

St Augustine saith: *Roma est quasi secunda Babylon*[22]: "Rome is as the second Babylon." Again he saith: *Cives Babyloniæ nos fecerunt: dimisimus Creatorem: adoravimus creaturam: dimisimus eum a quo facti sumus: adoravimus [illud] quod... fecimus*[23]: "They have made us the citizens of Babylon: (for) we have left our Creator and have worshipped a creature: we have left him that made us, and have adored that thing that we made ourselves." August. de Gen. contr. Man. Lib. ii. cap. i. August. in Psal. xliv.

Likewise saith Primasius: *Tunc... Babylon cadet, quando novissime potestatem persequendi sanctos acceperit*[24]: "Then shall Babylon come to ground, when she shall last of all take power to persecute the saints of God." Primas. in Apoc. cap. xvi.

And again: *Vidi mulierem sedentem super vestem coccineam,... plenam nominibus blasphemiæ,... habentem capita septem... Septem capita [dicit] septem montes:... Romam, quæ super septem montes præsidet, significans*[25]: "I saw a woman sitting upon a scarlet robe, full of names of blasphemy, having seven heads. Seven In idem caput.

[16 Gregor. Magni Papæ I. Op. Par. 1705. Lib. XIX. in cap. xxix. B. Job, cap. xii. 19. Tom. I. col. 613; where *filios parere non valet.*]

[17 Hieron. Op. Comm. Lib. I. in Jerem. Proph. cap. iv. Tom. III. col. 548; where *debuerant.*]

[18 Id. Comm. in Naum Proph. cap. iii. Tom. III. cols. 1589, 90.]

[19 Id. Comm. in Soph. Proph. cap. i. Tom. III. col. 1647.]

[20 Name, 1567, 1570.]

[21 Id. Catalog. Script. Eccles. 8. Tom. IV. Pars II. col. 104; where *epistola prima*, and *significans.*]

[22 August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. De Civ. Dei, Lib. XVIII. cap. ii. 2. Tom. VII. col. 489; where *Babylonia est.*]

[23 Id. in Psalm. lxiv. Enarr. 6. Tom. IV. col. 632.]

[24 Primas. Comm. in Apoc. Lib. IV. cap. xvi. in Magn. Biblioth. Vet. Patr. Col. Agrip. 1618-22. Tom. VI. Pars II. p. 185; where *Babylonia cadit.*]

[25 Id. ibid. cap. xvii. ibid.; where *super bestiam coccineam.*]

The People shall flee to the Scriptures.

heads he calleth the seven mounts upon which Rome was built; meaning thereby Rome that sitteth upon seven hills."

Ludovicus Vives, your own very friend, saith thus: *Hieronymus, ... ad Marcellam scribens, non aliam existimat describi, &c.*[1] "St Hierome, writing unto Marcella, thinketh there is none other Babylon described by St John in his Revelations but the city of Rome."

August. de Civit. Dei. Lib. xviii. cap. xxii. Vives. Ambros. Ansbert. in Apoc. Lib. vi.

Ambrosius Ansbertus saith: *Ubi est illa dudum super omnium*[2] *regna exaltata, inclyta Roma, Babylon secunda*[3]*?* "Where is that noble Rome, advanced[4] of late above all kingdoms, the second Babylon?"

I pass over Beatus Rhenanus, Aventinus, Petrarcha, Dantes, and a great number of other your own doctors, mentioned before in place more convenient: all whom ye may not of your courtesy charge with "babbling."

Ye say: "St Hierome meant not the state of our time, but only the state of the time now past:" that is to say, as it is said before, "the time of Christ's first coming into the world." And this, in your margin, ye call "the right sense of St Hierome truly reported." Howbeit, your reader, that hath eyes to see, may easily find that this is your own only sense, M. Harding, and not St Hierome's. For, I beseech you, how was Ninive fully destroyed, or what gospels were there written at the first coming of Christ into the world? St Hierome's meaning and speech is plain: "The people, before the second coming of Christ, which shall be in glory, shall leave their negligent and idle school-masters, which have of long time deceived them, and shall flee to the mountains of the scriptures. And, albeit they find not one to teach them, yet shall their desire and endeavour be accepted before God, for that they have sought unto these mountains; and the negligence and slothfulness of their masters shall be reproved[5]."

Hieron. in Naum, cap. iii. The true sense of St Hierome's words.

Chrysost. in Gen. Hom. 35.

To like purpose St Chrysostom saith: *Fieri non potest ut is, qui divinis scripturis magno studio ferventique desiderio vacat, semper negligatur. Licet enim desit nobis hominis magisterium, tamen ipse Dominus, superne intrans in corda nostra, illustrat mentem, rationi jubar suum infundit, detegit occulta, doctorque fit eorum quæ ignoramus; tantum si nos ea, quæ a nobis sunt, afferre velimus*[6]*:* "It cannot possibly be that he that with earnest study and fervent desire readeth the scriptures should evermore be forsaken. For, although we want the instruction of man, yet God himself, from above entering into our hearts, lighteneth our mind, poureth his beams into our wits, openeth things that were hidden, and becometh unto us a school-master of that we know not; only if we will do so much as in us lieth."

Hieron. in Isai. Lib. xiii. cap. xlix.

So saith St Hierome: *Postquam conversi fuerint, et clarum Christi lumen aspexerint, pascent in viis et in semitis sanctarum scripturarum, et dicent, Dominus pascit me; et nihil mihi deerit*[7]*:* "When they shall be turned, and shall behold the clear light of Christ, they shall feed in the paths and ways of holy scriptures, and shall say, 'The Lord feedeth me; and I shall want nothing.'"

Psal. xxiii.

Hieron. in Naum, cap. iii.

Again he saith: *Circundabit sibi, quasi murum firmissimum, scripturarum doctrinam, ... ne ad interiora ejus possit hostis irrumpere*[8]*:* "He will inclose himself with the doctrine of the scriptures, as with a strong wall, that the enemy may not enter into his heart." Again he saith: *Hæc [est] via: ambulate in ea: neque ad dextram, neque ad sinistram. Tunc omnes errores, et idola, et similitudines veritatis ... comminues, atque disperges, et ita judicabis immunda, ut [ea] menstruatæ mulieris sordidissimo sanguini compares*[9]*:* "This is the way: walk in it. Go neither to the right hand, nor to the left. Then shalt thou break and scatter all errors, and

Hieron. in Isai. Lib. ix. cap. xxx.

[1 Hieronymus &c. describi a Joanne in Apocalypsi Babylonem, quam urbem Romam.—August. de Civ. Dei, cum Comm. Lod. Viv. Basil. 1522. Lib. XVIII. cap. xxii. p. 590.]

[2 Omnia, 1567.]

[3 Ambros. Ansbert. in Apoc. Col. 1536. Lib. VI. p. 269; where *super omnia regna.*]

[4 Avanced, 1567, 1570.]

[5 Hieron. Op. Par. 1693-1706. Comm. in Naum Proph. cap. iii. Tom. III. col. 1590. See before, page 1059, note 17.]

[6 Chrysost. Op. Par. 1718-38. In cap. xiii. Gen. Hom. xxxv. Tom. IV. p. 349.]

[7 Hieron. Op. Comm. Lib. XIII. in Isai. Proph. cap. xlix. Tom. III. col. 354; where *pascentur.*]

[8 Id. Comm. in Naum Proph. cap. iii. Tom. III. col. 1586; where *circundet.*]

[9 Id. Comm. Lib. IX. in Isai. Proph. cap. xxx. Tom. III. col. 258; where *ac similitudines.*]

idols, and counterfeit likeness of the truth, and shalt judge them to be so filthy, that thou shalt liken them to most vile and loathsome blood."

The People shall fly[10] to the Scriptures.

But, forasmuch as ye say, all these words of St Hierome pertain unto some other matter, I know not what, and not unto the overthrow of Babylon, or fall of antichrist, that shall be before the end of the world; notwithstanding St Hierome's words of themselves[11] be plain enough, yet it may[12] please you to consider these words of St Chrysostom touching the same. Thus he saith: *Tunc qui in Judæa sunt, fugiant ad montes, ... id est, qui sunt in christianitate, conferant se ad scripturas ... Montes ... sunt scripturæ apostolorum, et prophetarum, &c. Sciens ... Dominus tantam confusionem rerum in novissimis diebus esse futuram, ideo mandat ut Christiani, qui sunt in christianitate, volentes firmitatem[13] accipere fidei veræ, ad nullam rem fugiant, nisi ad scripturas. Alioqui, si ad alias res aspexerint[14], scandalizabuntur et peribunt, non intelligentes quæ sit vera ecclesia. Et per hoc incident in abominationem desolationis[15]:* "Then let them that be in Jewry fly[10] to[16] the mountains, that is to say, let them that be in Christ's profession fly[10] to the scriptures. The scriptures of the apostles and prophets be the mountains, &c. Our Lord, knowing that there should be such confusion in the last days, therefore commandeth that christian men, that believe in Christ, willing to have an assurance of the true faith, should have recourse to nothing else but unto the scriptures. Otherwise, if they have regard to any other thing, they shall be offended and perish, not understanding what is the true church. And by mean hereof they shall fall into the abomination of desolation."

Chrysost. in Matt. Hom. 49.

Here, M. Harding, no gloss will serve you[17]. Certainly these words were spoken not of "the first coming of Christ into the world," as you imagine, but of the kingdom of antichrist, and of the end and consummation of the world.

Hereof St Gregory saith thus: *[Ecclesia] post eosdem dies, quibus deprimitur, ... tamen circa ... finem temporum grandi prædicationis virtute roborabitur*[18]: "The church, after these days of her affliction, shall afterward notwithstanding be strengthened with great power and might of preaching."

Gregor. in Job, cap. xxix. Lib. xix. cap. ix.

The Apology, Chap. xx. Division 1.

But by your favour, some will say, these things ought not to have been attempted without the bishop of Rome's commandment; forsomuch as he only is the knot and band of christian society. He only is that priest of Levi's[19] order, whom God signified in the Deuteronomy, from whom counsel in matters of weight and true judgment ought to be fet[20]; and, whoso obeyeth not his judgment, the same man ought to be killed in the sight of his brethren; and that no mortal creature hath authority to be judge over the pope, whatsoever[21] he do; that Christ reigneth in heaven, and the pope in[22] earth; that the pope alone[23] can do as much as Christ or God himself can do, because Christ and the pope have but one consistory[24]; that without him is no faith, no hope, no church; and whoso goeth from him quite casteth away and renounceth his own salvation. Such talk have the canonists, the pope's parasites, but[25] with small discretion or soberness[26]. For they could scantly[27] say more, at least they could not speak more highly, of Christ himself.

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[10] Flee, 1567, 1570.]
[11] Themself, 1567, 1570.]
[12] May it, 1567.]
[13] Firmatam, 1570.]
[14] Respexerint, 1567.]
[15] Chrysost. Op. Op. Imperf. in Matt. Hom. xlix. ex cap. xxiv. Tom. VI. p. cciv.; where *aut propheta-rum*, and *ad alia respexerint*.]
[16] Flee unto, 1567.]
[17] *You* is not in 1567.]
[18] Gregor. Magni Papæ I. Op. Par. 1705. Lib. XIX. in cap. xxix. B. Job, cap. xii. 19. Tom. I. col. 613; where *roboretur*.]
[19] Levites, Conf.]
[20] Fetched, Conf.]
[21] Over him whatsoever, Conf.]
[22] And he in, Conf.]
[23] That he alone, Conf.]
[24] Christ and he have but one council-house, Conf.]
[25] Parasites surely but, Conf.]
[26] See Vol. I. page 442; also before, pages 830, &c.]
[27] Scant, Conf.]

M. HARDING.

What some will say, we know not. We tell you that your change of religion and manifold heresies ought not to have been attempted at all, neither without the bishop of Rome's commandment, nor with his commandments[1]. *Touching the bishop of Rome himself, you have never done with him. He is a great block in your way. And so hath he ever been in the way of all heretics. Yet could he never by you or them be removed. To your scoffs against him, and belying of the canonists, before by you uttered, and here idly repeated, my former answer may suffice.*

THE APOLOGY, Chap. xx. Division 2.

As for us, truly we have fallen from the bishop of Rome upon no manner of worldly respect or commodity. And would to Christ he so behaved himself, that this falling away had not needed[2]; but so the case stood that, unless we left him, we could not come to Christ. Neither will he now make any other league with us than such a one as Nahas the
1 Sam. xi.[3] king of the Ammonites would have made in times past with them of the city of Jabes, which was to put out the right eye of each one of the inhabitants, and so to receive them into his friendship[4]. Even so will the pope pluck from us the holy scripture, the gospel of our salvation, and all the confidence which we have in Christ Jesu, as the eye from our head[5]; and upon other condition can he not agree upon peace with us.

M. HARDING.

Ye are not fallen from the bishop of Rome only, which were a damnable schism, but ye are fallen from Christ's church.... Your comparison of the pope with king Nahas is not very agreeable. But, sirs, ye speak more maliciously than credibly. Be ye good christian men, and conform yourselves to the catholic faith (and deny Christ and his gospel; for this also ye should have added), *and I warrant you the pope will not pluck from you neither the scriptures, nor your confidence in Christ Jesu, no more than he doth from us....*

THE APOLOGY, Chap. xx. Division 3.

For, whereas some use to make so great a vaunt, that the pope is only Peter's successor, as though thereby he carried the Holy Ghost in his bosom, and could not[6] err, this is but a matter of nothing, and a very trifling tale. God's grace is promised to a good mind, and to any one that feareth him, not[7] unto sees and successions. "Riches," saith St Hierome[8], "may make one[9] bishop to be of more might than the rest; but all bishops, whatsoever they be[10], are the successors of the apostles[11]." If so be the place and consecration[12] only be sufficient, why then Manasses succeeded David, and Caiaphas succeeded Aaron. And it hath been often seen that an idol hath been placed in[13] the temple of God. In old time

[1] Commandment, Conf. and Def. 1567, 1570, 1609.]

[2] As this falling away needed not, Conf.; that this falling away needed not, Def. 1567.]

[3] This reference is inserted from Conf. and Def. 1567, 1570.]

[4] The last eight words are not in Conf. or Def. 1567.]

[5] The preceding six words are not in Conf. or Def. 1567.]

[6] And cannot, Conf. and Def. 1567.]

[7] To one that feareth God not, Conf.]

[8] Saith Jerome, Conf.]

[9] A, Conf. and Def. 1567.]

[10] All the bishops whosoever they be, Conf. and Def. 1567; all bishops whosoever they be, 1570, 1609.]

[11] See below, page 1069, note 14.]

[12] Consecrating, Conf.]

[13] Hath stand in, Conf.]

Archidamus the Lacedæmonian boasted much of himself, how he came of the blood of Hercules, as the pope this day boasteth himself of the succession and place of Peter[14]. But one Nicostratus in this wise abated his pride: "Nay," quoth[15] he, "thou seemest not to descend from Hercules: for Hercules destroyed evil men; and[16] thou makest good men evil." And, when the Pharisees bragged of their lineage, how they were of the kindred and blood of Abraham, "Ye," saith Christ, "seek to kill me, a man which have told you the truth as I heard it from God. Thus Abraham never did." "Ye are of your father the devil, and will needs obey his will."

The Pope cannot err.

John viii.[17]

M. HARDING.

The pope succeedeth Peter in authority and power. But[18]*, whereas the sheep of Christ continue to the world's end, he is not wise that thinketh Christ to have made a shepherd temporary, or for a time, over his perpetual flock. Then what shepherdly endowment our Lord gave to the first shepherd, at the institution of the shepherdly office of the church, that is he understanded to have given ordinarily to every successor. To Peter he gave that he obtained by his prayer made to the Father, that his faith should not fail. Again to him he gave grace that to perform, the performance whereof at him he required, to wit, that he confirmed and strengthened his brethren: wherefore the grace of stedfastness, of faith, and of confirming the wavering and doubtful in faith, every pope obtaineth of the Holy Ghost for the benefit of the church. And so the pope, although he may err by personal*[20] *error, in his own private judgment, as a man, and as a particular doctor in his own opinion; *yet, as he is pope, the successor of Peter, the vicar of Christ in earth, the shepherd of the univeral church, in public judgment, in deliberation and definitive sentence, *he never erreth, *nor never erred. For, whensoever he ordaineth or determineth anything by his high bishoply authority, intending to bind christian men to perform or believe the same, he is always governed and holpen with the grace and favour of the Holy Ghost. This is to catholic doctors a very certainty, though to such doughty clerks as ye are it is but "a matter of nothing and a very trifling tale."*

* Luke xxii.[19]

* Untruth, joined with impudent flattery and extreme folly.

*God's grace in one respect is promised both to a good mind, and to one that feareth God, and also in another respect to the successors of Peter. St Hierome's saying to Evagrius, which now you have alleged three or four times, will not handsomely serve you for so divers points, as a shipman's hose for divers legs. *Once again I tell you, thereby he meaneth nothing else but that the greatness of Rome ought not to give authority to a wrong private custom (by which deacons in certain cases were preferred before priests), against the right general custom of the world. And bishops be the successors of the apostles, we grant; yet is the pope the successor of Peter, *who was shepherd of all Christ's lambs and sheep, and therefore also *of the apostles themselves, and so hath a higher authority ....*

* This place of St Hierome is answered before, Part II. chap. iii. Div. 5.[21]

* Peter was the shepherd and the apostles the sheep. A vain untruth without savour. Cyprian saith: *Christus parem dedit apostolis omnibus potestatem*[22].

*As for your example of Archidamus, who boastingly fetched his pedigree from Hercules, you must consider, succession of virtue always followeth not succession of blood. Now we do acknowledge in the pope a succession of shepherdly power, even such as was in Peter: *which power is not taken away by lack of Peter's holiness.*

The pope succeedeth in power, but not in holiness.

*Christ likewise by his answer to the Pharisees, though he affirmed they succeeded not Abraham in love of truth, and that for their malice they were of their father the devil, yet he denied not but that they came lineally of Abraham, and were of his blood, though not of his godliness. Such succession mean not we, speaking of the pope, whose succession is derived of Peter; but the succession of power and authority, *and of infallibility of faith in judgment and sentence definitive.*

* All this may be called the succession of folly.

[14] The last fourteen words are not in Conf. or Def. 1567.]

[15] Quod, Conf. and Def. 1567, 1570.]

[16] Ill men but, Conf.]

[17] This reference is not in Conf.]

[18] For, Conf. and Def. 1567, 1570, 1609.]

[19] This reference is inserted from Conf. and Def. 1567, 1570.]

[20] Personed, 1609, 1611.]

[21] See Vol. III. pages 292, &c.]

[22] Cypr. Op. Oxon. 1682. De Unit. Eccles. pp. 107, 8. See Vol. I. page 360, note 3.]

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

The Pope cannot err.

Here we have found one pope with two capacities. In one respect he is a man, in another respect he is more than a man[1]; but whether in that respect he be angel, or archangel, it is passed in silence. One way he succeedeth Peter: another way he succeedeth I know not whom. One way he may err: another way, though he would never so fain, he cannot err. . In his bed, at his table, on horseback, or elsewhere, we may well mistrust him; for in these places he may be deceived as well as others: but in council, in consistory, and in place of judgment, it is most certain, ye say, he cannot err; for in these places he hath the Holy Ghost, I trow, at his commandment. His power pastoral, his succession in authority and infallibility of faith, his place, his chair, and his consecration, are sufficient for ever to preserve him from error. To like purpose Sallust sometime said of Cicero: *Aliud stans, aliud sedens, de republica sentit:* "While he standeth up, he hath one mind touching the common state; when he sitteth down, he hath another." It is fit for a pope to have shift of minds[2]. Apollo's nun, while she sat mewed in her cave, was inspired and prophesied and gave oracles; but, after that she came abroad, she was no wiser than another woman[3]. Thus your doctors say, as it is before reported: *Veritas adhæret cathedræ*[5]*: Papa sanctitatem recipit a cathedra*[6]*:* "The pope's truth is fastened unto his chair. The pope from his chair receiveth his holiness."

Sallust. in Ciceron.

Nic. Cusan. ad Bohem. Epist. 2.[4] Dist. 19. Sic omnes, in Glossa[7].

It shameth me, M. Harding, to see you so vainly occupied about these vanities. Ye may well be liberal in dealing hereof: they cost you but little: they are only your own. Scriptures, doctors, or councils, to witness your sayings, ye allege none. For further declaration of this whole matter, I beseech thee, good christian reader, to consider the short treaty that I have written before touching the sundry errors and evident heresies that have been notably found in popes[8]. Alphonsus de Castro, one of M. Harding's own special doctors, saith: *Non...dubitamus an hæreticum esse, et papam esse, coire in unum possint, &c. Non enim credo aliquem esse adeo impudentem papæ assentatorem, ut ei tribuere hoc velit, ut nec errare nec in interpretatione sacrarum literarum hallucinari possit*[9]*:* "We doubt not whether one man may be a pope and a[10] heretic both together. For I believe there is none so shameless a flatterer of the pope that will say" (as you say, M. Harding), "the pope can never err nor be deceived in the exposition of the scriptures." There is no flatterer so shameless that will so say[2].

Part vi. cap. v. Div. 2.

Alphons. de Hær. Lib. i. cap. iv.

Likewise Erasmus saith: *Si verum est, quod quidam asseverant, Romanum pontificem errore judiciali errare non posse, quid opus* [*est*] *generalibus conciliis? Quid opus* [*est*] *in concilium accersere jurisconsultos ac theologos eruditos? Si* [*papa*] *pronuncians labi non potest, cur datus est appellationi locus, vel ad synodum, vel ad eundem rectius edoctum?... Quorsum attinet tot academias in tractandis fidei quæstionibus distorqueri, cum ex uno pontifice quod verum est audire liceat? Imo qui fit, ut hujus pontificis decreta cum illius* [*pontificis*] *decretis*[11] *pugnent*[12]*?* "If it be true that some men say, that the bishop of Rome can never err in error of judgment, what need we then so many general councils? And in the same what need we so many lawyers and learned divines? If the pope cannot err in giving sentence, wherefore lieth there any appeal from the pope, either to a council, or else to the pope himself, being better informed? What need we to trouble so many universities, in discussing of matters of faith, whereas we may learn the truth of the pope alone? Nay, how cometh it about that one pope's decrees are found contrary to another, if it be so certain that the pope, whosoever he be, and whatsoever he say, can never err?"

Erasm. in Annot. in 1 Cor. vii.

[1] Is above a man, 1567.]

[2] This sentence is not in 1567.]

[3] Than other women, 1567, 1570, 1609.]

[4] Nicola. Cusanus de Authoritate Ecclesi. &c., 1567.]

[5] Nic. de Cusa Op. Basil. 1565. Ad Bohem. Epist. ii. Tom. II. p. 833. See before, page 1011, note 6.]

[6] Corp. Jur. Canon. Lugd. 1624. Decret. Gratian. Decr. Prim. Pars, Dist. xix. Gloss. in can. 2. col. 81.]

[7] This reference is inserted from 1567.]

[8] See before, pages 925, &c.]

[9] Alfons. de Castro adv. Hær. Col. 1539. Lib. i. cap. iv. fol. 8. See Vol. III. page 343, note 15.]

[10] An, 1567, 1570.]

[11] Decreta, 1570.]

[12] Erasm. Op. Lugd. Bat. 1703-6. In Epist. ad Cor. i. cap. vii. Tom. VI. col. 696; where *non posse unquam errare, pontificis hujus,* and *pugnent decretis.*]

That ye speak of Peter's succession is vain and childish. Of such folly Athanasius saith: *Persuasus est in magnitudine urbium religionem esse sitam*[13]: "This wise man imagineth that religion standeth in the greatness of cities." St Hierome saith: *Potentia divitiarum, et paupertatis humilitas, vel sublimiorem vel inferiorem episcopum non facit. Ceterum omnes apostolorum successores sunt*[14]: "The wealth of riches and the baseness of poverty maketh a bishop neither higher nor lower. But all bishops be the apostles' successors."

Peter's Successors.

Athanas. in Apolog. Secund. Hieron. ad Evagr.

THE APOLOGY, Chap. xxi. Division 1.

Yet notwithstanding, because we will grant somewhat to succession, tell us, hath the pope alone succeeded Peter? And wherein, I pray you? In what religion, in what office, in what piece of his life hath he succeeded him? What one thing (tell me) had Peter ever like unto the pope, or the pope like unto Peter? Except peradventure he[15] will say thus; that Peter, when he was at Rome, never taught the gospel, never fed the flock, took away the keys of the kingdom of heaven, hid the treasures of his Lord, sat him down only in his castle of St John Lateran, and pointed out with his finger all the places and chambers[16] of purgatory, and kinds of punishments, committing some poor souls to be tormented, aud other some again suddenly releasing thence at his own pleasure, taking money for so doing; or that he gave order to say private masses in every corner; or that he mumbled up the holy service with a low[17] voice, and in an unknown language; or that he hanged up the sacrament in every temple, and on[18] every altar, and carried the same about before him whithersoever he went, upon an ambling jennet, with lights and bells; or that he consecrated with his holy breath oil, wax, wool, bells, chalices, churches, and altars; or that he sold jubilees, graces, liberties, avowsons, preventions, first-fruits, palls, the wearing of palls, bulls, indulgences, and pardons; or that he called himself by the name of the head of the church, the highest bishop, the[19] bishop of bishops, alone most holy; or that by usurpation[20] he took upon himself the right and authority over other bishops'[21] churches; or that he exempted himself from the power of any civil government; or that he maintained wars, and[22] set princes together at variance; or that he, sitting in his chair with his triple crown full of labels, with sumptuous and Persian-like gorgeousness, with his royal sceptre, with his diadem of gold, and glittering with stones, was carried about, not upon a palfrey[23], but upon the shoulders of noblemen. These things, no doubt, did Peter at Rome in times past, and left them in charge to his successors, as you would say, from hand to hand: for these things be now-a-days done at Rome by the popes, and be so done, as though nothing else ought to be done.

M. HARDING.

The pope alone hath succeeded St Peter. Ask you wherein? In what religion? In what office? We tell you, he succeeded in Peter's chair, in which he sat at Rome, and ruled the church, in christian religion, [a] *in that office which Christ committed to*

[a] Untruth. For the pope feedeth not.

[13] Athanas. Op. Par. 1698. Apolog. contr. Arian. 6. Tom. I. Pars I. p. 129.]

[14] Hieron. Op. Par. 1693-1706. Ad. Evang. Epistol. Tom. IV. Pars II. col. 803.]

[15] They, Conf. and Def. 1567.]

[16] Conf. and Def. have not *and chambers*.]

[17] Loud, 1609, 1611.]

[18] One, 1611.]

[19] *The* is not in Conf. or Def. 1567.]

[20] Usurping, Conf.]

[21] Folks, Conf.]

[22] *And* is not in Conf.]

[23] Upon palfrey, Conf. and Def. 1567, 1570.]

Peter when he said, Pasce oves meas: "*Feed my sheep.*" *Than which*[1] *office he never gave greater, nor with like circumstance of charge,* [b]*nor to any other gave he it than to Peter. For to him alone he said,* "*Feed my sheep.*" *What ask ye us of this officer's life?...*

[b] Untruth. For the same power was given to all the rest[2].

You ask "*what thing had Peter ever like unto the pope, or the pope like unto Peter?*" *We tell you, Peter had authority to feed Christ's sheep, like unto the pope: and the pope hath authority to feed Christ's sheep, like unto Peter.* [c]*Like power, like commission. He, that gave them authority to feed, gave them also authority to do whatsoever may pertain to feeding....*

[c] And well proved.

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

For that ye tell us so many fair tales of Peter's succession, we demand of you, wherein the pope succeedeth Peter: you answer, "He succeedeth him in his chair;" as if Peter had been sometime installed in Rome, and had sat solemnly all day with his triple crown in his *pontificalibus,* and in a chair of gold. And thus, having lost both religion and doctrine, ye think it sufficient at least to hold by the chair; as if a soldier that had lost his sword would play the man with the scabbard. But so Caiaphas succeeded Aaron: so wicked Manasses succeeded David: so may antichrist easily sit in Peter's chair.

Dist. 40. Multi. Chrysostom saith: *Non cathedra facit sacerdotem; sed sacerdos cathedram: nec locus sanctificat hominem; sed homo locum*[3]: "It is not the chair that maketh the bishop; but it is the bishop that maketh the chair. Neither is it the place that halloweth the man; but it is the man that halloweth the place." Likewise

Dist. 40. Non est facile. St Hierome saith: *Non sanctorum filii sunt, qui tenent loca sanctorum*[4]: "They are not always the children of holy men, that sit in the rooms of holy men."

He doth great wrong unto St Peter, that placeth such a one in such a chair; for neither is the pope in anything like St Peter; nor was St Peter in anything like the pope. When Simeones saw that Arsacius, an unlearned and an unworthy

Niceph. Lib. xiii. cap. xxviii. old doting man, was placed in Chrysostom's room, he cried out, *Proh pudor, quis cui*[5]*?* "Out for shame: what a sorry hind is this! and in whose place have we set him?" Even so may we justly say of the pope's sitting in Peter's chair, *Proh pudor, quis cui?* If he have any regard of himself, he cannot think of St Peter without blushing[6].

THE APOLOGY, Chap. xxi. Division 2.

Or contrariwise, peradventure they had rather say thus; that the pope doth now all the same things that[7] we know Peter did many a day ago; that is, that he runneth up and down into every country to preach the gospel, not only openly abroad, but also privately from house to house; that he is diligent, and applieth that business in season and out of season, in due time and[8] out of due time; that he doth the part of an evangelist; that he fulfilleth[9] the work and ministry of Christ; that he is the watchman of the house of Israel, receiveth answers and words at God's mouth; and, even as he receiveth them, so delivereth them over to the people; that he is the salt of the earth; that he is the light of the world; that he doth not feed himself[10], but his flock; that he doth not entangle himself with the worldly cares of this life; that he doth not use a sovereignty over the Lord's people; that he seeketh not to have other men minister unto[11]

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[1] With, 1611.]
[2] This marginal note is not in 1567.]
[3] Chrysost. in Corp. Jur. Canon. Lugd. 1624. Decret. Gratian. Decr. Prim. Pars, Dist. xl. can. 12. col. 197; where *non locus.*]
[4] Hieron. in eod. ibid. can. 2. col. 194.]
[5] Niceph. Call. Eccles. Hist. Lut. Par. 1630. Lib. XIII. cap. xxviii. Tom. II. p. 410.]
[6] This sentence is not in 1567.]
[7] Doings which, Conf.; things which, Def. 1567.]
[8] *And* is not in Conf.]
[9] Fulfilled, Conf.]
[10] Feed his own self, Conf.]
[11] To, Conf.]

him, but himself rather ministereth[12] unto others; that he taketh all bishops as his fellows and equals; that he is subject to princes, as to persons sent from God; that he giveth to Cæsar that which is Cæsar's; and that he, as the old bishops of Rome did without contradiction[13], calleth the emperor his gracious lord[14]. Unless therefore the popes do the like now-a-days[15], as Peter did, there[16] is no cause at all why they should glory so much of[17] Peter's name, and of his succession.

M. HARDING.

... The pope now runneth not up and down into every country, he goeth not openly and privately from house to house, and to every ale-house, as ye would him to do, like one of your ministers: neither, I trow, ye masters that be superintendents yourselves think it convenient that ye go from house to house, to preach your gospel at these days. And would ye the pope to abase himself to that ye think becometh not yourselves? He hath (as meet it is) other fit men to help to bear his burden with him. And, whereas one body sufficeth not for so great and so many affairs; for counsel, he hath many heads; for oversight, many eyes; for care, many hearts; for preaching, many tongues; for work, many hands; for knowledge, many ears; for expedition of matters, many feet; for the great weight of his charge, many shoulders; briefly, for all necessary and behoveful cases, convenient helps. The like helps would St Peter use, were he now living....

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

To speak of the pope's running up and down from ale-house to ale-house, it is great folly. It should be sufficient if he would go from church to church, and remember his charge, and feed the flock, and preach the gospel. Ye say, "The pope hath many heads, many eyes, many hearts, many tongues, many hands, many ears, many shoulders." And thus of your pope ye make a monster, with many eyes, ears, tongues, and hearts of others, and none of his own. A wise man sometime said: *Improbe facit, qui, cum alienis oculis omnia ei agenda sint, postulet aliorum vitas committi sibi:* "It is but lewdly done, if a man, that must oversee all things with other men's eyes, desire to have the lives of others committed over to his charge." Titus Livius.

God give him eyes to see, and ears to ear, and heart to understand; that he may know the time of God's visitation!

THE APOLOGY, Chap. xxii. Division 1.

Much less cause have they to complain of our departing, and to call us again to be fellows and friends with them, and to believe as they believe. Men say that one Cobilon, a Lacedæmonian, when he was sent ambassador to the king of the Persians, to treat of a league, and found by chance them of the court playing at dice, he returned straightway home again, leaving his message undone. And, when he was asked why he had slacked to[18] do the things which he had received by public commission to do, he made answer, he thought it should be a great reproach to his commonwealth to make a league with dicers. But, if we should content ourselves to return to the pope, and to his errors, and to[19] make a covenant, not only with dicers, but also with men far more ungracious and

[12] Rather to minister, Conf.]
[13] Without any question, Conf.]
[14] His lord, Conf. and Def. 1567.]
[15] Now as days, Conf.]
[16] Did the things aforesaid there, Conf. and Def. 1567.]
[17] So of, Conf.]
[18] He did slack to, Conf.]
[19] And his popish errors an to, Conf.]

wicked than any dicers be; besides that this should be a great blot to our good name, it should also be a very dangerous matter, both to kindle God's wrath against us, and to clog and condemn our own souls for ever.

M. HARDING.

*We fly[1] wicked company, as he did.
b Untruth. For where did Christ ever send us to the bishop of Rome?
c By this rule the pope is left void of life; for that he is divided from Christ, that is the Head.

*... Ye do well to compare yourselves with this Cobilon; *for indeed *ye do as he did. Ye were sent b*by Christ to his vicar, Peter's successor, to be fed and governed like sheep under the shepherd.... Christ and his church be a perfect*[2] body, he the Head, the true believers knit together in charity, the members each one in his order and degree. He is the vine, we the boughs and branches. c*What member cut off from the body liveth? What bough broken from the tree groweth? As every such member dieth, and bough withereth; so, if ye remain not in the catholic church, which is the body of Christ, ye draw no life from the head, ye have no part of the Spirit that from thence redoundeth to every member, ye have no portion of the vital juice that issueth from the root. Then what remaineth but that ye be cast into the fire? For this cause St Cyprian and other fathers oftentimes have said, that out and besides the church there is no salvation*[3].

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

Christ never told us, neither of any his vicar-general, nor of Rome, nor of Lateran, nor of Peter's chair; nor willed us to have recourse to the bishop of Rome, more than to any other several bishop. Therefore, M. Harding, we must reckon this amongst the rest of your untruths.

It is true that you say, "A member divided from the body cannot live." But your conclusion is untrue, like the rest. For Rome is not the[4] body, but only a member of that[5] body: Rome is not the tree, but only a bough: Rome is not the head, but only a spring; and therefore, seeing it is now divided from that body; seeing it is broken from that tree; seeing it is cut off from that Head, it is no marvel, though it be starved, though it be withered, though it be left dry, without either spirit or life; as this day it appeareth to the eyes of all them that will behold it.

THE APOLOGY, Chap. xxii. Division 2.

For of very truth we have departed from him who[6] we saw had blinded the whole world this many a[7] hundred year; from him who too far presumptuously was wont to say he could not err, and, whatsoever he did, no mortal man had power to condemn him, neither king nor emperor[8], nor the whole clergy, nor yet all the people in the world together, no, though[9] he should carry away with him a thousand souls into [10]hell[11]; from him who took upon him power to command, not only men, but even the angels of God, to go[12], to return, to lead souls into purgatory, and to bring them back again, when he list himself[13]; who, Gregory saith[14], without all doubt is the very forerunner and standard-bearer of antichrist, and hath utterly forsaken the catholic faith[15]; from whom also these[16] ringleaders of ours, who now with might and main resist the gospel, and

[1 Flee, Def. 1567, 1570.]
[2 Perfite, Conf. and Def. 1567, 1570.]
[3 Si potuit evadere quisquam qui extra arcam Noe fuit; et qui extra ecclesiam foris fuerit, evadet. —Cypr. Op. Oxon. 1682. De Unit. Eccles. p. 109. See similar assertions through the whole of this treatise.]
[4 That, 1570.]
[5 The, 1567.]
[6 Whom, Conf. and Def. 1567.]
[7 An, Conf.]
[8 Kings nor emperors, Conf. and Def. 1567.]
[9 No and though, Conf.]
[10 With him to hell a thousand souls, Conf.]
[11 See Vol. I. page 68, note 8; page 442, notes 10, 16; also before, page 833, notes 14, 18, 19.]
[12 Even God's angels to go, Conf.]
[13 See before, page 846, notes 7, 10.]
[14 Whom Gregory said, Conf.]
[15 See Vol. I. pages 344, 5, notes 4, 10.]
[16 Those, Conf.]

the truth, which they know to be the truth, have ere[17] this departed every one of their own accord and good-will, and would even now also gladly depart from him again[18], if the note of inconstancy and shame, and their own estimation among the people, were not a let unto them. In conclusion, we have departed from him to whom we were not bound, and who had nothing to say[19] for himself, but only I know not what virtue or power of the place where he dwelleth, and a continuance of succession.

Truth prevaileth.

M. HARDING.

As ye confess your departing, so would God ye understood your guilt....

Those reverend fathers and godly-learned men, whose rooms ye hold wrongfully, whom it liked your interpreter to call "ringleaders," resist not the gospel, but suffer persecution for the gospel. Your gospel, that is[20] *to say, your vile heresies and blasphemies, worthily they detest. Your new troth*[21]*, that is to say, your false and wicked lies, they abhor. Neither ever departed they from any part of the duty of catholic men* *"*by their own accord and good-will," as ye say.* **But wherein they stepped aside, they were compelled by such fear as might happen to a right constant man, I mean the terror of death, which, as Aristotle saith, "of all terrible things is most terrible." Now, because yet they find the terror of a guilty conscience more terrible than death of their persons, they intend, by God's grace assisting them, never so to step aside again, but rather to suffer whatsoever extremities: whose blood, or the blood of any of them, if God to his honour shall at any time permit you to draw, which so much ye thirst, soon after look ye for the returning of the Israelites again; that text being then fulfilled,* Completæ sunt iniquitates Amorrhæorum.

* M. Harding's reverend fathers continued twenty years together in hypocrisy.

Were not they[22] *well assured of the truth*[21]*, most certain it is, whatsoever ye say, they would not make so foolish a bargain as yourselves do, as to buy vain estimation among the people with the certain loss of their souls.*

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

Certain of your friends (whom ye call reverend fathers) "suffer imprisonment (ye say) and persecution for the gospel." Notwithstanding, it is not so long sithence the said reverend fathers were themselves the burners and persecutors of the gospel. Such complaint sometime made Arius, the wicked heretic. For thus he writeth: "I Arius, that suffer persecution for the truth, that ever prevaileth[23]." Ruffinus, notwithstanding he were a great favourer of the Origenian heretics, yet he said even as you say: *Nostra fides persecutionis hæreticorum tempore, cum in sancta Alexandrina ecclesia degeremus, in carceribus et exiliis, quæ pro fide inferebantur, probata est*[24]*:* "While we lived in the holy church of Alexandria, in the time of the persecution of heretics, our faith was proved in prisons and banishments, which were laid upon us for the faith's sake." Unto whom St Hierome in his pleasant manner answereth thus: *Miror quod non adjecerit, Vinctus Jesu Christi:...Liberatus sum de ore leonis:...Alexandriæ ad bestias depugnavi:... Cursum consummavi: fidem servavi: superest mihi corona justitiæ*[25]*:* "I marvel much that he said not further, Ruffinus the prisoner of Jesus Christ: I was delivered out of the lion's mouth: I was thrown amongst wild beasts at Alexandria: I have past my course: I have kept the faith: now there remaineth for me the crown of righteousness."

Epiph. Διὰ τὴν ἀεὶ νικῶσαν ἀληθείαν διωκόμενος. Hieron. adv. Ruffin. Lib. ii.

Hieron. eod. loc.

Thus the wolf, when he is restrained from spoil and raven, may likewise complain of persecution.

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[17] Or, Conf.]
[18] *Again* is not in Conf.]
[19] Lay, Conf. and Def. 1567, 1570.]
[20] That it is, Def. 1570.]
[21] Trouth, Conf. and Def. 1567, 1570.]
[22] Were they not, Conf.]
[23] Ἄρειος ὁ διωκόμενος...διὰ τὴν πάντα νικῶσαν ἀλήθειαν.—Epiph. Op. Par. 1622. Adv. Hær. Lib. II. Hær. lxix. Tom. I. p. 731.]
[24] Hieron. Op. Par. 1693-1706. Apolog. adv. Rufin. Lib. II. Tom. IV. Pars II. col. 389; where *fides nostra*, and *probata sit*.]
[25] Id. ibid. cols. 389, 91; where *ad bestias pugnavi*.]

Truth prevaileth.

St Hierome, writing unto Apronius of the state of the east churches, where he then lived, saith thus: *Hic... quieta sunt omnia. Etsi enim venena pectoris non amiserint, tamen os impietatis non audent aperire. Sed sunt sicut aspides surdæ,... obturantes aures suas*[1]. "All things here are quiet. For, albeit they have not left the poison of their hearts, yet they dare not open their wicked mouths; but they are as the deaf serpents, shutting up their ears, and will hear nothing."

Hieron. ad Apron.

The said reverend fathers, that as now sit so firmly of your side, not long ago were well contented both to maintain and to publish the contrary, as well as you. "Howbeit all this (you say) they did not of good-will, but only of fear, and of such fear as may happen upon a constant man;" that is to say, of mere hypocrisy and dissimulation, and by open flattering of their prince.

And thus, to save your fathers from being schismatics, ye are well content to make them hypocrites. Thus say you. But your said reverends themselves would have told you far otherwise.

Steph. Gard. De Ver. Obed. He examineth the matter with all his senses.

Doctor Gardiner of himself saith thus: "In the discussing and trial of the truth I did not so easily content myself[2]. But I so framed myself[2], that as it had been in asking the judgment of all my senses, unless I perceived that I first of all heard them with mine ears, smelled them with my nose, saw them with mine eyes, and felt them with mine hands, I thought I had not seen enough[3]."

He is persuaded by the working of God's grace.

Again he saith: "This advised consideration hath pulled away all scrupulous doubts, and by the working of God's grace hath conveyed and brought them into the light of the verity[4]."

He is compelled by the power of the truth. Doct. Bonn. in Præf. in Ver. Obed.

And again: "Indeed, to tell you at a word, that compelleth[5] me that compelleth all men, even the mighty power of the truth[6]."

Likewise saith Doctor Bonner, touching the same: "The matter was not rashly taken in hand, but with judgment and wisdom examined and discussed[7]." Again he saith: "The bishop of Winchester had long ago thoroughly boulted this matter, even unto the bran[8]."

He examineth the matter to the uttermost.

If these tales be true, M. Harding, then is your tale most untrue. If ye will justify yourself, ye must needs condemn your reverend fathers[9]. Certainly your tales[10] being directly contrary, to make them both true it is not possible.

But here ye begin to fray us with your prophetical threats. If we once begin to touch your blood, then (ye say) your Lovanian Israel immediately afterward shall be restored. I think you mean, *Domus Jacob de populo barbaro.*

In such blind prognostications I have no skill. God oftentimes suffereth iniquity and falsehood[11] to prevail for a season, to chasten the unkindness of his people. Let his will be done with mercy, as it shall seem good in his eyes. But, if ye prevail again, ye shall prevail to your own confusion. Well ye may repress the truth of God, as your fathers have often done before; but utterly to abolish it ye shall never be able.

Chrysost. in Orat. contr. Jud.

Such vain hope had the Jews in old times to recover their religion and ceremonies, and utterly to overthrow the gospel of Christ. They conspired together, got masons and carpenters, and began to cast the foundation, to repair their temple. Immediately the emperor Constantine raised a power, and set upon them, and put them to the sword, as rebels and traitors. Others that he spared alive he made slaves, and cut off some their tongues, some their hands, some their ears,

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[1 Id. ad Apron. Epist. ciii. Tom. IV. Pars II. col. 804; where *et licet venena.*]

[2 Meself, 1567, 1570.]

[3 ... in ipsa tamen veritate discutienda, atque examinanda difficilior protinus non acquiescebam. Sed ita me comparavi ut tanquam omnium sensuum judicium exigendo, nisi ea prius me et auribus audisse, et naribus olfecisse, oculis præterea vidisse, manibus denique contrectasse sensissem, haudquaquam satis spectatam putassem.—Steph. Wint. Episc. De Ver. Obed. Orat. Hamb. 1536. fol. A. 2.]

[4 ... eadem hæc cogitatio omnes dubitationis scrupulos prorsus ademit, lucemque veræ veritatis, divina operante gratia, attulit atque adduxit.—Id. ibid. fol. A.]

[5 Compelled, 1567, 1570.]

[6 Coegit certe (ut uno verbo dicam), quod omnes cogit,...vis veritatis.—Id. ibid. fol. A. ii.]

[7 ... quando non temere et fortuito, sed (ut vides) judicio et prudentia res sit examinata et discussa.—E. Boner. Præf. in eod. fol. iii.]

[8 Quanquam non hoc eo dicitur, quia antea Winton. ipse tacitus secum non probaverit (probavit enim olim haud dubie), sed quia lente festinans rem ... docto et consummato judicio suo comprobare voluerit.—Id. ibid.]

[9 This sentence is not in 1567.]

[10 These two words are not in 1567.]

[11 Falshead, 1567, 1570.]

some their noses: some he burnt in the face; and so sent them abroad for an example, from town to town, throughout the world[12]. Truth prevaileth.

Afterward, when the wicked emperor Julian, in despite of Christ, had given the Jews leave to build and repair their temple[13], as is said before, and, the prince's power assisting them, no power seemed able to withstand their purpose; then God himself from heaven above encountered with them. Earthquakes brake out, and overthrew their buildings. Lightnings fell down, and burnt both the tools in their hands, and the coats on their backs[14]. Then was the gospel of Christ more beautiful and more glorious than ever it had been before. Ambros. Lib. v. Epist. 29.

St Gregory saith: *Tulerunt Dagon, et restituerunt eum in locum suum, hoc est, in templo, ubi arca Dei posita fuerat. Quid est ergo Dagon in locum suum restituere, nisi... idololatriæ statum subtili consideratione perquirere? Et quia, quo subtilius idololatriæ error aspicitur, [eo] verius condemnatur, subjunctum est, Rursus... diluculo surgentes invenerunt Dagon jacentem super faciem... coram arca Domini*[15]: "They took the idol Dagon, and restored him again into his place; that is to say, in the temple of God, where the ark of God was placed before. And what is it to restore again Dagon into his place, but discreetly and advisedly to examine the state of idolatry? And forasmuch as, the better the error of idolatry is seen, the better it is condemned; therefore it followeth further, They, rising in the morning, found Dagon lying flat upon his face before the ark of the Lord." Gregor. in Prim. Reg. cap. iii. Lib. iii. cap. v.

Even so, M. Harding, if ye raise up your Dagon once again, once again he shall come to ground, and shall squat his hands and feet, and be utterly dismembered by the fall, and shall lie grovelling, as a block, before the presence of the ark of God. "There is no counsel against the Lord." Prov. xxi.

The noble prince Josua, after that he had once by God's commandment destroyed the city of Jericho, adjured all his posterity in this sort: "Accursed be he before the Lord[16], that shall stand up, and restore again this[17] city of Jericho. In the death of his eldest son he shall lay the foundation, and in the death of his youngest child he shall close the gates." Josh. vi.

Theodoretus saith: "The wicked shall not be able to prevail against God. But, if they once get the over hand, yet shall they come down again, as it is written by the prophet Esay[18]." Theod. Eccles. Hist. fol. 235. in Græc. κἂν γὰρ πάλιν ἰσχύσωσι, καὶ πάλιν ἡττηθήσονται.

As for drawing of your blood, ye need not so greatly to complain. The gospel of Christ is not bloody. It hath hitherto prevailed without any one drop of all your blood. God give you grace to repent, lest your own blood be upon your own head in the day of the Lord! Fire, and sword, and merciless cruelty, are the only instruments of your doctrine. And therefore ye seem now to say in your blind hope, as cursed Esau sometime said of his brother Jacob: *Venient dies luctus patris mei; et occidam Jacobum fratrem meum:* "The days shall come that my father shall die: then will I kill my brother Jacob." Gen. xxvii.

Athanasius saith: *Cædi Christianorum proprium est; cædere autem Christianos Pilati et Caiaphæ officia sunt*[19]: "It is the part of Christians to suffer persecution; but to persecute the Christians, it is the very office of Pilate and Caiaphas." Athan. ad Solit. Vit. Agent.

We will say unto you with St Augustine: *Illi in vos sæviant, qui nesciunt quo cum labore verum inveniatur, et quam difficile caveantur errores*[20]: "Let them persecute you, and use cruelty over you, that know not what a labour it is to find the truth, and how hard it is to beware of error." August. contr. Epist. Fundam.

Again he saith: *Nemo de præteritis insultat erroribus, nisi qui divinam miseri-*

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[12] Πάλιν ἐπὶ Κωνσταντίνου τοῖς αὐτοῖς ἐπεχείρησαν. ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς ἰδὼν τὴν ἐπιχείρησιν αὐτῶν, τὰ ὦτα αὐτῶν ἀποτεμὼν καὶ τὸ τῆς παρακοῆς σύμβολον ἐνθεὶς αὐτῶν τῷ σώματι, πανταχοῦ περιῆγε καθάπερ τινὰς δραπέτας καὶ μαστιγίας.—Chrysost. Op. Par. 1718-38. Adv. Jud. Orat. v. Tom. I. p. 645.]

[13] These two words are not in 1567.]

[14] Non audisti, imperator; quia cum jussisset Julianus reparari templum Hierosolymis, divino, qui faciebant repurgium, igne flagrarunt?—Ambros. Op. Par. 1686-90. Epist. Class. I. Ad Theodos. Imp. Epist. xl. 12. Tom. II. col. 949.]

[15] Gregor. Magni Papæ I. Op. Par. 1705. Lib. III. in Prim. Reg. cap. iii. 1, 2. Tom. III. Pars II. col. 137; where *id est.* It has been doubted whether this commentary be really a work of Gregory.]

[16] Before Jehova the Lord, 1567, 1570.]

[17] Restore this, 1567.]

[18] Theodor. in Hist. Eccles. Script. Amst. 1695-1700. Lib. I. cap. viii. p. 27.]

[19] Athanas. Op. Par. 1698. Hist. Arian. ad Monach. 41. Tom. I. Pars I. p. 368.]

[20] August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. Libr. contr. Epist. Manich. cap. ii. 2. Tom. VIII. col. 151; where *cum quo.*]

Persecution.

cordiam expertus non est, ut careret erroribus. Tantum id agamus, ut errores aliquando finiantur[1]: "No man upbraideth other[2] with errors past, but he that hath not felt God's divine mercy to be void of errors. Let this be our only labour, that errors at last may have an end."

We will say of you as St Peter sometime said of Simon the sorcerer, when the people for anger, seeing his falsehood[3], would have stoned him to death: [*Imo*] *vivat, et regnum Christi crescere videat vel invitus*[4]: "Nay, nay, let him live, and let him see the kingdom of Christ to grow and prosper even against his will." Thus, M. Harding, may we say to you. As for your blood, we long not for it[5].

Abd. in Petr.

The Apology, Chap. xxiii. Division 1.

And as for us, we of all others have most justly left the pope[6]. For our kings, yea, even they which with greatest reverence did follow and obey the authority and faith of the bishops of Rome, have long sithence found and felt the yoke and tyranny of their kingdom[7]. For the bishops of Rome sometime[8] took the crown from[9] the head of our king, Henry the Second, and compelled him to put aside all his princely estate[10] and majesty[11], and, like a mere private man, to come unto their legate with great submission and humility; so as all his subjects might laugh him to scorn. More than this, they caused bishops and monks, and some part of the nobility, to be in the field against our king John, and set all the people at liberty from their oaths[12], whereby they ought allegiance to their king; and at last wickedly and most abominably they bereaved the same king[13], not only of his kingdom, but also of his[14] life. Besides this, they excommunicated and cursed king Henry the Eighth, that[15] most famous prince, and stirred up against him sometime the emperor, sometime the French king; and, as much as in them was, put our realm in hazard[16] to have been a very prey and spoil unto the enemy[17]. Yet were they but fools and madmen[18], to think that either so mighty a prince could be frayed[19] with bugs and rattles, or else, that so noble and great a kingdom might so easily, even at one morsel, be devoured and swallowed up.

M. HARDING.

Concerning the case between these three kings of England and the bishops of Rome for the time being, I say little. If they did well, and the bishops evil, they have their reward, the other their punishment: if otherwise, or howsoever, each one at God's judgment shall have his deserved measure. But be it granted all were true ye say, though we know the more part to be false. What though king Henry the Second were evil treated of pope Alexander, about the murdering of St Thomas the archbishop of Canterbury, and king John likewise of that zealous and learned pope Innocentius the third, &c.?...

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

Notwithstanding the pope, as his manner hath been, raise commotion within the realm, and arm the subjects against their sovereign, and pull the crown im-

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[1] This passage has not been discovered.]
[2] Others, 1567, 1570.]
[3] Falshead, 1567, 1570.]
[4] Abd. Apost. Hist. Par. 1571. Lib. i. fol. 12.]
[5] These two sentences are not in 1567.]
[6] Most justly have left him, Conf. and Def. 1567.]
[7] Since found and felt well enough the yoke and tyranny of the pope's kingdom, Conf. and Def. 1567.]
[8] *Sometime* is not in Conf.]
[9] Crown off from, Conf.]
[10] State, Def. 1567.]
[11] Aside all majesty, Conf.]
[12] Oath, Conf.]
[13] The king, Conf.]
[14] Also his, Conf.]
[15] The, Conf.]
[16] Put in adventure our realm, Conf.]
[17] These three words are not in Conf.]
[18] Fools and mad, Conf.]
[19] Feared, Conf. and Def. 1567.]

perial from his head, yet, by your doctrine, whosoever dare speak in his prince's right, is a fool, and killeth himself; as if there were no life or salvation but only under the frantic government of the pope. Such obedience and loyalty the pope hath taught you towards your prince. The Pope's Exactions.

THE APOLOGY, Chap. xxiii. Division 2.

And yet, as though[20] all this were too little, they would needs have made all[21] the realm tributary to them, and exacted thence yearly most unjust and wrongful taxes. So dear cost us the friendship of the city of Rome. Wherefore, if they have gotten these things of us by extortion, through their fraud and subtle sleights, we see no reason why we may not pluck away the same from them again by lawful ways and just means. And, if our kings in that darkness and blindness of the former[22] times gave them these things of their own accord and liberality for religion's[23] sake, being moved with a certain opinion of their feigned holiness; now, when the ignorance and error is espied out[24], may the kings their successors take them away again, seeing they have the same authority the kings their ancestors had before. For the gift is void, except it be allowed by the will of the giver; and that cannot seem a perfect[25] will, which is dimmed and hindered by error.

M. HARDING.

As for Peter-pence, and what other sums of money soever were[26] *yearly paid to the church of Rome, which were not by extortion and subtle sleights by the popes gotten, as ye slander, but freely and discreetly by the prince and the realm *for a great cause granted; it is not a thing that so much grieveth the pope, as your departure from the true faith and church doth; as it may well appear by that which happened in queen Mary's reign, in which time, although the pope were acknowledged, yet himself never was known to have demanded his Peter-pence, or any other yearly payments again. But what is this to your schisms and heresies? This helpeth you nothing for answer to the heinous crime of your apostasy. The liberality of our country to the see of Rome, which is the mother of all the west churches, hath been so small in comparison of certain other realms, as with the honour of the realm it might not seem to find itself grieved therewith. Yet here ye set a gnat to an elephant, and make great ado about a little. The realm is not so much enriched by retaining that small sum from the pope, as it is dishonoured by your undiscreet talk, savouring altogether of misery and niggardness. Ye should have shewed better stuff at least in the end of your book. The last act of a fable, by rules of poetry, should be best: ye have done like a foolish poet, making your end so bad. The pope seeketh not your money: he seeketh you. He seeketh the safety of your souls. *He seeketh, like a good shepherd, how to reduce the strayed sheep of England unto the fold of Christ's church. God grant we may see his good intent happily achieved!*

* No doubt. For the very cause hereof was avarice and treachery.

* But remember the old verse: *Curia Romana non captat ovem sine lana*[27].

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

The pope hath enriched himself, and gotten the treasures of the world into his own hands, not by fraud or guile, as you say, but only by the free liberality of kings and princes: yet St Augustine saith: *Non possumus dicere, nemo nos invasores arguit: violentiæ nullus accusat: quasi non majorem interdum prædam a viduabus blandimenta eliciant quam tormenta. Nec interest apud Deum, utrum vi* August. de Verb. Dom. sec. Matth. Serm. 19.

[20] And as yet though, Conf.]
[21] *Needs make all, Conf.]*
[22] *Of former, Conf.]*
[23] *Religion, Conf.]*
[24] When ignorance and error is spied out, Conf.; when the ignorance and error is spied out, Def. 1567.]
[25] Perfit, Conf. and Def. 1567, 1570.]
[26] Other soever sums of money were, Conf. and Def. 1567, 1570.]
[27] Catalog. Test. Genev. 1608. cols. 1938, 2054.]

The Pope's Exactions.

an circumventione quis res alienas occupet; dummodo quoquo pacto teneat alienum[1]: "We cannot say, no man chargeth us with extortion, no man accuseth us of violence. For oftentimes of poor widows a man may get more by flattery than by racking. And there is no difference before God, whether a man hold another man's goods by open violence, or by guile, if the thing that he holdeth be not his own."

But how may this by your learning, M. Harding, be called the liberality of the prince? He is liberal, that is free in bestowing of his own. But you tell us, that all the temporal goods of the world are the pope's, and not the prince's; and that the prince hath nothing but by favour and sufferance of the pope. Your doctor's words be these: *Papa est dominus omnium temporalium, secundum illud dictum Petri, Dabo tibi omnia regna mundi*[2]: "The pope is the lord of all temporal goods, according to that saying of St Peter" (that St Peter never spake; for they are the words of the devil), "I will give thee all the kingdoms of the world." Another of your doctors saith thus: *Dicunt, quod... solus papa... est... verus dominus temporalium, ita quod potest auferre ab alio quod alias suum est. Sed prælati ceteri et principes non sunt domini, sed tutores, procuratores, et dispensatores*[3]: "They say that the pope only is the very lord of temporal things, so that he may take from any man that is his own. As for other prelates and princes, they be the overseers, and farmers, and stewards of worldly things, but not the lords." And Matthias Parisiensis saith that pope Innocentius III. called king John the king of England, *vasallum suum*[4], that is to say, his "feed-man," or his "tenant," meaning thereby that the realm of England was the pope's, and not the king's. If all this be true, how can the kings of England, in granting any thing to the pope, be counted liberal? Verily, it is an easy kind of liberality for a man to give that thing that is not his own.

Arch. de Hær. Vet. Et quia tant. fol. 15. Matt. iv. Citat. a Felin. de Offic. et Pot. Judic. deleg. Ex Part. I. Johan. de Paris. de Pot. Reg. et Pap.

Matth. Paris. in Johan.

But the pope (ye say) setteth no more by all his revenues out of England than an elephant by a gnat, and that therefore during the whole time of queen Mary he never demanded of us any manner of yearly payment. We must bear with your error herein, M. Harding, for that ye never were the pope's collector, and therefore not much acquainted with his books. Otherwise ye might have remembered that cardinal Poole, being not the pope, but only a legate or messenger from the pope, had a thousand pounds paid him yearly out of[5] one bishoprick in England towards the provision of his kitchen. Ye might have remembered that all the bishops of England paid the pope the whole first-fruits of all their livings, which, by any common estimation, amounted to more somewhat than a "gnat." And, although I were never neither skilful nor curious in the pope's collections, yet, as well for the discovery of so great untruth, as also for the better satisfaction of the reader, I have thought it good, briefly and by the way, to touch what may be found in old records of good credit touching the same.

First, therefore, the archbishop of Canterbury paid unto the pope for his annates, or first-fruits, at every vacation, ten thousand florins, besides other five thousand florins for the use and right of his pall.

The archbishop of York paid likewise for his first-fruits ten thousand florins, and, as it is thought, other five thousand florins for his pall.

The bishop of Ely paid for his first-fruits seven thousand florins.

The bishop of London paid for his first-fruits three thousand florins.

The bishop of Winchester paid for his first-fruits twelve thousand florins.

The bishop of Exeter paid for his first-fruits six thousand florins.

[1 August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. De Verb. Evang. Luc. iii. Serm. lxxxii. 4. Tom. V. Append. col. 150; where *nec dicere possumus*, and *non interdum majorem prædam a viduis*. This sermon would seem not to be the work of Augustine. It has been by some ascribed to Maximus.]

[2 Felin. Sand. Comm. sup. Decretal. Lugd. 1587. Lib. I. Tit. xxix. cap. 12. fol. 192. See before, page 869, note 9.]

[3 ...dicunt &c. dominus et proprietarius bonorum ecclesiæ: et de eis ordinare, et ea distrahere potest, prout vult.... Et ceteri prælati, vel etiam principes ...non habent dominium: sed solum sunt talium bonorum procuratores, tutores et dispensatores.—Johan. de Parrhis. De Potest. Reg. et Papal. cap. vi. in Goldast. Mon. Rom. Imp. Hanov. et Franc. 1612-14. Tom. II. p. 114.]

[4 ...nos... excommunicavimus... barones Angliæ ...qui Johannem illustrem regem Anglorum crucesignatum et vasallum Romanæ ecclesiæ persequuntur.—Matt. Paris. Hist. Angl. Lond. 1640. Tom. I. p. 277. Conf. Tom. II. p. 749.]

[5 Yearly of, 1567.]

The bishop of Lincoln paid for his first-fruits five thousand florins.

The bishop of Lichfield and Coventry paid for his first-fruits three thousand florins. The Pope's Exactions.

The bishop of Hereford paid for his first-fruits one thousand and eight hundred florins.

The bishop of Sarisbury paid for his first-fruits four thousand and five hundred florins. And so the rest, each man accordingly after his rate.

Here is to be noted, that a florin is an Italian crown, of the value of four shillings and six-pence sterling.

Thus much I have noted only for example. By these few the discreet reader may easily guess the exactions and payments of the other bishops.

The whole value of the pope's first-fruits throughout Europe, as I find in one record (although very unperfect[6], for that it lacketh sundry great, known, and notable bishopricks, as Durham, Carlisle, Worcester, Norwich, Bath, Chichester, which, with many other more archbishopricks and bishopricks, as well within the dominions of our kings of England, as also in sundry other christian kingdoms and countries, are left unreckoned), ariseth to the sum of two thousand thousand, four hundred three-score thousand, eight hundred, forty and three florins[7]. Legat. Adrian. Pap. VI. Excus. Wittemb. Anno 1538.

Notwithstanding ye make your pope as big as an elephant, yet, M. Harding, these reckonings are over huge, in any reasonable proportion, to be resembled to "a gnat." Here I leave out the yearly perquisites that the pope made of his elections, preventions, dispensations, pluralities, trialities, tot-quots, tolerations; for his bulls, his seals, his signatures; for eating flesh, for eggs, for white meat, for priests' concubines, and for other like merchandise, I know not what: the sum whereof notwithstanding amounteth to more than nine hundred thousand florins. As for your smoke-farthings[8] and Peter-pence, I make no reckoning; by the vile and contemptuous report whereof ye shew yourself not only ignorant and unskilful in that ye write, which argueth some folly, but also injurious unto your country. Read Matthias Parisiensis, and ye shall find both by what tyranny and treachery, and also what masses and intolerable sums of money the pope's ministers have carried out of this realm.

"The pope (saith he) being diseased with a spiritual dropsy," that is to say, with an unquenchable thirst of money, "shook out all the priests' purses, and spoiled the abbeys of all their treasures[9]." Anno 1215.

Again: "The pope made a decree in Rome, that the goods and moneys of all bishops and priests deceased within England should be taken to his use[10]." Anno 1246.

"The pope gave strait commandment to the bishops of England, that all parsons and vicars, being resident upon their benefices, should pay yearly unto him the third part of all the values of their said benefices; and that all parsons and vicars, being not resident, should pay unto him yearly the one full half part of their benefices. All these payments to continue during the space of three whole years[11]." Which amounteth at the least to the sum of a hundred and three-score and ten thousand pounds. Eod. Anno.

The bishops of England, after great and forcible entreaty, agreed together to give the pope a contribution of eleven thousand marks[12]. Anno 1247.

At that time the poor prior of Winchester was forced to pay yearly three hundred three-score and five marks towards the furniture of the pope's table[13]. Eod. Anno.

[6 Unperfite, 1567, 1570.]

[7 Legat. Adrian. Papæ VI. ad Convent. Nuremb. Vitt. 1538. Annat. foll. P. iii. &c. The account is also found in the tract mentioned above, pages 737, 8, note 21, foll. li. 2, &c.]

[8 Smoke-farthings were a composition paid in Whitsun-week by every man who occupied a house with a chimney to the cathedral of his diocese.]

[9 For expressions somewhat similar, and illustrations of the conduct pursued, see Matt. Par. Hist. Angl. Tom. I. pp. 245, 7, 78, 9.]

[10 statutum super hoc novum et inauditum...suscitavit in Anglia promulgandum, ut si clericus ex tunc decederet intestatus, ejusdem bona in usus domini papæ converterentur.—Id. ibid. Tom. II. pp. 706, 7.]

[11 ...dominus papa...prælatis Angliæ demandavit, ut in Anglia omnes beneficiati, in suis beneficiis residentiam facientes, tertiam partem bonorum suorum domino papæ conferrent, non facientes residentiam, dimidiam: multis adjectis durissimis conditionibus, &c.—Id. ibid. p. 716.]

[12 ...ibidem omnes in contributionem undecim millium marcarum consenserunt.—Id. ibid. p. 730.]

[13 Anno sub eodem [1256], ex prodigalitate prioris Wintoniensis expulsi, recepit mensa papalis incrementum qualibet die per annum unius marcæ argenti in reditu perpetuo.—Id. ibid. p. 931.]

The Pope's Exactions.

The pope made a strait decree, that all bishops elect should immediately travel out of England to Rome, to attend upon his holiness, as Matthias saith, *Ut Romanorum loculos impregnaret, in ruinam regni Angliæ*[1]: "To stuff the Romans' purses, and to decay the kingdom of England."

Rod. Anno. Matth. Westmonast. Anno 1301.

The pope had the tenths of all the spiritual livings in England during the space of ten whole years[2].

Anno 1255.

Rustandus, the pope's legate, exacted intolerable great payments of the clergy of England in a synod holden in London, as Matthias saith, *per scripta* [*papæ*] *plena injuriis et iniquitate, quæ possent patientissimum cor virulenter sauciare*[3]: "All this he did by the authority of the pope's letters, full of injuries[4] and iniquity; which were able most cruelly to wound any heart, were it never so patient." The bishops[5] of London and Worcester answered the pope's legate, that they would rather lose their lives than they would give their consent to so open injury, and servitude, and intolerable oppression of the church.

The king had entered into an obligation to pay unto the pope two hundred thousand marks, besides other fifty thousand pounds[6] sterling: for payment whereof the bishop of Hereford, being then the pope's agent, had bound the bishops of England before they were ware[7]. Such like pretty "gnats" your pope can strain, if kings and princes will give him leave.

Joh. Sarisb. Lib. vi. cap. xxiv.

Johannes Sarisburiensis, otherwise called Rupertus Carnotensis, in the familiar talk that he had with pope Adrian IV. said thus unto him: *Ipse Romanus pontifex omnibus ... fere est intolerabilis: ... lætatur spoliis ecclesiarum: quæstum omnem reputat pietatem: provinciarum diripit spolia, ac si thesauros Crœsi studeat reparare*[8]: "The pope is now become intolerable[9] almost to all the world: he rejoiceth in the spoil of churches: all manner of gain he counteth holiness: he maketh such havoc of kingdoms and provinces, as if he had intended to repair again Crœsus' treasury." Again: "His legates so rage and ramp for money, as if the infernal furies were sent from hell to go at liberty[10]." What shall we need many words? "Ambition and avarice have no bottom." Matthias Parisiensis saith: *In Romana curia omnia possunt pecuniæ*: "Money may do all things in the court of Rome." And he calleth these unsatiable prollings of the pope *quotidianas extortiones*, "daily extortions[11]." Again he saith, that the king of England, upon a very frivolous and fond matter, made true payment unto pope Alexander the fourth of nine hundred and fifty thousand marks: "which thing (he saith) is horrible and abominable to be [12]thought[13]." To be short, that you[14] may the better view the bigness and quantity of your "gnat," Doctor Bonner hereof writeth thus: "The pope's prey in England was so great that it came to as much almost as the revenues of the crown[15]."

Lib. v. cap. xvi. Acsi ... mittatur ab inferis Tesiphone vel Megæra. Anno 1247.

Anno 1257. Quod est horribile cogitatu.

D. Bonn. in Præf. in Libell. Steph. Gard. De Ver. Obed.

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[1] Ecce statutum Romæ cruentissimum, quo oportet quemlibet electum personaliter transalpinare, et in suam læsionem, imo eversionem, Romanorum loculos imprægnare.—Id. ibid. p. 956.]

[2] Hoc anno dominus papa decimam omnium bonorum ecclesiasticorum in regno Angliæ per triennium usurpavit.—Matt. Westmon. Flor. Hist. Lond. 1570. Lib. II. p. 416.]

[3] Matt. Paris. Hist. Angl. Lond. 1640. Tom. II. p. 915; where *patientissimi*.]

[4] Injury, 1567, 1570, 1609.]

[5] Bishop, 1611.]

[6] Pound, 1567.]

[7] Id. ibid. p. 918.]

[8] ... ecclesiarum lætantur spoliis, et quæstum omnem reputant pietatem....Sed et ipse &c. intolerabilis est ... Provinciarum deripiunt spolia &c. studeant &c.—Joan. Saresb. Policr. Lugd. Bat. 1595. Lib. VI. cap. xxiv. pp. 329, 30.]

[9] Untolerable, 1567, 1570.]

[10] Id. ibid. Lib. v. cap. xvi. p. 269. See before, page 679, note 11.]

[11] These precise words have not been found. But there are nearly the same expressions in the following passage: ... rex Anglorum ... cœpit detestari Romanæ curiæ insatiabilem cupiditatem, et totius regni ... injuriosas occupationes illicitasque rapinas. Composita igitur per regni universitatem eleganti epistola, in qua extortiones papales nimis execrabiles et exactiones multiformes legatorum ejus ... continebantur. &c.—Matt. Par. Hist. Angl. Tom. II. p. 659. Conf. pp. 655, 8, 720, 9, 30.]

[12] Thought of, 1567, 1570.]

[13] Expensæ tunc temporis...domini regis, postquam cœperat esse regni dilapidator, probatæ sunt ascendere ad octies centum millia marcarum, et centum et quinquaginta millia marcarum, quod est &c. Melius enim tibi foret amisisse gladium vel sagittam, in profundo maris cadentem, quam inimicus tuus ipsa a te extorsisset.—Id. ibid. p. 948. It does not seem clear that this money was paid to the pope. Jewel probably concluded that it was from the last sentence.]

[14] Ye, 1567, 1570, 1609.]

[15] Sed quum [episcopus Romanus] ... sentiat annuam, eamque opimam prædam, talem inquam, quæ proventus regios fere æquabat, ex manibus sibi ereptam esse, &c.—Steph. Wint. Episc. De Ver. Obed. Orat. cum E. Boner. Præf. Hamb. 1536. fol. ii. 2.]

Therefore Matthias saith: *Imperator reprehendit regem Angliæ, quod permitteret terram suam tam impudenter per papam depauperari*[16]: "The emperor friendly reproved Henry the third, king of England, for that he suffered his[17] kingdom so impudently to be impoverished by the pope." The Pope's Exactions.

Again he saith: "King Henry the third made open complaint by his ambassador, in the council of Lyons in France, of the pope's innumerable exactions[18]." Anno 1240. Anno 1215.

Likewise he saith before: *Rex Henricus III. repressit impetum legati, propter violentiam denariorum*[19]: "The king stayed the attempts of the pope's legate touching his intolerable greediness in prolling for money."

Ye see therefore, M. Harding, neither is this "gnat" so little, as by your scornful comparison, to the great dishonour of this noble realm, ye would seem to make it; nor is the grief and complaint thereof so new as ye bear us in hand. King Canutus, the king of England, almost six hundred years ago, being at Rome, wrote home to the archbishops, and bishops, and states of the realm, on this wise: *Conquestus sum item coram domino papa, et mihi valde displicere dixi, quod mei archiepiscopi in tantum angariabantur immensitate pecuniarum, quæ ab eis expetebantur*[20], &c.[21]: "Also I have made my complaint unto the pope, and told him that it much misliketh me that my archbishops should be vexed with such unreasonable sums of money required of them." Wilhelm. Malmesb. Anno 1031.

Likewise Matthias Parisiensis writeth of king William the Conqueror: *Concipiens indignationem contra papam, allegavit, quod nullus archiepiscopus vel episcopus de regno suo ad curiam Romanam vel ad papam haberet respectum*[22]: "King William, upon displeasure conceived against the pope, said that no archbishop or bishop of his realm should from thenceforth have regard either to the court of Rome, or to the pope." Anno 1094.

All this notwithstanding, ye say the pope is an "elephant;" and all these sums, in comparison of his treasures, are but a "gnat."

Verily all these, and other far greater reckonings, the realm of England is well able to defray. Neither make we any account of the money, but of the deceitful extorting of the money: neither is it dishonourable to the realm to repress these lewd and injurious mockeries, and to preserve the subject from open spoil. Other kings and countries have oftentimes done the same. Lewis the French king, whom for his holiness they have made a saint, hereof complaineth thus: *Exactiones impositas per Romanam curiam, quibus regnum nostrum miserabiliter depauperatum est,... levari aut colligi nullatenus volumus*[24]: "These exactions, or payments of money, laid upon us by the court of Rome, by mean whereof our realm is miserably impoverished, we will not in any wise to be levied or gathered." The gains and pelferies that the Pharisees made of the people were not so great: nevertheless Christ said unto them, "Woe be unto you, ye scribes and Pharisees, that raven up poor widows' houses, under pretence of long praying." Ludovicus [23]. Matt. xxiii.

I know you make no great account of Laurentius Valla; yet thus he writeth touching the unsatiable ambition and greediness that in his time he saw in the church of Rome: [*Quid*] *ergo,... summe pontifex,... omnes reges ac principes occidentis spoliare urbibus, aut cogere, ut annua tibi tributa pensitent, sententia est? At ego contra existimo, justius licere principibus spoliare te imperio omni quod obtines*[25]: "What then, my lord pope, is it your mind to spoil all the kings and princes of the west of their towns and territories, or else to force them to bear you an yearly tribute? Nay, in my judgment it were far meeter that they should spoil

[16] Imperator regem reprehendit, quod permittit pecuniam asportari de terra sua in damnum utriusque.—Matt. Paris. Hist. Angl. Tom. II. p. 524. This is the marginal note.]

[17] The, 1567.]

[18] Id. ibid. pp. 659, 666, &c.]

[19] These words have not been found. But see ibid. pp. 698, 9.]

[20] Expetebatur, 1567.]

[21] Will. Malmesb. De Gest. Reg. Angl. Lib. II. cap. xi. in Rer. Angl. Script. post Bed. Lond. 1596. fol. 41. 2; where *iterum* for *item*.]

[22] Rex Willielmus allegavit eandem rationem, quod &c. episcopus regni sui, curiæ Romanæ vel papæ subesset.—Matt. Paris. Hist. Angl. Tom. I. p. 19. This was William Rufus.]

[23] Ludovicus IX., 1567, 1570.]

[24] Item exactiones...per curiam Romanam ecclesiæ regni nostri impositas...quibus &c. depauperatum existit, &c.—Cent. Eccles. Hist. Basil. 1564-74. Cent. XIII. cap. viii. cols. 741, 2.]

[25] Laur. Vall. Op. Basil. 1540. In Don. Constant. Declam. p. 762.]

The Pope's Exactions.

you of all that empire that you have gotten." Thus wrote Laurentius Valla an hundred years and more before Luther began to preach: and therefore, whatsoever he were, I trow at least he was no Lutheran[1].

"Rome (ye say) is the mother-church of all the west." And therefore, I trow, we are bound to pay whatsoever payments she shall require. If we allow such simple reasons, then is the pope likewise bound to pay to the church of Hierusalem whatsoever payment[2] she shall require: for Hierusalem is indeed the mother-church, not only of the west, but also of all the whole world. Howbeit, it is a cruel mother that devoureth up her own children. St Paul saith: *Non debent filii parentibus thesaurizare, sed parentes filiis:* "The children ought not to lay up treasure for their parents, but the parents for their children." But Johannes Sarisburiensis in his Polycraticon saith: *Roma nunc non tam matrem exhibet,... quam novercam*[3]*:* "Rome now sheweth herself not so much a natural mother as a step-dame[4]." For she spoileth and devoureth her children.

2 Cor. xii.

Lib. vi. cap. xxiv.

"This defender (ye say), in making his end so bad, hath played the part of a foolish poet." Here, M. Harding, we have good cause to think your divinity is waxen cold, seeing you are thus driven to plead in poetry. But may we believe the church of Rome is of late grown[5] so holy, that money is now become the vilest part of all her play? Certainly, if your pope once lose his money, all his players will soon sit a-cold. One of your own doctors saith thus: *Cessante tali redditu, qui maximus est, attenta hodierna tyrannide, sedes apostolica contemneretur*[6]*:* "If this rent" (of simony), "which is very great, were once stayed, considering the tyranny of princes that now is, the apostolic see of Rome would be despised." In which words thus much is also to be noted by the way, that whatsoever prince will not suffer the pope to take what him listeth, must be taken and judged as a tyrant. Therefore Johannes Andreæ, one of your greatest canonists, saith thus: *Roma fundata fuit a prædonibus, [et] adhuc de primordiis retinet; dicta Roma, quasi rodens manus. Unde versus, Roma manus rodit: quos rodere non valet odit*[7]*:* "The first foundation of Rome was laid by thieves; and hitherto she savoureth still[8] of her beginning, and is called *Roma, quia rodit manus.* Thereof cometh the common verse, Rome biteth you by the hands; and whom she cannot bite, them she hateth."

Felin. de Offic. et Pot. Judic. Deleg. Ex Part. I.

In Sext. de Elect. et Elect. Pot. Fund. in Gloss.

The state of the Roman popedom sprung first of money, and increased by money, and standeth now neither by truth of doctrine, nor by severity of discipline, nor by prayer, nor by holiness, nor by ought else but only by money. Set money apart, and the pope is equal with other bishops. Codrus Urceus saith: *Pontifex maximus, si non virtute, tamen pecunia*[9]*:* "The pope is the greatest bishop, although not in virtue, yet at least in money." Therefore we may say of the pope as Diphilus sometime said of Pompeius: *Nostra miseria magnus es.*

Codr. Urc. Serm. I.

Baptista Mantuanus, speaking of the state of Rome, saith thus:

Venalia nobis
Templa, sacerdotes, altaria, sacra, coronæ,
Ignis, thura, preces; cœlum est venale, Deusque[10]*:*

"Amongst us in Rome churches, priests, altars, masses, crowns, fire, incense, prayers, and heaven, are set to sale: yea, God himself amongst us may be had for money."

Bud. in Pandect.

Budæus saith: *Sanctiones pontificiæ non moribus regendis usui sunt; sed propemodum dixerim, argentariæ faciendæ auctoritatem videntur accommodare*[11]*:* "The pope's canons serve not now to guide men's lives; but, if I may so say, they serve rather to make a bank and to get money."

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[1] This paragraph is not in 1567.]

[2] Payments, 1567, 1570, 1609.]

[3] ...Romana ecclesia...se non &c.—Joan. Saresb. Policr. Lugd. Bat. 1595. Lib. vi. cap. xxiv. p. 329.]

[4] Step-mother, 1567.]

[5] Is grown, 1567.]

[6] Felin. Sand. sup. Decretal. Comm. Lugd. 1587. Lib. i. Tit. xxix. cap. 12. fol. 192.]

[7] Joan. Andr. in Sext. Decretal. Venet. 1581. Tit. vi. De Elect. cap. 17. fol. 31; where *et versum ponit.* See before, page 867, note 20.]

[8] *Still* is not in 1567.]

[9] ...ille episcopus sive pontifex maximus: hic episcoporum summus fici et fieri, si non virtute, at pecunia ingenti obtinet ac impetrat:—Codr. Urc. Sermones, &c. Par. 1515. Serm. i. fol. 25.]

[10] Bapt. Mant. Op. Par. 1513. De Calam. Temp. Lib. iii. Tom. II. fol. 61. 2.]

[11] This passage has not been found.]

The Pope's Exactions.

Bernard of Clunice saith thus:

Roma dat omnibus omnia dantibus: omnia Romæ
Cum pretio[12]*:*

"Rome giveth all things to them that give all things: all things at Rome will pass for money."

Even in the pope's own decretals ye shall find it noted thus: *Roma est caput avaritiæ. Ideo omnia ibi venduntur*[13]*:* "Rome is the head of all covetous treachery. And therefore all things there are set to sale." Bernard. Cluniac. in Satyr. In Sext. de Elect. et Elect. Pot. Fund. in Marg.

Yea, Thomas Becket himself, whom a little before ye called a saint, when for his wilful disobedience and treason committed against his prince he had for aid and succour fled to Rome, and saw that nothing would be wrought there without money, thus he wrote thereof to the bishop of Menze: *Mater Roma facta est meretrix, et prostituta est pro mercede*[14]*:* "Rome our mother is become an harlot, and for money and meed layeth herself to sale." To be short, ye know that our fathers long sithence were wont to say, In Epist. ad Archiepisc. Mogunt.

Curia Romana non captat ovem sine lana[15].

"The court of Rome will not take the sheep without the fleece."

Therefore, M. Harding, your poet concluded in good order, and went not so far besides his rules: for money is both the first and the middle and the last act of all your fable.

Christ sometime thrust such buyers, sellers, brokers, and scorsers, out of the temple; but, contrariwise, ye have received in buyers and sellers, and thrust out Christ, and so have turned the house of God into a cave of thieves. St Paul saith thus unto the people of Ephesus: *Argentum et aurum nullius concupivi:* "I have desired no man's gold or silver." Upon which words in the gloss it is noted thus: *Per hoc lupi cognoscuntur, qui talia concupiscunt*[16]*:* "Hereby they that desire such things are known for wolves." St Hierome saith: *Quia prophetæ pecuniam accipiebant, prophetia*[17] *eorum facta est divinatio*[18]*:* "For that the prophets fell to taking of money, therefore their prophecy was become a soothsaying:" that is to say[19], it was of the devil, and not of God. Matt. xxi. Acts xx. i. Quæst. 1. Nunquam divinatio.

Thus, M. Harding, to conclude, whatsoever fault ye can find with the defender's poetry, verily, by the judgment of your nearest friends, money was the best part of all your fable.

The Recapitulation of the Apology.

Thus thou seest[20], good christian reader, it[21] is no new thing, though at this day the religion of Christ be entertained with despites and checks, being but lately restored, and as it were coming up again anew; forsomuch as the like hath chanced both to Christ himself, and to his apostles: yet nevertheless, for fear thou mayest suffer thyself[22] to be led amiss, and to be seduced[23] with these[24] exclamations of our adversaries, we have declared at large unto thee[25] the very whole manner of our religion, what our faith[26] is of God the Father, of his only Son Jesus Christ, of the

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[12] Bernard. Morlanens. Monach. Ord. Cluniac. De Contempt. Mund. Libr. Tres, Rintel. ad Visurg. 1626. Lib. III. p. 95.]

[13] Sext. Decretal. Lugd. 1572. Lib. I. Tit. VI. Not. in cap. 17. col. 121. See before, page 867, note 18.]

[14] ... Prostituta est ut fornicaria, quæ multorum libidini patet in platea, fornicantur cum ea quilibet potentum, ut subacta cedat ambitioni &c.—Epist. et Vit. Div. Thom. Arch. Cant. Brux. 1682. Epist. Lib. II. Ad Conr. Arch. Mogunt. Epist. xxi. p. 334.]

[15] See before, page 1077, note 28.]

[16] In hoc cognoscuntur lupi quod hoc concupiscunt.—Bibl. cum Gloss. Ord. et Expos. N. de Lyra, Basil. 1502. Act. Apost. cap. xx. Gloss. Interlin. Pars VI. fol. 199. 2.]

[17] Prophetiæ, 1567, 1570.]

[18] ...prophetæ...quia pecuniam &c. ipsorum facta &c.—Hieron. in Corp. Jur. Canon. Lugd. 1624. Decret. Gratian. Decr. Sec. Pars, Caus. I. Quæst. i. can. 24. col. 507.]

[19] Same, 1567.]

[20] Ye see, Conf.]

[21] Reader how it, Conf.]

[22] Ye may suffer yourself, Conf.; theeself, Def. 1567, 1570.]

[23] And seduced, Conf.]

[24] Those, Conf. and Def. 1567.]

[25] You, Conf.] [26] Opinion, Conf.]

Holy Ghost, of the church, of the sacraments, of the ministry, of the scriptures, of ceremonies, and of every part of christian belief. We have said that we abandon and detest, as plagues and poisons, all those old heresies which either the sacred scriptures or the ancient councils have utterly condemned; that we call home again, as much as in us lieth, the[1] right discipline of the church, which our adversaries have quite brought into a poor and weak case; that we punish all licentiousness of life and unruliness of manners by the old and long-continued laws, and with as much sharpness as is convenient, and lieth in our power; that we maintain still the state of kingdoms, in the same condition and state of honour wherein we found[2] them, without any diminishing or alteration, reserving unto our princes their majesty and worldly preeminence, safe and without impairing, to our possible power; that we so have[3] gotten ourselves away from that church, which they had made "a den of thieves," and wherein nothing was in good frame, or once like to the church of God, and which, by their own confessions, had[4] erred many ways, even as Lot in times past gat him out of Sodom, or Abraham out of Chaldee, not upon a desire of contention, but by the warning of God himself; and that we have searched out of the holy bible, which we are sure cannot deceive us[5], one sure form of religion, and have returned again unto the primitive church of the ancient fathers and apostles, that is to say, to the ground[6] and beginning of things, unto the very foundations and headsprings of Christ's church.

Neither have we tarried in this matter for the[7] authority or consent of the Tridentine[8] council, wherein we saw nothing done uprightly nor by good order; where also every body was sworn to the maintenance of one man; where princes'[9] ambassadors were contemned; where not one of our divines could be heard, and where parts-taking and ambition was openly and earnestly procured and wrought; but, as the holy fathers in former time, and as our predecessors have commonly done, we have restored our churches by a provincial convocation, and have clean shaken off, as our duty was, the yoke and tyranny of the bishop of Rome, to whom we were not bound, who also had no manner of thing like neither to Christ, nor to Peter, nor to an apostle, nor yet like to any bishop at all. Finally, we say that we agree amongst ourselves touching the whole judgment and chief substance of christian religion, and with one mouth and with one spirit do worship God and the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ.

Wherefore, O christian and godly reader, forsomuch as thou seest the reasons and causes, both why we have restored religion, and why we have forsaken these men, thou oughtest not to marvel though we have chosen to obey our Master Christ rather than men. St Paul hath given us warning that[10] we should not suffer ourselves to be carried away with such sundry learnings, and to fly[11] their companies, specially such as would[12]

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[1] As ever we can the, Conf.]
[2] Condition and plight wherein we have found, Conf.]
[3] Have so, Conf. and Def. 1567, 1570, 1609.]
[4] Which themselves confessed had, Conf.]
[5] *Us* is not in Conf. or Def. 1567.]
[6] The first ground, Conf.]
[7] And in very troth we have not tarried for in this matter the, Conf.; and in very truth we have not tarried in this matter for the, Def. 1567; neither have we not tarried in this matter for the, 1570.]
[8] Trident, Conf.]
[9] Where our princes, Conf.]
[10] Paul hath given us warning how, Conf.]
[11] Flee, Def. 1567, 1570.]
[12] Companies in especial which would, Conf.]

sow debate and variance[13], clean contrary to the doctrine which they had received of Christ and the apostles.

Long sithence[14] have these men's crafts and treacheries decayed and vanished and fled away at the sight and light of the gospel, even as the owl doth at the sun-rising. And, albeit their trumpery be built up and reared as high as the sky, yet[15] even in a moment, and as it were of itself[16], falleth it down again to the ground and cometh to nought.

For you must not think that all these things have come to pass by chance or[17] at adventure; it was God's[18] pleasure that, against all men's wills well-nigh, the gospel of Jesus[19] Christ should be spread abroad throughout the whole world at these days. And therefore men, following God's commandment[20], have of their own free will resorted unto the doctrine of Jesus Christ.

And for our parts, truly we have sought hereby neither glory, nor wealth, nor pleasure, nor ease. For there is plenty of all these things with our adversaries.

And when we were of their side, we enjoyed such worldly commodities much more liberally and bountifully than we do now.

Neither do we eschew concord and peace. But to have peace with man, we may[21] not be at war with God. "The name of peace is a sweet and pleasant thing," saith Hilarius; but yet beware, saith he, "peace is one thing, and bondage is another[22]." For if it should so be, as they seek to have it, that Christ should be commanded to keep silence, that the truth of the gospel should be betrayed, that horrible errors should be cloked, that christian men's eyes should be bleared, and that they might be suffered to conspire openly against God; this were not a peace, but a most ungodly covenant of servitude. "There is a peace," saith Nazianzene, "that is unprofitable; again, there is a discord," saith he, "that is profitable[23]." For we must conditionally desire peace, so far as is lawful before God, and so far as we may conveniently. For otherwise Christ himself brought not peace into the world, but a sword. Wherefore, if the pope will have us reconciled to him, his duty is first to be reconciled to God: "For from thence," saith Cyprian, "spring schisms and sects, because men seek not the head, and have not their recourse to the fountain" (of the scriptures), "and keep not the rules given by the heavenly Teacher[25];" for, saith he, "that is not peace, but war; neither is he joined unto the church which is severed from the gospel[26]." As for these men, they use to make a merchandise of the name of peace. For that peace, which they so fain would have, is only a rest of idle bellies. They and we might easily be brought to atonement touching all these matters, were it not that ambition, gluttony, and excess, doth[27] let it. Hence cometh their whining; Matt. x.34

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[13] Variances, Conf.]

[14] Since, Conf.]

[15] Yea, 1609, 1611; yee, 1570.]

[16] Of the own selve, Conf.]

[17] Pass rashly or, Conf.]

[18] It hath been God's, Conf. and Def. 1567.]

[19] Jesu, Conf.]

[20] God's biddings, Conf.]

[21] Will, Conf. and Def. 1567.]

[22] Speciosum quidem nomen est pacis, et pulcra est opinio unitatis: sed quis ambigat eam solam ecclesiæ atque evangeliorum unitatem pacem esse, quæ Christi est?—Hilar. Op. Par. 1693. Lib. contr. Auxent. 1. col. 1263.]

[23] ... οἶδα γὰρ ὥσπερ στάσιν τινὰ βελτίστην, οὕτω καὶ βλαβερωτάτην διάνοιαν.—Gregor. Naz. Op. Par. 1778-1840. De Pac. Orat. vi. 20. Tom. I. p. 192.]

[24] These references are not in Conf.]

[25] Cypr. Op. Oxon. 1682. De Unit. Eccles. p. 105. See Vol. I. p. 79, note 20. Conf. Ad Pomp. Epist. lxxiv. p. 215.]

[26] Non est pax illa, sed bellum: nec ecclesiæ jungitur, qui ab evangelio separatur.—Id. de Lapsi. pp. 128, 9.]

[27] Did, Conf.]

their heart is on their half-penny. Out of doubt their clamours and stirs be to none other end but to maintain more shamefully and naughtily ill-gotten goods[1].

Now-a-days the pardoners complain of us, the dataries, the pope's
1 Tim. vi.5 collectors, the bawds, and others which think[2] gain to be godliness, and serve not Jesus[4] Christ, but their own bellies. Many a day ago, and in the old world, a wonderful great advantage grew hereby to these kinds[5] of people. But now they reckon all is lost[6] unto them that Christ gaineth. The pope himself maketh a great[7] complaint at this present, that charity in people is waxen cold. And why so, trow ye? Forsooth, because his profits decay more and more. And for this cause doth he hale us into hatred all that ever he may, laying load upon us with despiteful railings, and condemning us for heretics, to the end they that understand not the matter may think there be no worse men upon earth than we be. Notwithstanding, in the mean season we are not ashamed in this behalf[8]: neither ought we to be ashamed of the gospel. For we set more by the glory of God than we do by the estimation of men. We are sure all is true that we teach, and we may not either go against our own conscience, or bear any witness against God. For, if we deny any part of the gospel of Jesus[4] Christ before men, he on the other side will deny us before his Father. And if there be any that will still be offended, and cannot endure Christ's doctrine, such, say we, be blind, and leaders of the blind: the truth nevertheless must be preached and preferred above all; and we must with patience wait for God's judgment.

Let these folk in the mean time take good heed what they do, and let them be well advised of their own salvation, and cease to hate and persecute the gospel of the Son of God, for fear lest they feel him once a redresser and revenger of his own cause. God will not suffer himself to be made a mocking-stock. The world espieth a good while ago[9] what there is a doing abroad. This flame, the more it is kept down, so much the more with greater force and strength doth it break out and fly abroad. The unfaithfulness of men shall[10] not disappoint God's faithful promise. And, if they shall refuse to lay away this their hardness of heart, and to receive the gospel of Christ, then shall publicans and sinners go before them into the kingdom of heaven.

God and the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ open the eyes of them all, that they may be able to see that blessed hope whereunto they have been called; so as we may together[11] in one glorify him alone, who is the true God, and also that same Jesus Christ, whom he sent down to us from heaven; unto whom with the Father and the Holy Ghost be given all honour and glory everlastingly. So be it[12].

[1 Things, Conf.]
[2 Take, Conf.]
[3 This reference is not in Conf.]
[4 Jesu, Conf.]
[5 Kind, Conf. and Def. 1567.]
[6 Loss, Conf.]
[7 Maketh great, Conf.]
[8 Notwithstanding we in the mean season are never the more ashamed for all this, Conf. and Def. 1567.]
[9 Agone, Conf.]
[10 Unfaithfulness shall, Conf. and Def. 1567.]
[11 May altogether, Conf. and Def. 1567, 1570, 1609.]
[12 Harding has interposed his remarks between the paragraphs of this recapitulation, which bishop Jewel omits as merely repetitions of what had been before said.]

FINIS.

TO M. HARDING.

It appeareth, M. Harding, by that ye have lately sent us over[13], and specially by the unpleasant verdure of your speech, that my Reply[14] hath somewhat disordered your quiet mind. Which thing notwithstanding I might easily have guessed was not unlikely to come to pass, specially being before not utterly unskilful of your affections; yet, as I have never[15] sought to write any thing that of purpose and justly might offend you (the right of the cause and defence[16] of the truth evermore foreprised), even so am I now right sorry to see you so unable to master your passions, and so unadvisedly to make them open to[17] so many. If it grieve you in respect of your credit for that I have thus discovered your errors, that was your fault, it was not mine. If ye had not made your errors known, they should never of my part have been discovered. If you knew how sorry I am in your behalf, ye would not so impatiently be offended.

It misliketh you that I have alleged so many doctors and councils, and, as you say, have so ambitiously painted my margin with so many authorities, both Greek and Latin.. Yet you for your part have not spared, over and besides these two tongues, to paint your margin for a surcharge with words in Hebrew; besides other such ranks of your English scholies, so many, so thick, and so close together, that it were a hard matter to force in one word of truth to stand amongst them. It is no courteous dealing, M. Harding, to reprove that in others that you so commonly do yourself.

If the number of doctors have offended you, I do not marvel: a cowardly challenger would always wish the defendant to come unarmed unto the fight. If I had alleged either no doctors at all, or nothing to purpose, as your wont commonly is to do, ye would have borne it a great deal better. Howbeit my authorities of doctors and councils, be they never so many, yet, as you have used them, are few enow[18]: for of the whole number, by your good skill, more than three parts are left untouched. And indeed this was the wisest way. Children, where they cannot read, think it best to skip over.

Whereas I examine and lay abroad all the parts and branches of your arguments, and shew how directly ye grow to your conclusions, that your reader may see by what weapons ye seek to master him, this, you say, is a kind of scoffing. Ye tell me, I rack and alter, and abuse your arguments, and play with shadows of mine own. But, M. Harding, if ye will have your arguments to pass smoothly without controlment, then learn henceforth to make them better. Ye are over-tender, if ye look to speak what ye list, and yet to hear nothing but to your liking; and to send abroad such simple wares to serve the people, and yet may suffer no man to tell you of it. Verily, where ye say I have of purpose changed your arguments, if ye make them otherwise than I have made them, having always an eye unto your conclusion, ye shall be forced to make them worse. Touching the scoffs, wherewith ye find yourself so much aggrieved, doubtless, whoso had that grace that is in you, as may well appear throughout all your books, might soon deserve to be called a scoffer.

Where you[19] say you and your fellows have espied a thousand foul great lies in my writings; had not one of you been a great father of lies, ye could never have hit so readily upon the number. Such an auditor, I trow, was he that found us out eleven thousand lies in Sleidan's story. The very true[20] multitude hereof, and the hugeness of the heap, as it bewrayeth well your stomach, so in

Laur. Surius Carthus. in Præf. in Naucler.

[13] Reference is here made to the Rejoinder to the Reply.]
[14] My late reply, 1567.]
[15] I never, 1567.]
[16] And the defence, 1567.]
[17] Unto, 1567.]
[18] Enough, 1567, 1570.]
[19] Ye, 1567, 1570, 1609.]
[20] *True* is not in 1567.]

any indifferent judgment it decayeth the credit of your reckoning. A man may reasonably think it is as possible to find two hundred and fifty untruths in your book, as in mine to find a thousand. Verily, as I never minded to defend any thing whatsoever that in any my writings shall be found amiss, so I see, by the view of your accounts, it were no hard matter with your eyes to find untruths in the gospel. For whatsoever I say, be it never so true, yet, if it like not your taste, it is a lie: whatsoever I allege or translate, it is corrupted. So evil is my luck, I can touch nothing, but it is either too much or too little, or too short or too long, or too black or too white; or one way or other it standeth awry. If I translate *nonnulli sacerdotes*, "sundry priests," ye cry out, a corrupter, a falsary. I should have said, "certain priests," or "some priests;" but I should not in any wise have said, "sundry priests;" for that were an heresy[1].

M. Harding, Rejoinder, Fol. 203. b.

If I translate ὁμοτρόφους, *una nutritos*, "fed together," ye tell the world it is falsehood[2], it is foul corruption. Thus, ye say, I should have translated it, *eodem cibo alitos*, "fed with one kind of meat;" as if ὁμοῦ in Greek were not *una* in Latin, or had not relation to the place. Deal herein with your friends, M. Harding, as you may: the Greek reader will allow you no such translations. If I happen to say, "M. Harding saith, the thing that we receive in the sacrament is no bread," ye cry *alarma:* "Look," ye say, "in my book, reader: M. Jewel is an untrue man: here he is taken with a lie: mark well: I say, It is not bread: I say not, It is no bread." "Not bread," ye say; "no bread," ye say not. As if there were so many miles distance between "no" and "not."

M. Harding, Rejoinder, Fol. 115. b.

M. Harding, Rejoinder, Fol. 163. b.

These and such like be the shameful untruths and horrible lies that you and your fellows with great seeking and diligence have espied. And thus, if a man happen to use *ensis* for *gladius*, or *nam* for *enim*, or *que* for *et*, ye think it cause sufficient to make a tragedy. Howbeit, I doubt not but in my Reply, being so long, and so full of necessary allegations, ye may happen to find some oversights of greater importance. And, in acknowledging and reforming of the same, ye shall find me as sharp and eager as yourself. But these few examples I have touched by the way, that it might appear how inquisitive and fierce ye are to seek occasions; and that your reader may see ye hunt wantonly and run riot, and open oft-times without a cause. Yet notwithstanding, if ye can tell us sadly, as your manner is, that M. Jewel bringeth trifling objections and trash, and pelf, and nothing to purpose, without learning, without reason, without wit; that he racketh, that he stretcheth, that he wringeth, that he wresteth, that he nippeth and clippeth the doctors and councils (for these be the words whereby ye thought ye might best utter your pretty fancies); if ye can cry out "false parts," "false reports," "false dealings," "false merchants," "false balance," "false dice," and "all is false;" if ye can say, "Lo, sir Defender, ye wrangle," "ye trifle," "ye are taken tardy," "ye have proved nothing," "ye have nothing to answer;" if ye can thus say, and say it boldly, it shall be sufficient: all is safe: your friends will think ye have said somewhat, and that ye would never have framed such a countenance to say nothing.

Ye tell us full often, we are no bishops; I trow, for that we have not sworn our obedience to the pope. And therefore ye give the world to understand we can consecrate no ministers, we can hold no synods, we can do nothing. Even so certain your forefathers in old times told St Paul he was no apostle; and others afterward by like authority told St Basil and St Hilary they were no bishops. But, M. Harding, they were false apostles, they were Arian heretics, that so told them. It booteth not to try our titles before you. We will only say with St Paul: "By the grace of God we are that we are." And we trust we have not his grace in vain.

1 Cor. ix.

1 Cor. xv.

But specially and above all other things, and that throughout all your three books[3], ye say, that sir Defender is unlearned; that his best skill is in a few figures of rhetoric; that he hath neither Greek, nor logic, nor philosophy, nor divinity; that he hath read no kind of doctors, nor new nor old, nor of his

M. Harding, Confutation, 214. a. & 259. a. And commonly in other places.

[1 The last five words are not in 1567.]

[2 Falshead, 1567, 1570.]

[3 These are Harding's Answer to the Challenge, published, 1564, his Confutation of the Apology, 1565, and Rejoinder to Jewel's Reply, 1566.]

own nor of others; that all the furniture of his book was brought to his hand, some by Greek readers, some by school-masters, some by civilians, some by canonists, some by summists, some by glossers, some by others; that he hath nothing else but patched note-books, huddled together by snaps and pieces[4]. Some part hereof, or rather the whole altogether, without exception, to do you pleasure, I would easily have granted you, M. Harding, upon small suit, with more favour and less ado. Take from me what learning ye list; distrain it and pound it at your pleasure: I will never trouble you with replevin. Howbeit, if ye utter all this of your indifferent judgment and certain knowledge, yet is it impertinent; for we pleaded of faith, and not of learning: if otherwise ye speak it of heat of mind, and abundance of choler, and thereupon thus proclaim it to[5] the world, it is great folly. Truly ye never saw sir Defender's books, nor never set your foot within his study. A wise judge will seldom pronounce before he know. If it shall please you, for trial hereof, to send your friend, he may happily see that sir Defender hath all these summists, and canonists, and Greek readers, and school-masters of his own.

Notwithstanding, it may become us both to say, as a heathen wise man sometime said: "This only thing we know, that we know nothing." God's truth dependeth not of our knowledge. Our tongues shall cease, and our knowledge shall fail; but the glory of God shall stand for ever. For my part, I will say to you with St Augustine: *Quære doctiores; sed cave præsumptores:* "Seek others of more learning; but beware of them that presume of learning." If any praise fall out in this respect, bestow it freely upon your Greek readers and school-masters, who in your judgment have best deserved it: it shall be sufficient for me to have said the truth; which, though it appear never so simple, yet[6] is able to remove a mountain of learning. But happy are your brethren of Lovaine, that are so speedily grown learned upon the sudden, not by great study, I trow, but rather by destiny. As soon as they had once savoured the soil of that country, they looked only upon two poor titles of the law, *De maledicis*, and *De clerico promoto per saltum*[7]; and suddenly they were transformed, and now go for doctors.

Socrates.

Extra. Lib. v.

As for your learning, M. Harding, we never reproved it. Howbeit greatly to fear it we have no cause. God give you grace ye may wholly turn it to his glory, lest in the day of the Lord it be laid against you! He is over well learned, that bendeth his learning against God. But, if we be so utterly void of all manner of learning, painting, as you say, our books and margins with the names and authorities of so many doctors; what may your friends then think of you that, standing so long in the defence of your private mass, are not yet able to allege one doctor, nor Greek nor Latin, nor one nor other? It seemeth great marvel ye should have such abundance of doctors, and shew so few, specially where it standeth you so much upon to open your store. Consider, I beseech you, your late Rejoinder; wherein, as it is thought, nothing of your part is left untouched. Of the seven and twenty articles contained in my Reply, ye have taken upon you only to answer one. And yet of the same one ye have scarcely touched the tenth part. Your purpose should have been herein[8] by evident examples and good authorities substantially to have proved your private mass.

Now consider the order and plainness of your dealing. Ye bestow well near the third part of your book about the sacrifice; as though there were no sacrifice without private mass. All the rest ye consume in idle discourses, and needless talks, of consecration, of the intention of the priest, of mingling the water with the wine, of the name of the mass, of transubstantiation, of real presence, of church-feasts (which in old time were called *agapæ*), of singular communion, of communion of faith, of our union with Christ, of sending abroad the sacrament, of priests' wives, of vows, of bigamy, of good works, of only faith, of public prayer in a tongue unknown, of ceremonies, of forms, of accidents, of the epistles decretal, of Clemens, Cletus, Anacletus, Abdias, Leontius, &c. Hereof ye have told us such things as perhaps we knew before, and were not hard to

[4] See before, pages 754, 5, 866.]
[5] Unto, 1567.]
[6] *Yet* is not in 1567.]
[7] Corp. Jur. Canon. Lugd. 1624. Decretal. Gregor. IX. Lib. v. Titt. xxvi. xxix. cols. 1764, 5, 77, 8.]
[8] Therein, 1567.]

be known, and pertained full little to the purpose. Ye should rather have proved, that within the first six hundred years after Christ some one or other of the holy learned catholic fathers ministered the holy communion openly in the church, and received the sacrament alone, not dividing the same to any other, the whole multitude of the people sitting or standing by and looking on him. This was the matter that lay between us. Hereunto ye should have laid your force. This was it ye should have proved. For proof of such things as needed no proof, ye have brought forth great shews of learning: but as touching your private mass, which only ye had taken in hand to prove, ye have hitherto proved nothing. Your reader, M. Harding, can never be neither so simple, nor so partial, but he must needs have an eye unto your issue, and remember what you[1] had in hand. If amongst so many and so learned words he find not one word of that he sought for, may not he[2] think he hath lost his labour, and that there is some folly in your fardle? May he not say with[3] himself, *Quo nunc se proripit iste?* What shall I make of these vagaries? What meaneth this man to shoot so fair beside the mark? He must needs perceive by your silence that, notwithstanding your so many fair and liberal promises, yet the thing he sought for cannot be found. Nay, you yourself, for excuse hereof, by express words have told us plainly: "It might be, that none received the sacrament with the priest." And again: "Whether the priest had always a company to receive with him, or sometimes received alone, that is a circumstance of a fact: the proof whereof by manifest testimonies cannot with reason be demanded." Again: "It is contentious to put us to proof of the circumstance[4]." Again: "It forceth not whether we bring forth testimonies of the six hundred years, or no." Again: "Whether I can shew that a mass was said without company present to receive with the priest that said it, or no, what skilleth it?" Again: "I must tell you that I seek not for private mass, which to find your scoffing pretendeth me to be desirous. I seek not for that which I acknowledge not." And again: "It forceth not greatly whether it may be proved or no:" which is as much as if ye[5] had told us in plainer wise, that for the space of six hundred years after Christ ye can hear no tidings in any doctor or council of your private mass. Which thing thus of your part confessed to our purpose is sufficient.

M. Harding, Rejoinder, fol. 281. a. & fol. 88. a.

M. Harding in his Rejoinder, in his preface to the Reader, &.

In the same Preface, & ii.

M. Harding Rejoinder, fol. 210. a.

Rejoinder, 919. a.

Now touching the authority of your Amphilochius, not long sithence ye thought his force had been invincible. And therefore ye stood up aloft and brayed aloud: "Now M. Jewel and his consacramentaries do stagger, I doubt not[6]." And for that cause, as if it had been some great worthy author, ye alleged him seven times with special reverence in your[7] book. And yet now at the last ye are content for shame to turn him over, and to let him go. Perhaps ye thought for the while a weak thread was sufficient to lead the people; and that, as folks use sometimes to please children, ye might quench their thirst with an empty cup. Thus much hitherto touching some parts of your Rejoinder.

M. Harding, in his Answer, fol. 29. a.

Rejoinder, fol. 267. b.

Concerning your former book, which ye have intituled "A Confutation," I need to say nothing. By the judgment of the wise it saith sufficiently of itself. But what meant you, M. Harding, therein to make so large discourse, I will not say in the defence (for that word your friends may not bear), but, at the least, in favour[8] of open stews, and to call the same *malum necessarium;* that is to say, although an ill thing, yet such a thing as no good common-weal may be without it[9]? What meant you to that purpose to shew us the name and authority of St Augustine? Must we think that St Augustine was a proctor or patron for your stews? What meant you thus[10] to upbraid us in the end: "In good sooth, masters, ye are too young to control the city of Rome in her doings[11]?" What needed you to bestow so fine eloquence in so foul a cause? Is vice grown so cold in Lovaine, that it must now be[12] inflamed and authorised by open writing?

M. Harding, Confutation, fol. 162. b.

Confutation, fol. 162. a.

M. Harding, Confutation, fol. 163. b.

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[1] Ye, 1567, 1570, 1609.]
[2] He not, 1567.]
[3] Within, 1567.]
[4] If we prove the thing, it is &c.—Rejoind. Ant. 1566. fol. &.]
[5] He, 1611.]
[6] See Vol. I. page 188.]
[7] One, 1567.]
[8] In the favour, 1567, 1570, 1609.]
[9] See before, page 643.]
[10] Authority of St Augustine and thus, 1567.]
[11] See before, page 643.]
[12] Must be, 1567.]

What meant you to allege the prophet David, the evangelist St Matthew, and St Paul the apostle, for proof of your pardons[13]? Will ye tell us that David, Matthew, and Paul, were pardoners? Or, if ye dare to tell us so, must we believe you[14]? If you[15] so manifestly mock us with open follies, how may we trust you in higher mysteries? St Paul saith, "Though our outward man be corrupted, yet our inward man is renewed day by day." Here you[16] tell us in great sooth, that these words undoubtedly serve to prove purgatory[17]. Christ saith unto Peter, "I have prayed for thee, &c.:" therefore, ye say, "Christ now requireth us, not to be obedient to Peter or Paul, but to the pope, that sitteth in their chair[18]." Christ saith, "The Son of Man came not to destroy, but to save:" *ergo*, say you, "The bread and wine in the sacrament lose no part of their former virtues, but remain in forms and accidents even as they were before[19];" as if the Son of God had come down from heaven to save accidents.

Confutation, 251. a. & deinceps.
2 Cor. iv.
M. Harding, Confutation, fol. 117. a.
Luke xxii.
M. Harding, Confutation, fol. 192. b.
M. Harding, Confutation, fol. 99. a.

Thus ye nip off the sense and meaning of the holy scriptures, and feed us only with empty words, as if ye would pick away the corn, and give us the chaff; or convey away the jewels, and throw us the bag. O M. Harding, be not wilful: let your own conscience lead you. Was this the meaning of St Paul? Was this the coming of Christ into the world? Was this the sense of the Holy Ghost? I will not say, what old doctor or ancient father, but what summist, what canonist, what child, what heretic, ever either so undiscreetly or so unreverently used the word of God?

I leave the misconstruing and falsifying of so many fathers; the allowing and soothing of manifest forgeries; the upholding of abuses and open errors; your weak proofs; your silly conjectures; your simple guesses; your great oversights; your bold affirmations; your heaps of untruths; your disdainful scorns; your immoderate scoffs; your ungentle and uncivil words; as for example, "villains," "thieves," "fools," "disards[20]," "lourdaines, &c." I leave other your unmannerly and uncleanly speeches, "Hungry dogs eat dirty puddings;" "As common as lice with beggars[21];" "They serve the belly, and the things beneath the belly." These be your words, M. Harding: you may not deny them. These be the flowers and ornaments of your books[22].

Confutation, 318. b.
Confutation, 250. b.

But[23] was this a present, M. Harding, meet either for the modesty of a virgin, or for the majesty of a prince; specially such a virgin, and such a prince, so chaste, so grave, so learned, so wise, so virtuous, so godly, as Christendom seldom hath seen the like? What, thought you that either her wisdom could not espy your frauds and mockeries, or that her chaste ears could quietly bear your loathsome talk? Or thought you by the weight of such reasons to move mountains, and to work wonders, and to force her majesty to leave Christ and his gospel, and come to Lovaine to follow you?

Ye threape[24] her majesty fondly with kindness[25], and, as ye would have the world imagine, with good liking and favouring of your side; as if, her majesty having been brought up from her cradle in the knowledge and fear of God, and through God's great mercy and according to his known will, by the good advice and counsel of the states of her realm, having reformed the house of God from the filth and soil of your devices, she stood now in a mammering, and were not able to discern either falsehood[26] from truth, or darkness from light; or as if your errors were not so gross, that a blind man may grope them with his fingers.

Ye tell her majesty she hath neither parliament, nor law, nor church, nor clergy. The church of England ye commonly call "the tower of Babylon," "the synagogue of antichrist," and "the school of Satan[27]:" ye charge her majesty with disordered proceedings, with maintenance of infidelity, of sacrilege, of schism, of heresy[28]: for your possible power, ye dishonour her majesty both abroad and

Confutation, fol. 42. a. and so throughout the whole book.
Confutation, fol. 5. a. 15. a. 36. a. 49. and so through the whole.

[13] See before, pages 848, &c.]
[14] It, 1567.]
[15] Ye, 1567.]
[16] Ye, 1567, 1570, 1609.]
[17] See Vol. III. page 561.]
[18] See before, page 710.]
[19] See Vol. III. page 511.]
[20] Disards: persons stupefied.]
[21] See before, pages 848, 1030.]
[22] These two sentences are not in 1567.]
[23] *But* is not in 1567.]
[24] Threape: urge.]
[25] Unkindness, 1570.]
[26] Falshead, 1567, 1570.]
[27] See Vol. III. page 265.]
[28] See Vol. III. pages 156, 188, 249, &c.]

at home: where ye may get credit to your follies, ye slander the government; ye disquiet her majesty's loving subjects; ye breed seditions; ye procure rebellions; ye hazard her estate. And yet dare ye to powder all this poison with a few dissembled and sugared words, and to offer the same unto her majesty for a present? Well, M. Harding, if ye had foreseen the thanks that her majesty most justly yielded you for your travails, ye would not have been so bold so rudely to press into her presence. It behoved you to be advised, not only what ye wrote, but also what personage should view your writings.

If ye shall happen to write hereafter, send us fewer words and more learning. If ye shall devise to talk any more of your private mass, leave your vagaries, and go directly to the purpose. Tell us no more such long tales, either of the sacrifice or of other matters, so far from the question. It is no good logic to shift off the thing ye have in hand, and to mock your poor reader with another.

Rejoinder, 232. b. 233. a. Tread not so nicely and so gingerly, M. Harding; say not your mass is a circumstance, and a matter of fact, and standeth only upon supposals and guesses, and therefore needeth no further proof. Why should ye so trifle with the simple? This is the issue that falleth out between us, "whether any one of the[1] ancient learned fathers, &c. ever said your private mass, &c." This it is[2] that is denied. If ye prove not this, whatsoever ye prove, ye prove nothing. Bring out some learned father; shew some catholic doctor; keep them no longer forthcoming. The world looketh ye should deal plainly.

Deny no more the manifest truth; avouch no more the open falsehood[3]; let there be some probability and likelihood in your sayings. Leave your immoderate and uncourteous talks. They are tokens of stomach, and not of learning. Therein ye have deserved the honour above all others. In such kind of eloquence no man can match you but yourself. A good cause might have been pleaded with better words. The more untemperate and fiery ye shew yourself without cause, the more in the end will appear your folly. If ye have hitherto taken any pleasure in speaking ill, at my hand, by hearing ill, ye shall not lose it. If ye bring us more fables of your pardons and purgatories; if ye feed us, as ye have done, with untruths; if ye deprave the scriptures; if ye falsify the doctors; if ye conclude without premises; if ye place your antecedent at Rome, and your consequent at Lovaine; if ye stuff so much paper, and blot so many leaves, and shew us nothing; briefly, if ye write none otherwise than ye have done hitherto, no wise man will greatly fear your force.

Deceive not the simple. They are bought with price. They are the people of God, for whom Christ hath shed his blood. Your shifts be miserable. Ye trouble yourself as a bird in the lime. The more ye stir, the faster ye cleave: the longer ye strive, the weaker ye are. Ye cannot bridle the flowing seas; ye cannot blind the sun-beams. Kick not still against the spur; give place unto the glory of God. Will ye, nill ye, the truth will conquer. God give us both humble hearts, and the people eyes to see, that all flesh may be obedient to his will! Amen.

From London 27 Octobris, 1567.

JOHN SARISBURY.

[1 Of all the, 1567.]
[2 Is it, 1567, 1570, 1609.]
[3 Falshead, 1567, 1570.]

JUELLI

EPISTOLA AD

D. SCIPIONEM.

EPISTOLA REV. P. JOANNIS JUELLI,

EPISCOPI SARISBURIENSIS, AD VIRUM NOBILEM,

I. SCIPIONEM,

PATRICIUM VENETUM[1].

1. SCRIBIS ad me familiariter pro ea consuetudine, quæ inter nos summa semper fuit ex eo usque tempore, quo una viximus Pataviæ, tu in reipublicæ tuæ tractatione occupatus, ego in studiis literarum,—mirari te, tecumque alios istic multos, cum hoc tempore concilium generale componendæ religionis et contentionis tollendæ causa Tridenti a pontifice indictum sit, et eo jam reliquæ omnes nationes undique convenerint[2], solum Angliæ regnum nec legatum eo aliquem misisse, nec absentiam suam per nuntios aut literas excusasse; sed sine concilio omnem prope rationem veteris et avitæ religionis immutasse; quorum alterum superbæ contumaciæ videri ais, alterum perniciosi schismatis: nefas enim esse, si quis sanctissimam auctoritatem defugiat Romani pontificis, aut vocatus ab illo

An EPISTLE written by John Jewel, bishop of Sarum, unto one Signior Scipio, a gentleman in Venice, in answer of an expostulatory Letter of his concerning the Council of Trent[3].

SIR,

According to that intimate acquaintance which hath been between us, ever since we lived together at Padua (you being employed in the affairs of your commonwealth, I in literary pursuits), you write familiarly to me, that yourself, and many others there with you, wonder, that since a general council hath now been summoned by the pope at Trent, for the settling of religion, and removing of controversies; and since already all other nations from all parts have there assembled; the realm of England alone hath neither sent any ambassador thither, nor by any messengers or letter excused their absence; but without any council hath altered almost all the form of the old and ancient religion; the former fact arguing, as you say, a proud stubbornness, the other, a pernicious schism. For it is a superlative crime for any man to decline the most sacred authority of the pope of Rome, or, being called by him to a council, to withdraw himself: and, as for

[1 This Epistle is reprinted from the Appendix to Brent's translation of father Paul's history of the Council of Trent, 1629, in which it first appeared. Brent does not say from what source he obtained it: but he prefixes Jewel's name to it; and there can scarcely be any reasonable doubt that Jewel was the author. For he seems to intimate to Peter Martyr, in a letter dated Feb. 7, 1562, (which will be found below) his intention of putting forth a statement of the reasons why the queen and church of England declined to send deputies to Trent; and the course of his argument is so similar to that which Jewel has pursued in his acknowledged works, the expressions so identical, the very mistakes the same, that it is hard to believe that this piece was from any other hand. Some of the resemblances referred to will be pointed out in the subsequent notes. It is true that we have no direct knowledge of Jewel's having ever been at Padua; and it has been said that, while an exile for religion's sake from his own country, he was not likely to venture into Italy, where the professors of the reformed faith were in greater danger of persecution. But it may be replied, that Padua is known, and it is almost the only city in Italy so distinguished, to have been frequented by the protestants: see Sir E. Sandys' Europæ Speculum, Lond. 1673, p. 129; also Strype, Life of Cheke, Oxf. 1821. Chap. v. Sect. ii. p. 96. It is not therefore wonderful if Jewel, from Switzerland, crossed the Alps to that place for the purpose of study. As to the date of this epistle, it may be presumed to be 1562, as it speaks of the exclusion of the protestant deputies as occurring ten years before, which exclusion (see Sleidan, Lib. XXIII.) was in 1552; and as it refers to the *Bulla celebrationis*, which is dated Nov. 29, 1560, as having been issued twenty months previously. Conf. Le Bas, Life of Jewel, pp. 41—3.]

[2 convenerunt, Brent.]

[3 The translation here given is that found in Brent, occasionally amended.]

ad concilium se subducat: controversias autem de religione non alibi quam in hujusmodi conventibus fas esse disceptari: ibi enim esse patriarchas et episcopos; ibi esse ex omni genere hominum viros doctissimos; ab illorum ore petendam esse veritatem; ibi esse lumina ecclesiarum; ibi esse Spiritum Sanctum; pios principes semper omnes, si quid incidisset ambigui in cultu Dei, illud semper ad publicam consultationem retulisse: Mosen, Josuam, Davidem, Ezechiam, Josiam, aliosque judices, reges, sacerdotes, de rebus divinis non alibi quam in episcoporum concilio deliberasse; apostolos Christi piosque patres inter se concilia celebrasse; sic veritatem emicuisse; sic expugnatas esse hæreses; sic Arium, sic Eunomium, sic Eutychetem, sic Macedonium, sic Pelagium succubuisse; sic hodie dissidia orbis terrarum componi et ruinas ecclesiæ sarciri posse, si positis contentionibus et studiis veniatur ad concilium; sine concilio autem quicquam in religione tentari nefas esse.

2. Atque hæc quidem fere literarum tuarum summa fuit. Ego vero non id mihi nunc sumo, ut tibi pro regno Angliæ, quo quidque consilio factum sit, quicquam respondeam: neque te id a me requirere aut velle arbitror. Regum consilia recondita et arcana sunt, et esse debent. Nosti illud, "Nec passim, nec omnibus, nec quibuslibet." Tamen pro nostra inter nos veteri et privata consuetudine (quoniam te id video ita prolixe petere), quid mihi videatur, breviter et amice respondebo; sed ita, ut ait ille, "quantum sciam poteroque," idque tibi non dubito fore satis.

3. Miramur, inquis, legatos ex Anglia ad concilium non venire. Obsecro te, an Angli soli ad concilium non veniunt? an ergo tu concilio interfuisti? an censum egisti? an capita singula enumerasti? an videbas alias nationes undique omnes convenisse præter Anglos? Quod si tibi mirari tam cordi est, cur non miraris hoc quoque, aut tres illos memorabiles patriarchas, Constantinopolitanum, Antiochenum, Alexandrinum, aut presbyterum Joannem, aut Græcos, Armenios, Medos, Persas, Ægyptios, Mauritanos, Æthiopas, Indos, ad concilium

controversies about religion, that it is not lawful to debate them elsewhere than in such assemblies. For there are the patriarchs and bishops; there are the most learned men of all sorts, from whose mouths the truth must be learned; there are the lights of the churches; there is the Holy Ghost; that all godly princes, if any doubt had risen concerning God's worship, always referred it to a public consultation; that Moses, Joshua, David, Ezechias, Josias, and others, judges, kings, and priests, did not advise, concerning matters of religion, elsewhere than in an assembly of bishops; that Christ's apostles and the holy fathers held councils; that by this means the truth displayed her beams; thus heresies were subdued; thus was Arius vanquished, thus Eunomius, thus Eutyches, thus Macedonius, thus Pelagius; and that by the same means the present distractions of the world may be composed, and the breaches of the church made up again, if, contentions and factions laid aside, we would come to a council; but without a council it is a crime for any thing to be attempted in religion.

This in effect was the sum of your letter. I do not now take upon me to answer you in the behalf of the realm of England, by what advice everything hath been done; neither do I think that you expect or desire this from me. The counsels of kings are hidden and secret, and so they ought to be. You know the saying, "Not everywhere, nor to all, nor to all sorts of people." Yet for our old and intimate acquaintance (because I see you desire it so earnestly) I will briefly and in a friendly manner shew you what I think, but, as one says, "as far as I know, and am able;" and I doubt not but that will satisfy you.

We wonder, say you, that no ambassadors from England come to the council. I pray you, sir, are they only Englishmen who do not come to this council? Were you yourself present at the council? Did you take an account of those who were there? Did you number them one by one? Did you see that all other nations were met from all parts, except only the English? If you have such a mind to wonder, why do you not wonder at this too, that neither the three venerable patriarchs, of Constantinople, Antioch, and Alexandria, nor presbyter John, nor the Greeks, the Armenians, the Medes, the Persians, the Egyptians, the Moors, the Ethiopians, nor the Indians, come to the council? For do

non venire? An enim multi ex istis omnibus non credunt in Christum? non habent episcopos? non baptizantur in nomine Christi? non sunt appellanturque Christiani? An vero ab istis singulis nationibus venerunt legati ad concilium? An tu hoc potius dices, papam illos non vocasse, aut illos ecclesiasticis vestris sanctionibus non teneri?

4. Sed nos hoc miramur magis, papam eos, quos inauditos, indicta causa, pro hæreticis jam antea condemnavit, et publice excommunicatos pronunciavit, eosdem postea vocare voluisse ad concilium. Homines enim primum damnari atque affici supplicio, deinde eosdem vocari in judicium, absurdum est, et ὕστερον πρότερον. Verum hoc mihi velim responderi, utrum id agat pontifex, ut nobiscum, quos habet pro hæreticis, in concilio de religione deliberet; an potius, ut nos ex inferiori loco causam dicamus, et vel statim mutemus sententiam, vel iterum e vestigio condemnemur? Alterum novum est, et prorsus nostrarum partium hominibus jam pridem a Julio papa tertio denegatum: alterum ridiculum est, si id putat, Anglos venturos esse ad concilium, tantum ut accusentur, et causam dicant, apud illum præsertim, qui jamdudum non tantum a nostris, sed etiam a suis, gravissimis criminibus accusetur.

5. Quod si Anglia sola tibi adeo videtur esse contumax, ubi ergo sunt legati regis Daniæ, principum Germaniæ, regis Suetiæ, Helvetiorum, Rhætiorum, liberarum civitatum, regni Scotiæ, ducatus Prussiæ? Cum in concilio vestro tot desiderentur nationes christianæ, ineptum est Anglos solos numerare. Sed quid ego istos dico? Pontifex ipse ad concilium suum non venit; et cur tu hoc etiam non miraris? Quæ enim est ista superbia, unum hominem animi causa, cum libet, convocare omnes reges, principes, episcopos christianos, eosque velle dicto esse audientes, ipsum solum in illorum conspectum non venire? Certe quum apostoli agerent conventus Hierosolymis, Petrus apostolus, de cujus isti sede et successione gloriantur, abesse noluit. Verum, opinor, meminit Pius papa quartus, is qui nunc pontificatum obtinet, quid Joanni XXII. olim acciderit[1]:

not many out of all these nations believe in Christ? Have they not bishops? Are they not baptized in the name of Christ? Are they not Christians, and so called? Did there come ambassadors from these several nations to the council? or will you rather say that the pope did not summon them, or that they are not bound by your ecclesiastical decrees?

But we wonder more at this, that the pope would afterwards summon such men to a council, whom he had beforehand condemned for heretics, and openly pronounced them excommunicate, without hearing either them or their plea. For that men should be first condemned and punished, and then brought to their trial, is absurd, and, as we say, "putting the cart before the horse." But I would fain have an answer to this, whether the pope's meaning be, to advise in the council concerning religion with us, whom he accounts heretics; or rather that we should plead our cause at the bar, and either change our opinion presently, or out of hand be condemned again. The former is something new, and has been denied heretofore to those of our side since the time of Julius the third: the other is ridiculous; if he thinks that the English will come to the council only to be indicted, and to plead their cause, before one too, who long ago has been charged with most heinous crimes, not only by our side, but also by his own.

Now if England only seem to you thus stubborn, where then are the ambassadors of the king of Denmark, of the princes of Germany, of the king of Sweden, of the Switzers, of the Grisons, of the Hanse towns, of the realm of Scotland, of the dukedom of Prussia? Seeing so many christian nations are wanting in your council, it is absurd to fix upon the English only. But why do I speak of these? The pope himself does not come to his own council; and why do you not wonder at that also? For what pride is this, for one man for his own pleasure to assemble together all christian kings, princes, and bishops, when he chooses, and to require them to be at his call, and himself alone not to come into their presence! Certainly, when the apostles summoned assemblies at Jerusalem, Peter the apostle, of whose see and succession they brag, did not choose to be absent. But I suppose Pius the fourth, the present pope, remembers

[1] See before, page 955, note 7.]

illum non satis auspicato venisse ad concilium Constantiense; venisse enim papam, et rediisse cardinalem. Itaque ex eo tempore pontifices caverunt sibi post principia, et se continuerunt domi, et omnibus conciliis ac liberis disceptationibus obstiterunt. Nam ante annos quadraginta cum Doctor Martinus Lutherus omnibus diris et fulminibus a pontifice peteretur, quod docere cœpisset evangelium, et ex verbo Dei religionem instauraret, et summisse petiisset, ut causa sua integra rejiceretur ad cognitionem concilii generalis, audiri non potuit ullo modo. Leo enim decimus papa satis videbat, si res ad concilium rediisset, suam etiam rem venire posse in periculum, et seipsum fortasse audire ea posse quæ nollet.

6. Pulchrum quidem est nomen concilii generalis, modo ita, ut oportet, conveniatur, et positis affectionibus omnia referantur ad præscriptum verbi Dei, et uni veritati serviatur. At si aperte religio et pietas opprimatur, si tyrannis et ambitio confirmetur, si factionibus, ventri, libidini studeatur, nihil potest cogitari ecclesiæ Dei perniciosius. Atque hæc quidem hactenus ita dico, quasi concilium istud, quod tu dicis, usquam aut ullum sit: quod ego prorsus nullum esse arbitror; aut, si uspiam aut ullum est, certe obscurum et valde arcanum est[2]. Nos enim quamvis non ita procul absumus, tamen quid agatur[3], qui episcopi convenerint, vel potius an ulli omnino convenerint, scire adhuc nullo modo possumus. Imo etiam ante viginti menses, cum concilium istud a pontifice Pio primum indiceretur, Ferdinandus imperator respondit, Quamvis alia omnia convenirent, locum tamen, quem papa delegerat, sibi magnopere displicere: Tridentum enim etsi bella sit civitas, tamen nec satis opportunam esse tot gentibus, nec tantam frequentiam hominum, quantam ad generale concilium convenire par sit, posse capere. Eadem fere ab aliis principibus christianis, a quibusdam etiam non paulo asperiora respondebantur. Itaque nos ista omnia una cum concilio in fumos abiisse credebamus.

what happened heretofore to John XXII.; that he came in an unhappy hour to the council of Constance; for he came a pope, but returned a cardinal. Therefore, since then, the popes have provided themselves a way of retreat, and have kept themselves at home, and set their faces against all councils and free discussions. For above forty years ago, when doctor Martin Luther was cursed by the pope with bell, book, and candle, because he had begun to preach the gospel, and to reform religion out of God's word, and had humbly requested that his whole cause might be referred to the cognisance of a general council, he could not obtain a hearing. For pope Leo the tenth saw well enough, if the matter should come to a council, that his own state might be brought into danger, and that he might perchance hear what he would not wish.

Indeed the name of a general council carries a fair shew, if only it be assembled as it ought, and (affections laid aside) all things be referred to the rule of God's word, and the truth only be obeyed. But, if religion and godliness be openly beaten down, if tyranny and ambition be established, if men regard factions, their appetite, and their lust, there is nothing more pernicious for the church of God. All this I have spoken hitherto, as if this council, which you call so, were in existence anywhere or in any shape; but really I think there is no such thing. Or if there be, and it is existing anywhere, surely it is obscure, and kept very close. For though we are not very far off, yet we can by no means learn what is doing there; what bishops have met, or rather indeed whether any at all are met. Nay, besides, about twenty months since, when this council was first summoned by pope Pius, the emperor Ferdinand answered that, though all other matters might be agreed to, he yet much disliked the place which the pope had made choice of: for Trent, though a pleasant city, yet neither was commodiously enough seated for the reception of so many nations, nor able to contain so great a multitude of men, as were in reason likely to meet at a general council. Almost the same answer was returned from other christian princes; and from some a much sharper. Therefore we believed that all these things, together with the council itself, had vanished away into smoke.

[2] Compare with this passage one almost identical in Jewel's letter to Peter Martyr, Feb. 7, 1562.]
[3] agetur, Brent.]

7. Sed, obsecro te, quis ille tandem est, qui istud concilium indixit, et orbem terrarum convocavit? Pius, inquies, papa quartus. Et cur ille potius quam episcopus Toletanus? qua enim potestate, quo exemplo primitivæ ecclesiæ, quo jure hæc facit? An ita Petrus, Linus, Cletus, Clemens, edictis suis orbem terrarum commoverunt? Fuit hoc semper, salvis rebus, jus imperatorum Romanorum proprium. Nunc autem postquam imminutæ sunt vires imperii, et regna in partem Cæsareæ potestatis successerunt, ea potestas communicata est cum principibus et regibus christianis. Scrutare annales, collige memorias vetustatis; invenies antiquissima concilia, Nicenum, Ephesinum, Chalcedonense, Constantinopolitanum ab imperatoribus Romanis, Constantino, Theodosio primo, Theodosio secundo, Martiano indicta fuisse, non a Romanis pontificibus[1].

8. Leo pontifex, satis alioqui sui amans, et nulla in re negligens auctoritatem sedis suæ, Mauritium[2] imperatorem suppliciter oravit, ut concilium indiceret intra Italiam; quod ille tum locus ei negotio convenire maxime videretur: "Supplicant," inquit, "omnes sacerdotes mansuetudini vestræ, ut.... generalem synodum jubeatis intra Italiam celebrari[3]." At imperator concilium illud non intra Italiam, quod pontifex maxime contendebat, sed Chalcedonem in Bithyniam jussit convocari; ut ostenderet jus illud suum esse, et ad se unum pertinere. Et cum Ruffinus in illa concertatione, quam habuit cum Hieronymo, allegasset synodum; "Doce," inquit Hieronymus, "quis imperator eam jusserit convocari[4]." Non putabat D. Hieronymus satis firmam esse auctoritatem concilii generalis, nisi illud imperator coegisset. Ego vero non id quæro, quis imperator episcopos hoc tempore jusserit Tridentum evocari; sed papa, qui tantum sibi sumpsit, quo cum imperatore de habendo concilio deliberaverit, quem regem aut principem christianum conscium fecerit voluntatis suæ? In jus alterius per fraudem aut vim irrumpere, quodque alienum sit, id sibi tanquam suum usurpare, injurium est: abuti autem clementia principum, illisque tanquam servis suis

But, I pray you, who is he that hath summoned this council, and called the world together? You will say, pope Pius the fourth. And why he rather than the bishop of Toledo? By what power, by what example of the primitive church, by what right doth he this? Did Peter, Linus, Cletus, Clemens, thus disturb the world with their proclamations? This was always, whilst the empire flourished, the peculiar right of the emperors of Rome. But now, since the strength of the empire is lessened, and kingdoms have succeeded to the imperial power, that right is common to christian kings and princes. Search the annals, lay together the memorials of antiquity; you shall find the most ancient councils, the Nicene, the Ephesine, that of Chalcedon, that of Constantinople, to have been called by the Roman emperors, Constantine, Theodosius the first, Theodosius the second, Martian, not by the popes of Rome.

Leo the pope, a man otherwise selfish enough, and no way neglectful of the authority of his see, did humbly beseech Mauritius the emperor, that he would summon a council to be held in Italy, as being the fittest place. "All the priests," says he, "beseech your clemency, that you would command a general council to be held within Italy." But the emperor caused that council to be assembled, not in Italy, which the pope earnestly desired, but at Chalcedon in Bithynia; to shew that that was his right, and belonged to him only. And when Ruffinus, in that dispute which he had with Jerome, alleged a certain synod, "Tell me," says Jerome, "what emperor caused it to be called." Jerome did not think the authority of a general council firm enough, unless an emperor had called it. But I do not now ask, what emperor hath commanded the bishops to be called to Trent at this time; but with what emperor did the pope, who hath taken thus much upon himself, advise about holding the council, what christian king or prince did he make privy to his design? To intrude upon another's right by fraud or force, and to usurp for his own what belongs to others, is injurious dealing: but

[1 See before, page 992.]

[2 A mistake for *Martianum;* but, as it appears by the following note, Theodosius was the emperor addressed.]

[3 Leon. Magni Op. Lut. 1623. Ad Theodos. August. Epist. xxiv. col. 334. See before, page 997, note 15.]

[4 Hieron. Op. Par. 1693-1706. Apolog. adv. Ruffin. Lib. II. Tom. IV. Pars II. col. 415. See before, page 1006, note 4.]

imperare, insignis est et non ferenda contumelia. Nos autem obsequio nostro velle tantam injuriam et contumeliam confirmare, non minus magna esset injuria. Quare si hoc tantum diceremus, concilium istud vestrum Tridentinum non esse legitime convocatum, nihil a papa Pio rite atque ordine esse factum, nemo posset absentiam nostram satis juste reprehendere.

9. Mitto quibus nos injuriis a Romanis pontificibus affecti simus; illos, quoties libuit, populum nostrum in principem armavisse; illos regibus nostris sceptra de manibus, et diadema de capite detraxisse; illos regnum Angliæ suum esse, et suo nomine possideri, et reges nostros suo beneficio regnare voluisse; illos proximis istis annis modo Gallum in nos, modo Cæsarem commovisse[5]. Quid autem Pius iste de nobis consilii ceperit, quid egerit, quid dixerit, quid molitus, quid minatus sit, nihil opus est commemorare. Facta enim ejus dictaque non ita tecta sunt et recondita, quin intelligi utcunque possit, quid velit. Quibus autem ille rationibus pontifex factus fuerit, quibusque quasi gradibus ad illam tantam dignitatem ascenderit, nihil dico. Non dico illum, corruptis cardinalibus, emptis suffragiis, mercede ac pretio, per cuniculos et insidias ad pontificatum aspirasse. Non dico illum nuper admodum, cum solvendo non esset, cardinalem Caraffam, cujus ope reliquorum cardinalium suffragia collegerat, cuique eo nomine debebat magnam vim auri, vinctum in carcere interfecisse[6]. Ista aliaque complura vobis relinquo potius, qui ea et propius videtis, et melius intelligitis. An ergo tu nos ad hominem sanguinarium, ad mercatorem suffragiorum, ad æris alieni negatorem, ad simoniacum, ad hæreticum miraris non venire? Non est prudentis (mihi crede) velle se conjicere in sedem pestilentiæ, et cum hostibus religionis velle de religione consilium capere. "Ad infames" (inquit quidam) "vetuit me mater accedere." Joannes apostolus non est ausus in eodem

to abuse the clemency of princes, and to rule over them as his vassals, is an open and intolerable disgrace to them. And if we by our complying would sanction such an injury and disgrace, it would be no less injury. Wherefore, if we should only say thus much, that this Tridentine council of yours is not lawfully called, that pope Pius hath done nothing rightly or orderly, no man could justly find fault with our absence.

I pass over the wrongs which the popes of Rome have done us; that they have, as often as they pleased, armed our people against their sovereign; that they have pulled the sceptres out of our kings' hands, and the crowns from off their heads; that they would have the kingdom of England to be theirs, and held in their name, and our kings to reign by their favour; that within these later years they have stirred up against us, sometimes the French, sometimes the emperor. What the intentions of Pius himself have been towards us, what he hath done, what he hath spoken, what he hath practised, what he hath threatened, 'tis needless to rehearse; for his actions and his words are not so close and so concealed, but that the aim of both may be discovered. By what courses he was made pope, and by what steps he mounted to so great a dignity, I say nothing. I say nothing how he aspired to the popedom by corrupting of cardinals, buying of voices, by price and purchase, by underminings and stratagems. I say nothing how lately, being not able to pay his debts, he cast cardinal Caraffa into prison and there put him to death, by whose assistance he had gained the rest of the cardinals' voices, and to whom for that service he owed a great sum of money. These and divers other things I leave to you, who both behold them more nearly, and better understand them. And can you wonder then that we come not to a man of blood, a purchaser of votes, a repudiator of his debts, to a simoniacal person, to a heretic? Believe me, it is not the part of a wise man wilfully to run into a seat of pestilence, and to consult of religion with religion's foes. "My mother," says one, "forbade me the company of infamous persons." John the apostle dared not sit in the

[5] See Vol. III. page 46.]

[6] Sub finem ejus mensis [Februarii, 1560], pontifex duodeviginti novos cardinales sibi ascivit, et Carolum cardinalem Caraffam, ejusque fratrem Fridericum ducem Pallianum, cui prior pontifex patruus Columniorum possessiones tradiderat, eoque modo multas in Italia turbas excitarat, una cum aliis nonnullis cardinalibus in vincula conjecit: et non multo post, mense Martio, Caraffam cardinalem in ipso carcere laqueo suffocari, ejusque fratri caput palam detruncari jussit.—Rer. Memor. Append. ad calc. J. Sleid. Comm. Argent. 1572. p. 110.]

balneo sedere, et una lavare cum Olympio, ne una cum illo fulmine de cœlo feriretur[1]. "Non sedi," inquit David, "in concilio vanitatis, et cum iniqua agentibus non introibo."

10. Sed esto: sit hoc jus papæ proprium: possit convocare concilia: possit terrarum orbi imperare: sint ea falsa et vana, quæ diximus de potestate Cæsaris et jure regio: sit Pius papa vir bonus, sit recte, sit legitime factus pontifex; nullius vitam petiverit; Caraffam in carcere non occiderit: tamen concilia æquum est esse libera, ut adsit qui velit, cui adesse non sit commodum, abesse liceat. Ea olim melioribus æquitas et moderatio servabatur. Non ita tum serviliter cogebantur principes, ut, si quis forte mansisset domi, aut legatos ad concilium non misisset, statim omnium digitis atque oculis notaretur. In concilio Niceno, in Ephesino, in Constantinopolitano, in Chalcedonensi, quæso te, quis explorator observavit qui abessent? Atqui nullus tum adfuit legatus nec ex Anglia, nec e Scotia, nec e Polonia, nec ex Hispania, nec e Pannoniis, nec e Dania, nec ex tota Germania. Vide, lege, recognosce subscriptiones; invenies ita rem habere, ut dico. Et cur non miraris Anglos tum ad illa concilia ita plena, ita præclara, ita celebria, ita frequentia, non venisse? aut episcopos Romanos ita tum fuisse patientes, ut illos non condemnarent contumaciæ? Verum nondum creverat ista tyrannis pontificia: fas tum erat sanctis episcopis et patribus pro suo commodo sine fraude manere domi. Paulus apostolus noluit 'sese dare in concilium Hierosolymitanum, sed potius appellavit ad Cæsarem. Athanasius episcopus, quamvis vocaretur ab imperatore ad concilium Cæsariense, tamen venire noluit[2]. Idem in concilio Syrmiano, cum rem videret inclinare ad Arianos, statim subduxit se, atque abiit; ejusque exemplum sequuti episcopi occidentis ad illud concilium venire recusarunt[3]. Johannes Chrysostomus ad concilium Arianorum non accessit,

same bath, or bathe in company with Olympius, lest he should be struck from heaven with the same thunder. "I have not sat," saith David, "in the assembly of vanity, neither will I go in with the workers of iniquity."

But admit that this is the pope's proper right; be it that he has power to call councils, to govern the whole world; let whatsoever we have spoken concerning the power of the emperor, and the right of kings, be false and vain; grant that pope Pius is a good man; that he was duly and lawfully made pope; that he never sought any man's life; that he did not kill Caraffa in prison: still it is fit that councils should be free; that every man may be present that will, and those, with whose convenience it stands not, may lawfully be absent. And such was anciently the justice and moderation of better men. Princes were not then called together in such a slavish manner, that, if any one of them had stayed at home, or had not sent ambassadors to the council, presently every eye was upon him, every finger pointed at him. In the Nicene council, in the Ephesine, in that of Constantinople, what spy, I pray you, observed who were absent? But there was never an ambassador then present, either from England, or Scotland, or Poland, or Spain, or out of the two Pannonias, or out of Denmark, or out of all Germany. See, read, examine the subscriptions; you shall find it so as I say. And why do you not wonder that the English came not then to those councils, so full, so famous, so renowned, so crowded? Why do you not wonder that the popes in those times were so patient as not to condemn them for contumacy? But this tyranny of the popes had not then grown up: it was lawful then for holy bishops and fathers, as it stood with their convenience, to stay at home without prejudice. The apostle Paul would not surrender himself to the council at Jerusalem, but rather appealed to Cæsar. Athanasius the bishop, though the emperor summoned him to the council at Cæsarea, yet would not come. The same man in the Syrmian council, when he saw that the Arians were likely to prevail, presently withdrew himself, and went away; and the western bishops, following his example, refused to come to that council. John Chry-

[1 Euseb. in Hist. Eccles. Script. Amst. 1695-1700. Lib. IV. cap. xiv. p. 103. But it is Cerinthus who is there named.]

[2 Theodoret. in eod. Lib. I. cap. xxviii. p. 61. The passage in the text is almost identical with that in the Apology, Vol. III. p. 38, or before, p. 951.]

[3 See before, p. 951, note 17.]

quamvis ab imperatore Constantio et literis et nuntiis vocaretur[4]. Cum Arianorum episcopi in Palæstina convenissent, et maximam partem suffragiorum secum traherent, Paphnutius senex et Maximus Hierosolymorum episcopus una e medio conventu discesserunt[5]. Cyrillus episcopus a Patropassianorum concilio appellavit[6]. Paulinus episcopus Trevirensis venire noluit ad concilium Mediolanense, quod videret propter gratiam et potentiam imperatoris Constantii omnia ruere ad Auxentium Arianum[7]. Episcopi, qui ad concilium Constantinopolitanum convenerant, ad concilium Romanum, quo vocabantur, venire noluerunt[8]: quod tamen illis fraudi non fuit, quamvis imperatoris literis vocarentur. Satis ea tum justa excusatio esse videbatur, quod ecclesiarum suarum curæ atque instaurationi studendum esset: quamvis viderent Arianos per omnes jam ecclesias grassari, et ad minuendam illorum rabiem magnum pondus habituram esse præsentiam suam.

11. Quid si idem illud episcopi nunc nostri responderent, non esse otium a sacro ministerio, sese prorsus occupatos esse in restituendis ecclesiis suis; non posse abesse domo quinque, sex, septem annos, ibi præsertim, ubi nihil possint promovere? Non enim ita otiosi sunt episcopi nostri, ut sunt qui Romæ deliciantur in palatiis, et sectantur cardinales, et venantur sacerdotia. Ita enim misere perditæ sunt ab istis atque eversæ ecclesiæ nostræ, ut nec parvo tempore nec mediocri diligentia possint instaurari. Nunc autem aperte videmus obsideri ab istis nostra tempora, ut, cum minime necesse sit, foras distrahamur, et nec domi propagare possimus evangelium, et in concilio ab ipsis impediamur.

12. Simulat enim papa, ne nescias: non cogitat concilium[9]: neque enim tu illum quicquam putes sincere et vere agere. "Qui nescit simulare" (dicere solebat olim rex Ludovicus undecimus Carolo octavo) "nescit regnare[10]:" multo vero magis,

sostom came not to the Arian council, though the emperor Constantius called him, both by letter, and also by messengers. At the time when the Arian bishops assembled in Palestine, and were drawing with them the votes of the major part, old Paphnutius, and Maximus bishop of Jerusalem, went out together from the midst of their assembly. Bishop Cyril appealed from the council of the Patropassians. Paulinus, bishop of Triers, would not come to the council of Milan, because he saw that, by the favour and power of the emperor Constantius, all ran of Auxentius the Arian's side. The bishops that had met in council at Constantinople, being called to a council at Rome, refused to come: which notwithstanding turned not to their prejudice, though they were called by the emperor's letters. In those days the excuse was allowed as reasonable enough, that they must attend to the charge and reformation of their own churches; though they saw that the Arians were getting admission to all churches, and that their presence would have been of great importance for the abating of their rage.

What if our bishops should now give the same answer, that they can spare no time from their sacred function; that they are wholly employed in setting up again their own churches; that they cannot be absent five, six, seven years, especially there where they should be able to do no good. For our bishops are not so idle as those at Rome, that live luxuriously in their palaces, and dance attendance upon the cardinals, and hunt after benefices. Our churches are so miserably wasted and ruined by them, that they cannot be repaired in a small time, or with mere ordinary diligence. But now we see plainly that these men seek to encroach upon our times, that without any necessity we might be drawn abroad, and so disabled from advancing the gospel at home, and in the council be hindered by them.

For the pope, do not overlook the fact, doth but make a shew of a council, and means it not; for think not that he doth anything sincerely or truly. Lewis the eleventh

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[4 Hist. Trip. Par. Lib. x. cap. xiii. fol. X. 3. Conf. Socrat. in Hist. Eccles. Lib. vi. cap. xv. pp. 263, 4. In the later editions of the Apology, Arcadius is rightly named instead of Constantius. See Vol. III. page 38, note 4.]

[5 Hist. Eccles. Par. Lib. x. cap. xvii. fol. 113. 2. See before, page 951, note 22.]

[6 Socrat. in Hist. Eccles. Script. Lib. ii. cap. xl. p. 125.]

[7 Id. ibid. Lib. ii. cap. xxxvi. p. 108.]

[8 Theodor. in eod. Lib. v. capp. viii. ix. pp. 207, &c.]

[9 Conf. Vol. III. page 36.]

[10 Paul. Æmyl. de Gest. Franc. Par. 1544. Lib. x. fol. 242. 2.]

qui nescit dissimulare, et consilia sua vultu tegere, ut nunc quidem est, nescit agere pontificem. Illa enim sedes tota meræ nititur hypocrisi; quæ quo minus habet nativi roboris, eò pluribus coloribus opus habet. Nam si putabant pontifices, tantam esse vim concilii generalis ad tollenda schismata, cur illi rem tam necessariam tam diu distulerunt? cur triginta totos annos quieverunt, et Lutheri doctrinam radices agere pertulerunt? Cur concilium non primo quoque tempore indixerunt? Cur synodum Tridentinam reluctantes et inviti, magisque imperatoris Caroli impulsu quam sua voluntate, convocarunt? Cumque Tridenti decem prope annos versarentur, cur tanta deliberatione nihil egerunt? Cur rem infectam reliquerunt? Quis impediebat? quis obstabat? Crede hoc mihi, mi frater, non agunt id nunc pontifices, ut concilium celebretur, aut religio Dei restituatur, quam illi prorsus habent pro ludibrio. Id agunt, id quærunt, id pugnant, ut magnifica exspectatione concilii generalis hominum piorum animos atque orbem terrarum ludificentur.

13. Vident jamdudum imminui et ruere opes suas; artes suas non esse nunc eodem loco, quo fuerunt olim; incredibilem numerum hominum in dies singulos a se dilabi; non esse nunc, qui tanta frequentia currant Romam; non esse, qui indulgentias, interdictiones, benedictiones, absolutiones, et inanes bullas, aut tanti faciant, aut tanti emant; ceremoniarum suarum et missarum nundinas, et omnem illum fucum meretricium, non magni fieri; magnam partem tyrannidis et pompæ suæ concidisse; reditus suos angustiores nunc esse quam solebant[1]; sese suosque rideri passim a pueris; omnino in discrimen venisse summam rerum. Nec mirum, si ea corruant, quæ nullis radicibus sustinebantur. Extinxit illa omnia Salvator noster Jesus Christus, non armis, aut vi militum, sed cœlesti impulsu, et spiritu oris sui: consumet autem atque abolebit claritate adventus sui. Hæc est vis verbi Dei; hæc est potestas evangelii; hæc sunt arma, quibus evertitur omnis

was wont to say to Charles the eighth, that "he that knows not how to make shew of what he means not, knows not how to reign:" but much more, as the times go now, he that knows not how to dissemble what he means, and to cloak his designs under a disguised countenance, knows not how to play the pope. For that see is wholly supported by mere hypocrisy, which the less natural strength it hath, so much the more colour it needs. For, if the popes thought a general council so effectual for removing of schisms, why did they defer a thing so necessary thus long? Why did they sit quiet thirty years together, and suffer Luther's doctrine to take root? Why did they not call a council at the very first opportunity? Why did they assemble the Trent council with such reluctancy and unwillingness, more by the instigation of the emperor Charles, than of their own accord? And, having been at Trent well-nigh ten years, with all this deliberation why did they do just nothing? Why did they leave the matter undone? Who hindered, who withstood them? Believe me in this, good brother, the popes have no mind now to keep a solemn council, or to restore religion, which they make a mock of. That which they intend, and seek, and labour for, is to delude the minds of godly men, and the whole world, with a pompous expectation of a general council.

They see that their wealth hath been lessening now a long while, and declining; that their tricks do not find the same credit now as heretofore; that an incredible number of men every day fall from them; that men do not now run to Rome in such troops; that there is not now-a-days so high an estimation, or so dear a price given, for indulgences, interdicts, blessings, absolutions, and empty bulls; that their mart of ceremonies and masses, and all their meretricious ornaments, are slighted; that a great part of their tyranny and pomp is gone; that their revenues are slenderer than they were wont to be; that they and theirs are laughed at everywhere, even by very children; that their whole existence lies now at stake. And indeed it is no wonder if those things fall, which had no roots to hold them. Our Saviour Jesus Christ has extinguished them all, not by arms or force of men, but by the heavenly blast and breath of his mouth; and he will consume and abolish them with the brightness of his coming. This is the force of

[1 Conf. Vol. III. page 47.]

munitio, quæ ædificata est adversus cognitionem Dei. Prædicabitur hæc doctrina, invitis omnibus, per universum orbem. Portæ inferorum non prævalebunt adversus eam. Frigent nunc Romæ tabernæ meritoriæ: illorum merces (quasi bona Porsennæ vænirent) vilissimo pretio proscribuntur; et vix quisquam est, qui velit emere. Circuit mercator indulgentiarius, et fatuos non invenit. Hoc illud est, hinc illæ lacrymæ, hæc res pontifices male habet[2]. Vident hanc tantam lucem ex una scintilla erupisse: quid nunc futurum, postquam tot ignes ubique terrarum accensi sunt, et tot reges et principes christiani agnoscunt et profitentur evangelium? Non enim illi Jesu Christo serviunt, sed suo ventri. Aiunt Carneadem philosophum, cum olim esset Romæ, et memorabilem illam haberet orationem contra justitiam, inter alia hoc etiam addidisse: "Eam virtutem, si quidem ea virtus esset, nulli hominum generi minus ex usu fore quam Romanis; illos enim per vim et latrocinium regna sibi aliena subegisse, perque summam injustitiam ad imperium orbis terrarum pervenisse. Quod si nunc tandem velint justitiam colere, restituenda esse illa omnia quæ injuste teneant: ad casas pastoritias, et frigida tuguria, quæ sola habuerant ab initio, esse redeundum[3]." Ita prorsus isti, si vere velint agere, et simulationem ponere, et officium facere, et suum cuique reddere, vident sibi redeundum esse ad virgam et peram, ad sobrietatem et modestiam, ad labores, ad munus episcopi. Audiverunt enim Augustinum dicere, "episcopum nomen esse operis, non honoris... et illos non esse episcopos, qui velint præesse, et non prodesse[4]." Itaque istud evangelium latius diffundi, et ad plures propagari, vident nulli hominum generi minus expedire, quam sibi; se enim salvos esse non posse, si sani esse velint. Ergo nunc tumultuantur, et turbant omnia, ut olim Demetrius faber, postquam vidit sibi periise spem lucri. Ergo nunc concilia indicuntur, et abbates atque episcopi ad partes advocantur.

God's word; this is the power of the gospel; these be the weapons by which is overthrown every stronghold which is raised against the knowledge of God. This doctrine shall be preached through the whole world despite of them all: "the gates of hell shall not prevail against it." The merit-mongers' shops wax cold now at Rome; their wares, as if Porsenna's goods were put to sale, are very low priced, and yet can scarce find a chapman. The indulgence-broker goes up and down, and finds no fools. This is it: hence grows their grief; this vexes the popes. They see that this so great light broke forth from one spark: what is it like to do now, when so many fires are kindled in all places of the world, and so many christian kings and princes acknowledge and profess the gospel? For they serve not Christ Jesus, but their bellies. It is said that Carneades the philosopher, when he was at Rome, and made that memorable speech against justice, amongst other things added this, that "this virtue, if it were one, would be less profitable to no kind of men than to the Romans; for they by force and robbery had subdued other men's dominions to themselves, and had compassed the empire of the world by the highest injustice. Now, if they would at length observe justice, they must restore all those things which they possessed unjustly; they must return to their pastoral cottages and their chilly huts, which was all they had in the beginning." So verily these men see that, if they would deal plainly, and lay aside their disguises, and do their duty, and render every one his own, they must come to their staff and scrip again, to sobriety and modesty, to the labours and function of a bishop. For they have heard that Augustine says, that "the name of a bishop is a name of work, not of worship; and, that they are no bishops that wish to have pre-eminence, but not to do good." And therefore they see that it is less expedient for themselves, than for any sort of men, to have the gospel spread more widely, and further propagated; for they cannot be safe, if they will be sound. Therefore now they raise tumults, and disturb every thing, as Demetrius the craftsman did of old, when he saw that his hopes of gain were gone. Now therefore councils are summoned, and abbats and bishops are called to make a party.

[2 Conf. Vol. III. page 47.]

[3 Lactant. Op. Par. 1748. Div. Inst. Lib. v. cap. xvii. Tom. I. p. 403.]

[4 August. Op. Par. 1679—1700. De Civ. Dei, Lib. xix. cap. xix. Tom. VII. col. 563. See Vol. III. page 308, note 3.]

Hæc enim illis ratio visa est callidissima, ut tempus in aliquot annos protraheretur, ut hominum animi exspectatione suspenderentur; multa, ut fit, posse intervenire; bellum posse excitari; aliquem ex istis principibus posse mori; istos tantos impetus ad evangelium diuturnitate posse obtundi; languere posse hominum voluntates. "Interea," inquit quidam, "fiet aliquid, spero."

14. Olim cum, victis ac triumphatis Persis, Athenienses mœnia sua, quæ illi solo æquaverant, cœpissent instaurare, et Lacedæmonii, quo magis haberent eos in potestate, ne id facerent, magnopere edixissent; Themistocles dux Atheniensis, vir prudens, cum videret salutem patriæ suæ venire posse in periculum, pollicitus est sese venturum Lacedæmona, et de ea re velle cum ipsis una deliberare. Ille ubi se dedisset in viam, quo tempus eximeret, primum morbum simulavit, ut diutius hæreret in itinere: deinde cum venisset Lacedæmona, multa de industria frustrari cœpit; modo pacta non placere; modo deliberationem petere; modo socios legationis, sine quibus nihil agi posset, exspectare; modo legatos Athenas mittere. Interea, dum ille cunctatur, Athenienses clauserant mœnibus civitatem, et, si vis fieret, sese paraverant ad defendendum[1]. Ita isti, dum diem de die proferunt, et rem omnem referri volunt ad concilia, ædificant interea sua mœnia, nobis otiosis et nescio quid exspectantibus, ut ad extremum, confirmatis suis rationibus, nos prorsus excludant, et neque concilium haberi, neque quicquam omnino agi possit.

15. Operæ pretium enim est videre istorum artes et stratagemata; quoties indicta concilia non coiverint; quoties exiguus rumusculus universum apparatum et omnem exspectationem disturbarit; quoties patres in medio itinere repente substiterint; quoties purpurati Amphictyones e medio conventu, re infecta, dilapsi sint domum, et proximum actum in nonum decimumque annum distulerint; quoties cœlum, quoties annona, quoties locus, quoties tempus non placuerit. Pontifex enim solus convocat concilia, et solus dimittit, cum vult. Si quid non placuit, aut

For this they thought the most subtle plan, to spin out the time for some years, to hold men's minds in suspense with expectation: many things, as it commonly happens, might fall out in the meantime: some war might be raised: some one of these princes might die: the present zeal for the gospel might in process of time be dulled: men's minds might wax cool: "in the meanwhile," says one, "somewhat will be done, I hope."

Long since, the Persians having been vanquished and triumphed over, when the Athenians had begun to repair their walls, which the Persians had laid level with the ground, and the Lacedemonians had straitly interdicted them, in order that they might keep them the more easily under their check; Themistocles, the Athenian general, a wise man, seeing that the safety of his country might be hazarded, promised that he would go to Lacedemon to confer with them about it. So, being upon the way, to protract the time, he first feigned himself sick, that he might be the longer upon his journey; then, when he came to Lacedemon, he began to make many difficulties on set purpose: sometimes the covenants did not please him; sometimes he wanted time for deliberation; sometimes he was waiting for his colleagues, without whom nothing could be done; then he must send messengers to Athens. In the meantime, whilst he was thus dallying, the Athenians had walled their city round; and, if any force were offered, were provided with means for defence. So these men, whilst they put off from day to day, and will have all referred to councils, in the meanwhile are building up their walls, whilst we sit idle, looking after we know not what; that at the last, when they have made all safe, they may shut us out wholly, and neither council may be held, nor any thing at all done.

For it is worth the pains to observe their tricks and fetches; how often councils have been summoned, and not met! How often a poor rumour hath overturned all their preparation, and all the expectation! How often have the fathers come to a stop on the sudden in the midst of their journey! How often have the scarlet counsellors slipped home, in the midst of the council, having done just nothing; and have adjourned the next session till the ninth or tenth year following! How often have they quarrelled with the air, the victuals, the place, the time! For the pope only assembles the councils, and he

[1 Thucyd. Hist. Lib. I. capp. xc. xci.]

si res non recte ire cœpit, statim auditur, Valete, et plaudite. Indicitur concilium Basileam: convenitur undique magno numero, agitur serio de rebus multis: Eugenius papa ut simoniacus et schismaticus omnibus suffragiis condemnatur: in ejus locum Amideus dux Sabaudiæ surrogatur. Accipit id indigne, ut debuit, Eugenius: rem eam pessimi exempli esse ad posteros; potestatem et vim suam longe esse super omnia concilia; non posse concilium nec convenire nisi jussu suo, nec decernere quicquam nisi quantum ipse velit; impium esse in conventiculo episcoporum inquisitionem fieri de vita sua. Non mora, concilium Ferraram revocat in Italiam, post idem transfert Florentiam[2]. Quid hoc, quæso, rei est? An putabat Eugenius papa cœlum animos mutare, aut Spiritum Sanctum prudentius in Italia responsurum esse, quam antea responderat in Germania[3]? Imo vero ille tot illis mutationibus non Christum quærebat, sed suum commodum. Videbat in Germania imperatorem Sigismundum, inimicum suum, nimium et auctoritate valere et gratia; et patres illos, qui Basileam convenerant, si ex illis duris et asperis regionibus migrassent in Italiam (ut arbores cum transplantantur) fieri posse mitiores. Nam, O Deum immortalem! non id nunc agitur aut quæritur in conciliis, aut ut veritas inveniatur, aut ut mendacia refutentur. Hoc solum semper fuit proximis istis seculis studium pontificum in conciliis, ut tyrannis Romana constitueretur, ut bella susciperentur, ut principes christiani inter se committerentur, ut pecunia colligeretur, modo in terram sanctam, modo in fabricam Petri, modo in nescio quos usus, seu verius abusus, alios; quæ tota in paucos quosdam ventres in luxum et libidinem conjiceretur. Atque hæc unica fuit aliquot jam secula ratio conciliorum. Nam de erroribus et abusibus, quasi nulli essent, nihil unquam agi potuit.

16. Petrus Alliacensis in Constantiensi concilio multum questus est de avaritia et insolentia curiæ Romanæ[4]. At quid promovit? quæ unquam pars illorum ava-

alone dismisses them when he lists. If anything please him not, or the business begin to go awry, presently the solemn close of the plays is heard, *Valete, et plaudite:* "Farewell, and clap your hands." A council is summoned at Basil: they meet from all parts in great numbers: they fall earnestly upon many matters: Eugenius the pope is condemned by all the voices, as a simoniacal and schismatical person: Amideus, duke of Savoy, is put in his place: Eugenius, as beseemed him, takes this indignantly; thinks with himself that this might be a dangerous precedent for posterity; that his power and strength was far above all councils; that a council could not meet but by his command, nor determine of anything but what he pleased; that it was an impious deed, in a conventicle of bishops, to inquire into his life. Presently he summons the council away to Ferrara in Italy, afterwards translates it to Florence. Why, what doings are these, I pray? Did Eugenius think the climate would alter men's minds, or that the Holy Ghost would give discreeter answers in Italy than he had formerly done in Germany? Nay, nay, in all those changes he sought not after Christ, but his own benefit. He saw that his enemy, Sigismund the emperor, did overtop him in Germany, both in power and in favour; and that those fathers who had met at Basil, if they were removed out of those rough and rugged countries into Italy, might (as trees when they are transplanted) become more pliable. For now-a-days (merciful God!) the intent or scope of councils is not to discover truth, or to confute falsehood. For these later ages this hath been the only endeavour of the popes, to establish the Roman tyranny; to set wars on foot; to set Christian princes together by the ears; to raise money, sometimes for the holy land, sometimes for the building of St Peter's church, sometimes for other uses, I know not what, or more truly abuses; all which money was to be cast into some few bellies in gluttony and lust. And this hath been the only cause or course of councils for some ages last past. For of errors and abuses, as if there were none at all, nothing ever could be handled.

Peter de Alliaco made great complaint in the council of Constance concerning the covetousness and pride of the court of Rome: but what good did he? Was there any part

[2 Concil. Basil. in Crabb. Concil. Col. Agrip. 1551. Sess. XXXIV. XXXIX. XL. Tom. III. pp. 106, &c. 118, &c.; Append. ibid. pp. 327, &c. Gen. VIII. Synod. Sess. XVI. ibid. p. 424.]

[3 Conf. Vol. III. page 37.]

[4 Petr. de Aliaco De Reform. Eccles. Basil. 1551. pp. 10, 12, 34, 44, &c. Conf. Lenfant. Hist. du Concile de Constance, Amst. 1714. Liv. VII. pp. 644, &c.]

ritiæ aut insolentiæ concilii auctoritate repressa est? Idem ait festos dies et otiosorum monachorum greges sibi videri minuendos; et alius quispiam (in opere quodam, quod appellatur Tripartitum, et adjunctum est ad concilium Lateranum), Totus, inquit, fere mundus obloquitur, et scandalizatur de tanta multitudine religiosorum pauperum[1]. Et patres in concilio Lateranensi, Firmiter, inquiunt, præcipimus, ne quis de cetero novam religionem inveniat[2]. Ex eo tempore quid de festis diebus factum sit, nescio; probabile tamen est, nihil esse imminutum: at monachorum ordines aucti etiam sunt in infinitum. Nam a proximis pontificibus additi sunt Jesuitæ, Cappuchini, Theatini[3]; quasi pigrorum ventrum nondum etiam esset satis. Johannes Gerson, cancellarius Parisiensis, in concilio Constantiensi obtulit patribus septuaginta quinque abusus in ecclesia Romana, quos vehementer cuperet emendatos[4]. At ex tanto numero, quem illi unum abusum unquam sustulerunt? Joannes Picus Mirandula scribit ad Leonem papam, ut minuat inanes ceremonias, et coerceat luxum sacerdotum[5]. Sederunt postea episcopi magna frequentia et magnâ exspectatione in concilio Laterano. At quam unam ceremoniam imminuerunt, in quo uno sacerdote luxum et nequitiam damnaverunt? Mantuanus poeta queritur nominatim de moribus ecclesiæ Romanæ[6]. Bernardus abbas ita scribit ad Eugenium papam: "Aula tua recipit bonos, non facit; mali ibi proficiunt, boni deficiunt[7]." Et de miserabili statu ecclesiæ, qui tum erat, "A planta," inquit, "pedis usque ad verticem capitis non est in ea sanitas[8]." Et rursus, "Ubi est," inquit, "qui prædicet annum acceptabilem Domini? Non custodiunt," inquit, "hoc tempore sponsam Christi, sed perdunt:

of their avarice or pride restrained by the authority of the council? The same man says that holy days, and the herds of idle monks, ought in his opinion to be lessened; and another (in a certain work intituled *Tripartite*, and joined to the Lateran council), "The whole world almost," says he, "speaks against and is scandalized at the infinite multitude of beggarly friars." And the fathers in the council of Lateran declare, "We strictly command that for the future no man invent a new religious order." Since that time what hath been done in regard to holy days, I know not; but it is probable that no abatement is made: but for the orders of monks, they are infinitely multiplied. For the last popes have added Jesuits, Capuchins and Theatines, as if there had not been yet enough of these slow-bellies. John Gerson, chancellor of Paris, exhibited in the council of Constance seventy-five abuses in the church of Rome, which he did earnestly desire might be reformed. But of so great a number what one abuse did they take away? John Picus Mirandula wrote to pope Leo to abridge idle ceremonies, and to restrain the luxury of priests. The bishops afterwards in the Lateran council sat in great numbers, and moved much expectation. But what one ceremony did they abate? What one priest's luxury or lewdness did they condemn? Mantuanus the poet complains particularly of the manners of the church of Rome. Bernard the abbat writes thus to pope Eugenius: "Your court receives good men, but makes them not: lewd men thrive there; the good pine and fall away." And, speaking of the woeful state of the church in those days, "From the sole of the foot," says he, "to the crown of the head there is no health in her." And again he says, "Where is there one to preach the acceptable year of the Lord?" "Now-a-days," says he, "they keep not Christ's spouse, but destroy her; they

[1] Opusc. Tripart. Pars III. cap. iii. in Crabb. Concil. Col. Agrip. 1551. Tom. II. col. 1000.]

[2] Concil. Later. Inst. cap. 13. in eod. Tom. II. p. 952; where *firmiter prohibemus.*]

[3] The Theatines, an order founded by John Caraffa, bishop of Theate, in the kingdom of Naples, afterwards Paul IV., as also the Capuchins, were established by Clement VII. in 1525; the Jesuits by Paul III. in 1540. See Mosheim, Eccles. Hist. Cent. XVI. Sectt. ii. iii.]

[4] J. Gerson. Op. Antw. 1706. Tom. II. Pars II. cols. 161, &c. Here are Gerson's treatises relating to the council of Constance; but the precise number of abuses mentioned in the text do not seem to be stated.]

[5] Luxum cohibe cujuscunque ordinis, modum pone ambitioni, &c.—Joan. et Joan. F. Pic. Mirand. Op. Basil. 1601. Ad Leon. Dec. de Ref. Mor. Orat. Tom. II. pp. 887, 90. See before, page 949, note 11.]

[6] Bapt. Mant. Libr. de Sacr. Dieb. Argent. 1518. Lib. IV. De Sanct. Leon. v. 174. fol. i. ii. 2; Op. Par. 1513. De Calam. Temp. Lib. III. Tom. II. fol. 61. 2. See before, page 907, note 16, page 1082, note 8.]

[7] ... at curia bonos facilius recipere, quam facere consuevit. Quod si plures, &c.—Bernard. Op. Par. 1690. De Consid. Lib. IV. cap. iv. 11. Vol. I. Tom. II. col. 439. See Vol. I. page 382, note 9.]

[8] Id. in Convers. S. Paul. Serm. i. 3. Vol. I. Tom. III. col. 956. See Vol. I. p. 382, note 10.]

non pascunt gregem Domini, sed mactant, et devorant[9]." Adrianus papa sextus, cum legatum mitteret in Germaniam, ingenue et vere fassus est corruptissimum esse statum universi cleri. "Omnes," inquit, "nos prælati ecclesiastici declinavimus, unusquisque in viam suam; nec est jam qui faciat bonum, non est usque ad unum[10]." Albertus Pighius fatetur in ipsa missa, quam illi sacrosanctam esse volunt, et in qua una cardinem religionis christianæ constituunt, abusus et errores inveniri[11]. Quid plura? mitto alios testes; sunt enim infiniti. Habita sunt postea concilia complura, convocati sunt episcopi, synodus Basiliensis indicta est nominatim, uti illi tum præ se ferebant, de reformatione totius cleri: at ex eo tempore errores ubique aucti sunt, vitia etiam sacerdotum conduplicata sunt.

17. Cardinales a Paulo papa tertio delecti ad considerandum statum ecclesiæ renuntiarunt multa esse in ea, et præsertim in episcoporum et clericorum moribus, vitiosa: episcopos otiosos esse, non docere populum, non pascere gregem, non curare vineam, versari in aulis principum, abesse domo; cardinalibus episcopatus, modo ternos, modo quaternos commendari, idque magno cum ecclesiæ detrimento fieri; illa enim officia non esse (uti loquuntur) compatibilia: conventuales ordines prorsus ex ecclesia tollendos esse[12]. Postea habitum est concilium Tridenti; sed an episcopi cœperunt ex eo tempore pascere gregem? an desierunt aut abesse domo, aut versari in aulis principum? an cardinales desierunt esse episcopi? aut prospectum est, ne quid ecclesia ex ea re detrimenti caperet? an imminuti sunt ordines conventuales? an religio apud eos est emendatior? Quid ergo necesse fuit tot episcopos tam procul convocari, aut de emendanda ecclesia tot annos frustra deliberari? Hoc scilicet illud est, Pharisæos restituere velle templum Dei.

18. Fatentur errores et abusus; convocant concilia, simulant studium religionis

feed not the Lord's flock, but slaughter and devour it." Pope Adrian VI., when he sent his legate into Germany, confessed truly and ingenuously that the state of the whole clergy was most corrupt. "All we prelates," says he, "have swerved every one to his own way; neither is there now any one that doeth good, no not one." Albertus Pighius confesses, that in the mass itself (which they would have to be most sacred, and in which alone they place the main hinge of christian religion) are found errors and abuses. What needs more? I pass over other witnesses; for they are infinite. There were many councils held after this; the bishops were called together; the synod of Basil was summoned, as they then made shew, expressly for the reformation of the whole clergy. But since that time errors have everywhere increased; nay, the vices of the priests themselves have been doubled.

The cardinals chosen by pope Paul III., to consider of the state of the church, made report that there were many corruptions in it, especially in the morals of the bishops and clergymen: that the bishops were idle, did not instruct the people, nor feed the flock, nor look to the Lord's vineyard, that they lived in princes' courts, and kept not at home; that the cardinals had sometimes three, sometimes four bishopricks *in commendam*, not without great prejudice to the church; for that those offices are not, as they say, compatible, or to be held together; that the conventual orders ought to be altogether banished out of the church. Since this, the Trent council hath been held; but have the bishops since then begun to feed the flock? Have they ceased to be non-resident, and to live in princes' courts? Have the cardinals ceased to be bishops? Or is it provided that the church sustain no prejudice thereby? Have the conventual orders been abridged; or has religion amongst them been reformed? What need then was there of calling together so many bishops from such distances, or to deliberate so many years in vain about reforming the church? This is just the Pharisees going about to repair God's church.

They confess errors and abuses; they call councils, and pretend a zeal for religion

[9 Propter hoc non est hoc tempore ornare sponsam, sed spoliare; non est custodire, sed perdere ...non est pascere gregem, sed mactare et devorare... qui prædicet annum placabilem Domino?—Id. in Cantic. Serm. lxxvii. 1. Vol. I. Tom. IV. col. 1538.]

[10 See before, page 737, note 21.]

[11 Alb. Pigh. Explic. Cathol. Controv. Par. 1586. Contr. VII. De Miss. Priv. fol. 123. 2. See before, page 738, note 8.]

[12 Consil. Delect. Cardinal. et alior. Præl. de Emend. Eccles. in Crabb. Concil. Col. Agrip. 1551. Tom. III. pp. 819—24.]

et pietatis, pollicentur operam et industriam; quicquid collapsum est, id omne se velle una nobiscum instaurare; sic scilicet, ut olim hostes populi Dei dicebant, se velle una cum Nehemia ædificare templum Domini. Non enim illi id quærebant, ut templum Domini ædificarent, sed ut quam maxime possent ædificationem impedirent. Redire volunt nobiscum in gratiam, sed ita ut olim Naas tyrannus cum Judæis Jabensibus, non alia lege quam ut sinamus nobis exsculpi dextros oculos: hoc est, ut verbum Dei et evangelium salutis nostræ nobis eripi patiamur[1].

19. An enim illis curæ est religio? an illi curant ecclesiam Dei; quibus nec Dei vindicta, nec salus populi, nec ulla pars officii sui unquam curæ fuit? "Pan," inquiunt, "curet oves;" ipsi interim belligerantur, venantur, obsonantur; ut ne quid dicam fœdius. O Deum immortalem! quis istos putet unquam de ecclesia Dei aut de religione cogitare? quando isti, aut quos errores unquam tollent? quam lucem nobis restituent? Quicquid dicas, etiamsi solem ipsum geras in manibus, tamen videre nolunt: manifestos errores, quantum possunt, excusant, pingunt, comunt, ut olim Symmachus aut Porphyrius errores et ineptias ethnicorum; omninoque id agunt, ne populum Dei in fraudem induxisse, neve quid ipsi unquam errasse videantur. Aut si quid in animum inducunt emendare, quod aut nunquam aut valde raro et perparce faciunt; ut olim Alexandrum imperatorem Romanum, quum non prorsus abhorreret a religione christiana, aiunt in eodem sacrario et Christum coluisse et Orpheum[2]; utque veteres olim Samaritani una et veri Dei cultum retinuerunt et cultum idolorum; ita illi ea lege recipere volunt partem forte aliquam evangelii, ut una superstitiones et aniles errores admittant: ita recipiunt vera, ut falsa retineant: ita probant nostra, ut sua non improbent. Atque ita non tollunt abusus, sed colorant; et veteres columnas novo tantum tectorio inducunt.

20. Ad hunc modum ab istis ecclesia Dei emendatur, sic conventus et concilia

and godliness; they promise their pains and endeavours, that they will join with us to build up again whatsoever is fallen down; just so as the enemies of God's people said they would join with Nehemias to build the Lord's temple: for they did not intend the building of the Lord's temple, but by all possible means to hinder it. They will be reconciled to us, but just as Naas the tyrant would long ago with the Jews of Jabesh, upon no other conditions but that we must suffer our right eyes to be plucked out; that is, that we allow ourselves to be bereaved of God's word and the gospel of our salvation.

For have they any care of religion? Care they for God's church, that care neither for God's vengeance, nor the salvation of the people, nor any part of their own duty? "Let Pan," say they, "look to his sheep;" they in the mean time wage wars, hunt, fare luxuriously, to say no worse of them. Immortal God! who would believe that these men ever think of God's church, or religion? What errors will they ever take away, or when? What light will they restore unto us? Whatsoever you say, though you carried the sun itself in your hands, yet they will not see. Open errors they excuse as far as they are able, and colour and smoothe them, as anciently Symmachus or Porphyry did the errors and follies of the heathen; and this indeed is their object, not to seem to have led God's people astray, or at any time to have erred themselves. Or, if it come into their heads to amend anything, which either they never do, or very seldom and sparingly; as it is reported of Alexander, an emperor of Rome, that he worshipped Christ and Orpheus in the same chapel; and as in times past the ancient Samaritans retained the worship of the true God and of idols both together; they are willing perchance to receive some part of the gospel, upon this condition, that therewith they may admit their superstitions and old wives' tales: they so receive truth as to retain falsehood: they allow of ours, so that they may not disallow their own; and thus they do not take away but colour abuses, they only put a new coating upon old pillars.

In this manner do they reform God's church; so are councils and synods kept; truth

[1 See Vol. III. page 44, or before, page 1066.]
[2 Æl. Lamprid. in Hist. August. Script. Lat. Min. Hanov. 1611. Vit. Alex. Sever. cap. xxix. p. 346. See Vol. II. page 646, note 7.]

celebrantur: veritati non servitur, sed affectibus. Melior pars a majori superatur. Pulchrum quidem et gloriosum est nomen ipsum concilii generalis; sed ex pulchro calice sæpe venenum propinatur. Non enim satis est episcopos aliquot et abbates unum in locum convenisse: non in mitra aut purpura sita est vis concilii; nec quicquid concilium decrevit statim habendum est pro oraculo. Concilium erat, de quo propheta Esaias scribit: "Væ filiis defectoribus, dicit Dominus, qui cogunt concilium, et non ex me:" et, "In te," inquit, "concilium, et dissipabitur." Concilium erat de quo propheta David ita loquitur: "Excitati sunt reges terræ, et principes convenerunt in unum adversus Dominum, et adversus Christum ejus." Concilium erat quod Filium Dei Jesum Christum damnavit ad crucem. Concilium erat quod Carthagine celebratum est sub Cypriano, in quo decretum est baptizatos ab hæreticis, quum redissent ad ecclesiam, esse rebaptizandos[3]; quem errorem oportuit postea tot conciliis et patrum scriptis revocari. Et quid multis opus est? Concilium Ephesinum secundum aperte fecit pro Eutychete; humanam in Christo naturam conversam esse in divinitatem[4]: concilium Nicenum secundum decrevit manifestam idololatriam de adoratione statuarum[5]: concilium Basiliense, ut Albertus Pighius ait, "decrevit contra omnem antiquitatem, contra naturam, contra rationem, contra verbum Dei[6]." Concilium Ariminense impie decrevit pro Arianis, Christum non esse Deum[7]. Alia concilia deinceps multa, Smyrnense, Aërium, Seleucianum, Syrmianum, et Homousianos condemnaverunt, et Ariminensis concilii impietati subscripserunt[8]. Quid quæris? ipsum etiam concilium Chalcedonense, quod unum erat ex illis quatuor, quæ Gregorius cum quatuor evangeliis comparavit[9], Leo papa non dubitavit accusare temeritatis[10].

is not followed, but men's affections; the better part is mastered by the greater. Indeed the very name of a general council carries a glorious lustre; but yet oftentimes poison is drained out of a fair cup. For it is not enough for a few bishops and abbats to have met in one place: the virtue of a council consists not in the mitre and the purple; neither is every decree of a council at once to be received for an oracle. That was a council of which the prophet Esay writes: "Wo to the rebellious children, saith the Lord, who call a council, but not by me;" and, "in thee," says he, "is a council, but it shall be brought to nought." That was a council of which the prophet David speaks: "The kings of the earth set themselves, and the rulers take counsel together against the Lord and against his Anointed." That was a council, which condemned the Son of God Christ Jesus to the cross. That was a council, which was held at Carthage under Cyprian, in which it was decreed that those who had been baptized by heretics, when they returned to the church, ought to be baptized again; which error had to be afterwards repealed by so many councils and writings of the fathers. What need of many words? The second Ephesine council openly took part with Eutyches, that the human nature in Christ was turned into his divinity. The second Nicene council decreed flat idolatry about adoration of images. The council of Basil, as Albertus Pighius says, "decreed against all antiquity, against nature, against reason, against the word of God." The council of Ariminum decreed for the Arians most impiously, that Christ was not God. Many other ensuing councils, that of Smyrna, the Arian, the Seleucian, the Syrmian, did both condemn the Homousians, and also subscribe to the impiety of the council of Ariminum. What would you have more? The council of Chalcedon itself, which was one of those four that Gregory compares with the four gospels, pope Leo did not stick to charge with rashness.

Isai. xxx. 1. [viii. 10.]

[3 Concil. Carthag. in Cypr. Op. Oxon. 1682. pp. 229, &c.]

[4 This was the council the acts of which were annulled at that of Chalcedon.]

[5 Concil. Nic. II. in Concil. Stud. Labb. et Cossart. Lut. Par. 1671-2. Act. II. Tom. VII. cols. 129, &c. Act. III. col. 188. See Vol. II. page 653, note 12; page 666, note 9.]

[6 Alb. Pigh. Hierarch. Eccles. Assert. Col. 1538. Lib. VI. cap. ii. fol. 213. 2. See Vol. I. page 35, note 7.]

[7 Hist. Tripart. Par. Lib. V. cap. xx. foll. I. &c.]

[8 Ibid. capp. vi. &c. xxxiv. foll. H. 8, &c., I. 7, &c. See before, page 951, note 3. But it is not clear what is meant by *Smyrnense Aërium*. No account has been found of councils under these names.]

[9 Gregor. Magni Papæ I. Op. Par. 1705. Epist. Lib. III. Indict. XI. Ad Savin. Epist. x. Tom. II. col. 632.]

[10 Leon. Magni Op. Lut. 1623. Ad Martian. August. Epist. lix. col. 392. See Vol. III. page 220.]

21. Itaque videmus, concilia conciliis sæpe contraria extitisse: utque Leo pontifex acta sustulit Adriani, Stephanus Formosi, Joannes Stephani; utque Sabinianus papa omnia scripta Gregorii papæ, ut perversa et impia, jussit comburi[1]; ita videmus concilium posterius sæpe omnia superioris concilii decreta sustulisse. Carthaginense concilium decrevit, "ne Romanus episcopus appellaretur aut summus sacerdos, aut princeps sacerdotum, aut aliud quippiam simile[2]:" at postera concilia illum non tantum summum sacerdotem, sed etiam summum pontificem et caput universalis ecclesiæ appellaverunt. Eliberinum concilium decrevit, ne quid quod colitur jus fasque esset, ut in templorum parietibus pingeretur[3]. Concilium Constantinopolitanum decrevit imagines non esse ferendas in templis Christianorum[4]. Contra, concilium Nicenum secundum imagines in templis non tantum ponendas esse censuit, sed etiam adorandas[5]. Lateranense concilium sub Julio papa secundo non alia causa indictum est, quam ut Pisani concilii decreta rescinderet. Ita episcopi sæpe posteriores prioribus adversantur; et concilia alia aliorum luminibus obstruunt. Isti enim ne suis quidem conciliis teneri volunt, nisi quantum placet, quantumque commodum est, et facit πρὸς τὰ ἀλφιτα. Basiliense concilium decrevit, concilium episcoporum esse supra papam[6]. At concilium Lateranense sub Leone decrevit, papam esse supra concilium[7]. Papa vero non solum ita se gerit, sed etiam si quis contra sentiat, eum habere jubet pro hæretico. Atqui omnes episcopi et abbates in concilio Basiliensi, "Si quis," inquiunt, "istis veritatibus sese opponit, pro hæretico habendus est[8]." Obsecro te, quid tu hic facias? quicquid dicas aut sentias, vel papa te vel concilium habebit

Therefore we see councils have been often opposite one to another; and, as Leo the pope abrogated the acts of Adrian, Stephen of Formosus, John of Stephen, and as Sabinian the pope commanded all pope Gregory's writings to be burnt, as erroneous and impious, so we see oftentimes that a later council hath repealed all the decrees of a former. The council of Carthage decreed that the bishop of Rome should not be called either the highest priest, or the chief pontiff, or by any other the like name: but following councils have styled him, not only chief priest, but also chief bishop, and head of the catholic church. The council of Eliberis [Grenada] decreed that it should not be lawful to paint on the walls of churches any object of worship. The council of Constantinople decreed that images were not to be suffered in christian churches. On the other side, the second council of Nice determined that images were not only to be placed in churches, but also to be worshipped. The council of Lateran, under pope Julius II., was summoned for no other cause but to repeal the decrees of the Pisan council. So oftentimes the later bishops oppose those that went before them; and councils shut up one another's lights. For these men will not be tied, no not to their own councils, but as far as they please, and as is commodious for them, and will bring grist to their mill. The council of Basil determined that a council of bishops was above the pope. But the council of Lateran under Leo decreed that the pope was above the council. And the pope does not only so bear himself, but also commands every one to be held for a heretic that shall think otherwise. But yet all the bishops and abbats in the council of Basil say thus: "He that opposeth these truths is to be accounted a heretic." What then, I pray you, will you do in this matter? Whatsoever you say or think, either the pope or

[1] Plat. De Vit. Pont. Col. 1551. Steph. VI. Johan. X. Sabin. pp. 126, 127, 75.]

[2] Concil. Carthag. III. cap. 26. in Crabb. Concil. Col. Agrip. 1551. Tom. I. p. 428. See Vol. I. page 355.]

[3] Concil. Elib. can. 36. in Concil. Stud. Labb. et Cossart. Lut. Par. 1671-2. Tom. I. col. 974. See Vol. II. page 659, note 21.]

[4] See Vol. II. page 659, note 22.]

[5] See before, page 1109, note 5.]

[6] Et nihilominus ipsum Romanum pontificem dicimus obedire teneri mandatis, statutis, ordinationibus ac præceptis hujus sanctæ synodi Basileen, et cujuscunque alterius concilii generalis legitime congregati, in his quæ pertinent ad fidem, &c.—Concil. Basil. Epist. Synod. in Crabb. Concil. Tom. III. pp. 145, 6. Conf. ibid. Sess. xxix. p. 91.]

[7] Concil. Later. Sess. XI. in eod. Tom. III. p. 697.]

[8] Veritas de potestate concilii generalis universalem ecclesiam repræsentantis supra papam et quemlibet alterum...est veritas fidei catholicæ. Veritas hæc, quod papa concilium generale &c. sine ejus consensu nullatenus auctoritative potest dissolvere, aut ad aliud tempus prorogare, aut de loco ad locum transferre, est veritas fidei catholicæ. Veritatibus duabus prædictis pertinaciter repugnans est censendus hæreticus.—Concil. Basil. Sess. xxxiii. in eod. Tom. III. p. 106.]

pro hæretico. Omnes autem papæ aliquot jam seculis sese istis Basiliensis concilii veritatibus opposuerunt: ergo judicio Basiliensis concilii aliquot jam secula omnes papæ fuerunt hæretici. Idem concilium omnibus suffragiis summovit papam Eugenium, hominem simoniacum et schismaticum, et illi successorem dedit Amideum[9]. At Eugenius papa concilii decretum flocci fecit, et, quamvis maxime esset simoniacus et schismaticus, tamen non desiit esse successor Petri, et vicarius Christi, et caput universæ ecclesiæ Dei; et invitis omnibus dignitatem priorem retinebat, utque antea solitus fuerat, in cervicibus hominum nobilium sublimis magnifice ferebatur. Amideus autem, homo simplex, quasi ex equo delapsus, humi pedibus ambulabat, satisque sibi beatus esse videbatur, quod de papa factus esset cardinalis. Concilium proximum Tridentinum edixit, ut episcopi docerent populum, neve quisquam unus duo plurave sacerdotia haberet eodem tempore[10]: isti contra edictum concilii sui cumulant sacerdotia, et nihil docent. Ita scribunt leges, quibus ipsi teneri nolint, nisi quum lubet. Tanti scilicet semper fecerunt concilia et decreta sua.

22. Nunc vero quid est, cur eventum speremus hoc tempore meliorem? qua enim gratia, qua exspectatione, qua spe venitur in concilium? Hoc enim tantum tecum cogita, quinam tandem homines illi sint, quorum fide, doctrina, judicio, moles totius concilii, et omnium istarum quæstionum disceptatio, et summa rerum niti debeat? Abbates quidem appellantur, et episcopi, graves personæ, et pulchra nomina; utque existimatur, magni instar momenti in administranda ecclesia Dei. At si illis nomina tantum ea, et personam, et vestem tollas, nihil habent aliud nec abbatis nec episcopi simile[11]. Non enim sunt ministri Christi, non dispensatores mysteriorum Dei, non incumbunt lectioni, non docent evangelium, non pascunt gregem, non colunt terram, non plantant vineam, non accendunt ignem, non portant arcam Domini, non obeunt legationem pro Christo; non vigilant, non faciunt opus evangelistæ, non implent ministerium suum; implicant

the council will esteem you a heretic. All popes, for some ages last past, have opposed these truths: therefore, in the judgment of the council of Basil, all popes for several ages have been heretics. The same council did with an uniform consent depose pope Eugenius, a simoniacal and schismatical person, and put Amideus in his place. But pope Eugenius made nothing of the council's decree, and, although he was indisputably most simoniacal and schismatical, yet he contrived to be the successor of Peter, the vicar of Christ, and head of the whole church of God. He retained his previous dignity in despite of all their teeth, and was pompously carried, as before, upon noblemen's shoulders. Amideus, as one fallen from his horse, walked on foot like a plain man, and thought himself happy that of a pope he was made a cardinal. The council of Trent commanded that bishops should teach the people, and that no one man should have more than one piece of spiritual preferment at one time: but these men, contrary to the edict of their council, accumulate benefices, and give no instruction. So they make laws, but obey them not but when they list. This is the acconnt they have always made of their own councils, and the decrees thereof.

And what reason have we to look for better success at this present? With what expectation or favourable hope can any one come to the council? Do but think with yourself, what manner of men they are upon whose fidelity, learning, and judgment, the weight of this whole council, the discussing of all questions, and the whole state of all things, must lie. They are called abbats and bishops, grave persons, and fair titles, men (as it is believed) of great importance for the government of the church of God. But take from these men their titles, the offices and robes they bear, there will nothing that belongeth to an abbat or a bishop remain in them. For they are not ministers of Christ, dispensers of the mysteries of God; they apply not themselves to reading, or to preach the gospel; they feed not the flock, they till not the ground, they plant not the Lord's vineyard, nor kindle the fire, nor bear the ark of the Lord, nor are the ambassadors of Christ; they watch not, nor do the work of an evangelist, nor

[9 See before, page 1105, note 2.]
[10 Concil. Trident. in eod. Sess. VI. (*al.* VII.) Decret. ii. Tom. III. p. 1014.]
[11 See Vol. III. page 36.]

se negotiis secularibus, abscondunt thesaurum Domini sui, auferunt claves regni Dei; non ingrediuntur ipsi, nec alios ingredi patiuntur; pulsant conservos suos, pascunt scipsos, gregem non pascunt, dormiunt, stertunt, convivantur, luxuriantur, nubes sine aqua, stellæ sine luce, canes muti, ventres pigri; utque Bernardus ait, "non prælati, sed Pilati; non doctores, sed seductores; non pastores, sed impostores[1]:" "servi," inquit, "Christi serviunt antichristo[2]." Istis solis pontifices volunt locum esse et suffragandi potestatem in concilio: in istorum judicio ac potestate versari volunt curam et procurationem universæ ecclesiæ Christi: istos nunc solos Pius papa delegit ad spem suam. At quos (O Deus bone!) homines, quales viros! quanquam, ut ipsi quidem putant, ridiculum est velle hoc quærere. Quam enim docti quamque pii sint, quid velint, quid sentiant, inquiunt, nihil refert. Satis videlicet est, si sedere possint in mula, et magna pompa et strepitu vehi per publicum, et venire in concilium, et nihil dicere. Si mihi forte non credis, ac me potius putas animi causa ista fingere, audi ergo judicium honorarium, quid ea de re sacrosancta facultas et Sorbona tota decreverit. "Quod magistri," inquiunt, "nostri dicunt de legitima congregatione, notandum est ad hoc, ut concilium legitime congregetur, sufficere quod solemnitas et forma juris solemniter sit servata; quia si quis trahere vellet hoc in disputationem, utrum prælati, qui ibi sedent, habeant rectam intentionem, et utrum sint docti, et utrum habeant scientiam sacrarum literarum, et animum obediendi sanæ doctrinæ, esset processus in infinitum[3]." Isti videlicet, qui tanquam Mercuriales statuæ muti sedeant, et quid sit religio prorsus nesciant, de universa religione recte et commode respondebunt, et, quicquid dicunt, errare non queunt.

23. Istos omnes pontifex habet, non tantum errore et ignorantia, sed etiam jurejurando et religione obstrictos sibi[4]; ut etiamsi recte sentiant, tamen, nisi perjuri esse velint, quod sentiunt pronuntiare, et veritatem palam profiteri, et præ se ferre non possint; prorsus ut vel homini fides fallenda sit, vel Deo. Sic

perform the duty of their ministry: they entangle themselves with secular businesses; they hide the Lord's treasure; they take away the keys of the kingdom of God; they go not in themselves, nor suffer others; they beat their fellow-servants; they feed themselves, and not the flock; they sleep, snore, feast, and riot; they are clouds without water, stars without light, dumb dogs, slow bellies: as Bernard saith, "not prelates, but Pilates; not doctors, but seducers; not pastors, but impostors:" "the servants of Christ," saith he, "serve antichrist." The popes will allow none but these to have place and suffrage in the council: the care and charge of Christ's catholic church must depend upon their power and judgment: upon none but such as these doth pope Pius rely. But (O good God!) what manner of persons are they? They hold it ridiculous to ask that question. It is no matter (say they) how learned, or how religious they be, what their aim is, or what their opinions: if they can sit upon a mule, if they can ride through the streets with pomp and with a noise, if they can come into the council, and say nothing, it is sufficient. If you believe me not, and think I speak in jest, hear what the faculty of divinity and the whole Sorbonne have determined concerning this matter. "That which our masters affirm," say they, "concerning the due assembling of a council, is to be understood thus; that for the lawful calling of a council it is sufficient that the form of law be properly observed: for, if it should be disputed whether the prelates there assembled have a good intention, whether they be learned, whether they have a knowledge of the scriptures, and are willing to obey wholesome doctrine, it would prove an infinite business." Those, forsooth, who sit mute, like the statues of Mercury, not knowing what belongs to religion, will determine admirably concerning all points of religion; and, whatsoever they say, they cannot possibly err.

These are bound to the pope, not through error and ignorance, but by oath and religion; so that, although they should have a right opinion, they cannot without perjury make profession of it, and are necessitated to break faith either with God or with man.

[1 Bernard. Op. Par. 1690. Ad Cler. in Concil. Rem. 2, 3, 6. Vol. II. Tom. v. cols. 735, 6, 8. See before, page 746, note 6.]

[2 Id. in Cantic. Serm. xxxiii. Vol. I. Tom. iv. col. 1393. See before, page 735, note 24.]

[3 See Vol. I. page 66, note 7.]

[4 See Vol. III. pages 38, 9, 46.]

enim omnes jurant conceptis verbis: "Ego N. episcopus ab hac hora in antea fidelis ero sancto Petro, sanctæque [apostolicæ] Romanæ ecclesiæ, domino meo papæ N. ejusque successoribus canonice intrantibus: Non ero neque in consilio neque in facto, ut vitam perdat aut membrum, vel capiatur mala captione. Consilium, quod mihi aut per literas aut per nuncium manifestabit, ad ejus damnum nulli pandam. Papatum Romanæ ecclesiæ et regulas sanctorum patrum adjutor ero ad defendendum et retinendum contra omnes homines[5]." Olim, quum sacerdotes Apollinis Pythii aperte loquerentur in gratiam Philippi regis, erant qui facete dicerent Pythium cœpisse φιλιππίζειν. Nos vero nunc, cum perspicue videamus nihil in concilio decerni, nisi de voluntate et nutu papæ, cur non dicamus conciliorum oracula παπίζειν, id est, tantum dicere, quantum papa velit? Prudenter olim Verres, quem aiunt, quum multis criminibus non obscure teneretur, noluisse existimationem et famam suam committere, nisi hominibus bene fidis de grege et cohorte sua: multo autem prudentius pontifices, qui illos sibi judices dari volunt, quos sciunt nec velle, quia rationes habent conjunctas, omnia autem voluptatibus et ventre metiuntur; nec, quia jam jurati sunt, quamvis velint, posse, quicquam statuere præter voluntatem suam. Collocant illi quidem in medio sacra biblia[6], quæ spectant eminus, non legunt, quasi contra illorum præscriptum nihil facturi: re autem vera secum ipsi adferunt præjudicatam sententiam; nec attendunt quid Christus dicat, nec statuunt quicquam nisi quod lubet.

24. Itaque libertas illa, quam oportuit esse in omnibus consultationibus, maxime vero de rebus sacris, quæque maxime convenit Spiritui Sancto et modestiæ hominum christianorum, prorsus jam de medio sublata est[7]. Paulus ait, "Si alteri assidenti revelatum fuerit, prior taceat:" isti vero comprehendi jubent, et in carcerem detrudi, et ignibus mandari, si quis quicquam contra mutiat. Testis adhuc est crudelis interitus duorum sanctissimorum hominum et fortissimorum virorum, Johannis Hus et Hieronymi Pragensis; quos illi duos contra fidem 1 Cor. xiv. 30.

For this is the formal oath which they all take: "I, N. bishop, will henceforward bear true faith to St Peter, and to the holy apostolic Roman church, to my lord the pope N. and his successors, who shall enter canonically. I will not be a means, either by word or deed, of his losing either life or member, or being taken prisoner: I will not reveal to any one to his prejudice any counsel that he shall impart unto me either by letters or message: I will help to defend and maintain against all the world the papacy of the church of Rome, and the rules of the holy fathers." In old time, when the priests of the Pythian Apollo began to speak plainly in favour of king Philip, there were those who wittily said that the oracle began to Philippize. Now, when we see that nothing is decreed in the council but at the pope's pleasure, why may we not say that the oracles of the councils do Papize? that is, say nothing but what the pope will. It was a wise act of Verres, who, when he was charged on pretty clear proof with many crimes, would not, we are told, commit his own character and reputation to any but some trusty persons of his own train. The popes have dealt much more wisely; for they have chosen such judges as they know neither will (because it is their own case, since they measure every thing by pleasure and appetite), nor can if they would (because they are bound by oath), decree any thing contrary to his will and pleasure. They set indeed the holy bible in the midst, as if they would do nothing against it; but they look upon it afar off, and read it not. Indeed they bring a pre-determined opinion with them, not regarding what Christ says, but decreeing whatsoever they please.

Therefore that liberty which ought to be in all consultations, especially on sacred subjects, and which is most accordant with the Holy Ghost and the modesty of Christians, is quite taken away. Paul saith, "If any thing be revealed to another that sitteth by, let the first hold his peace;" but these men apprehend, imprison, and burn whosoever dareth but whisper against them. Witness hereof the cruel death of two most holy and resolute men, John Huss and Jerome of Prague, whom they put to death, con-

[5 Corp. Jur. Canon. Lugd. 1624. Decretal. Gregor. IX. Lib. II. Tit. xxiv. cap. 4. col. 798; where *dominoque meo papæ* C., *mihi aut per se aut per litteras*, and *retinendum* (*salvo ordine meo*) *contra*. See Vol. III. page 205, note 14.]

[6 It was the custom to place the bible conspicuously in a council.]

[7 See Vol. III. page 39.]

publicam interfecerunt, et fidem Deo hominibusque fefellerunt. Sic impius propheta Zedechias, cum aptasset sibi cornua ferrea, colaphum impegit Micheæ prophetæ Domini: et, "Mene," inquit, "reliquit Spiritus Domini, et accessit ad te?" Itaque nunc, exclusis omnibus, soli regnant in conciliis, et soli obtinent suffragia, atque ita scribunt et promulgant leges, ut olim Ephesii. "Nemo" (inquiunt illi) "hic vivat ceteris prudentior, nisi malit exul atque extorris vivere." Nostrorum enim isti hominum prorsus neminem audire volunt. Ante x. annos in concilio proximo Tridentino legati principum Germaniæ et liberarum civitatum, qui ea causa venerant ut audirentur, ab omni colloquio et conventu excludebantur[1]. Episcopi enim et abbates respondebant, nolle se permittere liberam causæ cognitionem, nec velle controversias disceptari ex verbo Dei; nostrarum autem partium homines nullo modo esse audiendos, nisi si vellent recántare; quod si nollent, non alia lege venturos esse in concilium, quam ut audirent condemnationem suam. Nam Julius III. in brevi illo suo, quo concilium indixit, publice denunciavit, ut aut mutarent sententiam, aut causa inaudita condemnarentur pro hæreticis[2]. Pius autem papa quartus, is qui nunc instituit concilium revocare[3], omnes eos, qui ab ecclesiæ Romanæ auctoritate discesserunt, id est, maximam partem orbis christiani, nec visos unquam nec auditos, jam antea suo præjudicio pro hæreticis haberi jussit. Omnino aiunt, idque semper in omni sermone jactare solent, recte habere sua omnia; se nihil, ne tantillum quidem, de doctrina et religione sua mutatam velle. Albertus Pighius injussu ecclesiæ Romanæ ait ne apertissimæ quidem scripturæ credendum esse[4]. Hoc scilicet est ecclesiam in integrum velle restituere! hoc est veritatem velle quærere! hæc illa est libertas conciliorum et moderatio!

25. Et quamvis hæc omnia sint iniquissima, et a ratione veterum conciliorum et ab hominum modestorum deliberatione alienissima; illud tamen multo est iniquius, quod, cum orbis jam terrarum de pontificis Romani ambitione ac tyrannide conqueratur, et de instauranda ecclesia Dei frustra sudari et nihil agi judicet,

trary to their safe-conduct, and broke their faith both with God and man. So the wicked prophet Zedekiah, when he had put on iron horns, struck Micaiah the prophet of the Lord on the face, saying, "How hath the Spirit of God left me, and is come to thee?" Therefore these men alone domineer in councils, all others being excluded: they alone obtain votes, and make laws, like the Ephesians in times past: "Let no man," say they, "live here who is wiser than the rest, except he have a mind to be cast into banishment." They will not hear any of our men speak. In the last convention of the council at Trent, ten years ago, the ambassadors of the princes and free cities of Germany came thither with a purpose to be heard, but were absolutely refused. For the bishops and abbats answered, that they would not suffer their cause to have a free hearing, nor allow controversies to be discussed out of the word of God; that our men were not to be heard at all, except they would recant; which if they refused to do, they should come into the council upon no other condition than to hear the sentence of condemnation pronounced against them. For Julius III., in his bull of indiction of the council, declared plainly that they should either change their opinions, or else should be condemned for heretics before their cause was heard. Pius IV., who hath now determined to re-assemble the council, hath already pre-judged for heretics all those who have left the Roman church, that is to say, the greatest part of the christian world, without their being either seen or heard. They say, and they say it often, that already all is well with them, and that they will not alter one jot of their doctrine and religion. Albertus Pighius saith, that "without the authority of the Roman church one ought not to believe the clearest and plainest scripture." And this forsooth is to restore the church to her integrity! this is to seek the truth! this is the boasted liberty and moderation of councils!

Though these things be most unjust, and most different from the fashion of ancient councils and from the discussion of moderate men, yet this is much more unjust, that, whereas the world complains of the pride and tyranny of the Roman pontiff, and believes

[1 See Vol. III. page 208, notes 3, 4. Conf. Protest. Concion. August. Confess. adv. Convent. Trident. 1563. p. 81.]

[2 See Vol. III. page 207, note 16.]

[3 See Vol. III. page 38.]

[4 See before, page 863. note 9.]

nisi ille in ordinem redigatur; tamen omnia ad illum unum tanquam ad æquissimum disceptatorem et judicem deferuntur. Et ad quem (O Deus bone!) virum? Mitto hostem veritatis, ambitiosum, avarum, superbum, suis etiam jam intolerabilem: ad illum, inquam, judicium de universa religione deferri volunt, qui omnia sua dictata eodem numero et loco haberi jubet, quo voces ipsius Petri; qui si mille animas abducat secum ad inferos, tamen negat se ea causa posse a quoquam reprehendi[5]; qui ait, se ex injustitia facere posse justitiam[6]; quem Camotensis ait corrupisse scripturas, ut haberet plenitudinem potestatis[7]. Quid plura? quem ipsius contubernales et satellites, Joachimus abbas, Petrarcha, Marsilius Patavinus, Laurentius Valla, Hieronymus Savanorola non ambigue pronuntiarunt esse antichristum[8]. Hujus unius judicio ac voluntati omnia subjiciunt, ut idem reus sit, idemque judex; ut accusatores ex inferiori loco audiantur, reus autem sedeat sublimis pro tribunalibus, et ipse de se pronuntiet. Has enim leges tam æquas tamque rationi consentientes scripsit nobis papa Julius. Nullum, inquit, ratum concilium est, aut erit unquam, quod Romanæ ecclesiæ non fuerit auctoritate fulcitum[9]. Bonifacius octavus "omnem" ait "creaturam oportere subjectam esse ecclesiæ Romanæ, idque de necessitate salutis[10]." Et Paschalis papa, "Quasi," inquit, "Romanæ ecclesiæ legem concilia ulla præfixerint, cum omnia concilia per Romanæ ecclesiæ auctoritatem et facta sint, et robur acceperint, et in eorum statutis Romani pontificis auctoritas patenter excipiatur[11]." Et alius quispiam, "Quod papa," inquit, "approbat vel reprobat, nos approbare vel reprobare debemus; et quod papa approbat, non licet alii improbare[12]." Et nescio quis parasitus, amisso pudore, "Etiamsi totus mundus sententiet in aliquo contra papam, tamen videtur quod standum sit sententiæ

that all labour will be vain in repairing the church of God, and that nothing will be effectually done, until he be reduced into order, yet all things are referred unto him alone, as unto a most conscientious peace-maker and judge. But unto what a kind of man (good God!) are they referred? I pass over his being an enemy of the truth, ambitious, covetous, proud, intolerable even to his own followers. But they would have the determination of all religion referred to him, who commands that all his determinations shall be of equal value with those of St Peter himself; who says that, in case he carried a thousand souls with himself to hell, yet no man ought to reprehend him for it; who avouches that he can make injustice to be justice; whom Camotensis affirms to have corrupted the scriptures, that he might have a plenitude of power; and, to conclude, whom his own familiars and followers (Joachimus Abbas, Petrarcha, Marsilius Patavinus, Laurentius Valla, Hieronymus Savonarola,) do clearly pronounce to be the antichrist. All is referred to the judgment and will of this man alone; so that the same is the party arraigned, and the judge: the accusers are heard from a lower place; while the party accused sits aloft in his tribunal, and pronounces the sentence concerning himself. These laws, forsooth, so equal and so reasonable, pope Julius hath given us. "No council," saith he, "is of any credit, nor ever will be, unless it be confirmed by the authority of the church of Rome." Bonifacius VIII. saith, that "no creature in the world can possibly be saved except he be subject to the Roman church." And pope Paschal thus: "As though," saith he, "any councils have made laws for the church of Rome, whereas all councils do subsist by it, and receive their power from it, and do expressly except in all their decrees the authority of the bishop of Rome." Another saith: "That which the pope approves or disapproves, we ought to approve or disapprove likewise." And again: "It is not lawful for any man to disallow that which the pope approves." And another parasite most shamelessly saith that, even "though all the world should be of one

[5] See Vol. III. page 45.]

[6] See Vol. I. page 442; Vol. II. page 919.]

[7] See Vol. I. page 385, *note* 11.]

[8] See before, page 740.]

[9] ... videbunt hujusmodi concilia a solis Romanis pontificibus esse indicta, et aliter indicta, rata non fuisse.—Concil. Lateran. Sess. II. Bull. Indict. a Jul. II. in Crabb. Concil. Col. Agrip. 1551. Tom. III. p. 532.]

[10] Bonifac. VIII. in Corp. Jur. Canon. Lugd. 1624. Extrav. Comm. Lib. I. De Major. et Obed. cap. I. col. 212. See Vol. I. page 95, note 11.]

[11] Paschal. in eod. Decretal. Gregor. IX. Lib. I. Tit. vi. cap. 4. cols. 111, 2. See before, page 919, note 22.]

[12] The place from which these words are cited is not here named. But see, for similar assumptions, before, page 921.]

papæ[1]." Et alius quispiam non minus impudenter, "Sacrilegii," inquit, "instar esset, disputare de facto papæ, qui, tametsi non sit bonus, tamen semper præsumitur esse bonus[2]." Et alius etiam impudentius, "Papa," inquit, "habet cœleste arbitrium: ergo in illis quæ vult est illi pro ratione voluntas; nec est qui dicat illi, Cur ita facis[3]?" Utque alia complura, quæ huc adduci possunt, (sunt enim infinita,) relinquam, et finem aliquando faciam; Innocentius papa nonus[4] omnium impudentissime, "Neque ab Augusto," inquit, "neque a regibus, neque ab universo clero, neque a toto populo judex judicabitur[5]." O Deum immortalem! quantulum abest, ut hoc etiam dicant, "Ascendam super aquilonem, et ero similis Altissimo!" Si ista vera sunt omnia, et papæ nihil mentiti sunt, quid opus est concilio? Aut, si concilium sincerum et liberum habere volunt, tollantur ista omnia, ut improba et superba mendacia; nec tantum ex usu et foro, verum etiam ex libris omnibus auferantur, ne summa rerum in unius hominis, ejusque multis justissimis de causis suspecti, voluntate ac libidine relinquantur. Atqui pontifices aiunt, se errare non posse, et ad præscriptum suum exigendum esse verbum Dei; atque etiam, antequam adeant ad dignitatem pontificiam, jurantur in fidem recentium quorundam conciliorum, quibus omnia fœdum in modum sunt depravata, et sancte promittunt se nolle quicquam immutari. Quare quid mirum est, si in conciliis nihil proficitur, si errores et abusus non tolluntur, si legati principum frustra tam procul ex omnibus terris convocantur? Tamen audio esse quosdam hoc tempore homines, non malos, sed parum quid dicant attendentes; qui, quamvis arrogantiam in pontifice, et fastum Persicum[6], et Epicureum contemptum religionis damnent, tamen ejus auctoritatem salvam et incolumem esse velint; et, quamvis eum interdum fateantur esse antichristum,

opinion against the pope, yet it seems that the pope's opinion must be maintained." And another, as impudently as he, "It is a kind of sacrilege even to dispute of any action of the pope's, who, though he be not always a good man, yet must always be presumed so to be." Another still more impudently says, "The pope's power is heavenly: therefore in those things which he wills, his will stands for law; neither ought any man to say to him, Why do you so?" To leave many the like sayings, which are infinite, and to make an end, pope Innocent IX. speaks most impudently of all: "The judge must not be judged, neither by the emperor, nor by kings, nor by the whole clergy, nor by all the people of the world." O immortal God! how near are they come to say thus, "I will ascend above the north pole, and I will be like to the Most High!" If all these things be true, and the popes say nothing that is false, what need we a council? But, if they will hold a free and open council, away with all these pretensions as wicked and vain-glorious lies: let them not only be taken out of practice, but also be rased out of all their books, that the disposal of things be not left to the will and pleasure of one man, and that one for most sufficient causes worthily suspected. But the popes, say they, cannot err, and the word of God is to be regulated as they please; and before they enter on their pontifical dignity, they swear to maintain certain late councils, in which all things have been foully corrupted, and do religiously promise that nothing shall be changed. What marvel then that no good comes of a council, if errors and abuses are not taken away? if the ambassadors of princes are in vain called thither from so many remote parts? Notwithstanding, I hear that now there are some men, not ill inclined, but too little considering what they say, who, though they condemn the arrogancy and Persian pride of the pope, and his Epicurean contempt of religion, yet desire that his authority should be maintained: though they sometimes confess him to be antichrist, yet,

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[1 Ibid. Decret. Gratian. Decr. Sec. Pars, Caus. IX. Quæst. iii. Gloss. in can. 13. col. 877. See Vol. I. page 68, note 5.]

[2 .. etsi quandoque forte apostolici non essent boni, tamen semper præsumuntur esse boni... unde sacrilegii &c.—Ibid. Decr. Prim. Pars, Dist. xl. Gloss. in can. 1. cols. 193, 4. See before, page 702, note 10.]

[3 Unde dicitur habere cœleste arbitrium...&c.—Ibid. Decretal. Gregor. IX. Lib. I. De Transl. Episc. Tit. vii. Gloss. in cap. 3. col. 217. See Vol. I. page 69, note 14.]

[4 A mistake for *quartus*.]

[5 Innoc. Papa in eod. Decret. Gratian. Decr. Sec. Pars, Caus. IX. Quæst. iii. can. 13. col. 877. See Vol. I. page 68, note 8.]

[6 See Vol. III. page 27.]

tamen eundem, postquam semel ascendit in illam sedem, non dubitent esse universalem episcopum et caput universæ ecclesiæ Christi. Atque hic ita triumphant, et sibi placent, ac si Spiritus Sanctus affixus esset ad molem Adriani. At "non locus sanctificat hominem," inquiunt, "sed homo locum[7]." Et Hieronymus, quemadmodum citatur ab ipsis, "Non filii," inquit, "sanctorum sunt, qui tenent loca sanctorum; sed qui imitantur facta illorum[8]." Alioqui Christus ait, in cathedra Mosis sedisse scribas et Pharisæos; auctoritatem autem illorum monet tantisper esse agnoscendam, si respondeant ex verbo Dei. "Quid aliud," inquit Augustinus, "dixit [Christus], nisi per mercenarios vocem pastoris audite? sedendo enim in cathedra legem Dei docent; ergo per illos docet Deus. Sua vero si illi docere velint, nolite audire, nolite facere[9]." Paulus etiam ait antichristum, hominem illum peccati, sessurum esse in loco sancto. Itaque Hieronymus recte monet: "Attendis," inquit, "Petrum, sed et Judam considera: Stephanum suscipis, sed et Nicolaum respice....Non facit ecclesiastica dignitas Christianum[10]." Hæc Hieronymus. Et certe aiunt Marcellinum papam sacrificasse idolis[11]; Liberium papam fuisse Arianum[12]; Joannem papam XXII. impie sensisse de immortalite animarum[13]; Joannem papam VIII. fuisse fœminam, et in papatu incesta libidine cum adulteris concubuisse, et in lustranda civitate, in ipsa pompa, atque in oculis episcoporum et cardinalium, peperisse[14]: et Lyranus ait, multos pontifices Romanos a fide Christi defecisse[15]. Quare non nimium fidendum erat locis et successionibus, et inanibus titulis dignitatum. Impius Nero successit Metello pio. Annas et Caiaphas successerunt Aaroni; et idolum sæpe successit in locum Dei.

26. Sed quænam, obsecro, est illa tanta vis et auctoritas, de qua isti ita insolenter gloriantur? aut unde ad eos delata est? de cœlo, an ex hominibus? Christus,

being mounted into that chair, they doubt not that he is universal bishop and head of the whole church of Christ. And here they triumph and congratulate themselves, as if the Holy Ghost were affixed to the pope's palace. But the saying is, "The place does not sanctify the man, but the man the place." And Hierome, as he is cited by themselves, says that "they are not the sons of saints, who hold their places, but who imitate their deeds." Likewise Christ tells us, that "the scribes and Pharisees sit in Moses' chair," but warns us not to allow of their authority further than they speak out of the word of God. Augustine says, "What said Christ but this, Hear the voice of the Shepherd even by hirelings? For by sitting in the chair they teach the law of God; therefore God instructs us by them. But, if they will teach ought of their own, hear them not, do it not." Likewise Paul says that antichrist, that man of sin, shall sit in the sacred place. Hierome saith well: "Dost thou consider Peter? consider Judas also: dost thou allow of Stephen? mark also what Nicholas was. Ecclesiastical dignity makes not a Christian." Thus far Hierome. And certainly they say that pope Marcellinus sacrificed to idols; that pope Liberius was an Arian; that pope John XXII. had an impious opinion concerning the immortality of the soul; that pope John VIII. was a woman; that she committed adultery during her papacy, and, going pompously in procession about the city, was delivered of a child, even in the very sight of the bishops and cardinals. And Lyranus affirms that "many popes have fallen from the faith of Christ." Wherefore we must not be too confident of places and successions, and vain titles of dignities. Wicked Nero succeeded Metellus Pius: Annas and Caiaphas succeeded Aaron; and oftentimes an idol has succeeded into the place of God.

But what, I pray you, is this so great power and authority whereof they so insolently

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[7 Pseudo-Chrysost. in eod. Decret. Gratian. Decr. Prim. Pars, Dist. xl. can. 12. col. 197.]

[8 Hieron. in eod. ibid. can. 2. col. 194. See Vol. I. page 401, note 18.]

[9 August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. In Johan. Evang. cap. x. Tractat. xlvii. 6. Tom. III. Pars II. col. 604; where *sedendo enim cathedram Moysi legem, illos Deus docet*, and *illi si velint docere.*]

[10 Hieron. Op. Par. 1693-1706. Ad Heliodor. Epist. v. Tom. IV. Pars II. cols. 10, 11; where *suspicis.*]

[11 Marcellin. Decret. in Crabb. Concil. Col. Agrip. 1551. Tom. I. pp. 184, &c. Conf. Vol. III. pages 339, &c.; also before, page 926.]

[12 Alfons. de Castro adv. Hær. Col. 1539. Lib. I. cap. iv. fol. 8. See before, pages 929, 30.]

[13 J. Gerson. Op. Antw. 1706. Serm. in Fest. Pasch. Tom. III. Pars III. col. 1205. See before, pages 930, &c.]

[14 See before, pages 648, &c.]

[15 Bibl. cum Gloss. Ord. et Expos. N. de Lyra, Basil. 1502. Matt. cap. xvi. Pars V. fol. 52. See before, page 928, note 10.]

inquiunt, ait Petro, "Super hanc petram ædificabo ecclesiam meam:" his verbis auctoritatem pontificiam confirmari; ecclesiam enim Christi in Petro, tanquam in fundamento, collocari. Atqui Christus his verbis nihil Petro dedit seorsim a ceteris apostolis: neque aut pontificis mentionem ullam facit, aut urbis Romæ. Christus illa est petra, Christus est illud fundamentum. "Nemo," inquit Paulus, "potest aliud fundamentum ponere quam quod jam antea positum est, quod est Christus Jesus."

27. Et Augustinus, "Super hanc... petram," inquit, "ædificabo ecclesiam meam: .... super hanc," inquit, "intelligitur, quam confessus est Petrus, dicens, Tu es Christus Filius Dei vivi.... Non enim, inquit, dictum est.... Tu es petra, sed, Tu es Petrus; petra autem erat Christus[1]." Et divus Basilius, "Super hanc petram, hoc est, inquit, super hanc fidem, ædificabo ecclesiam meam[2]." Et antiquissimus pater Origenes, "Petra," inquit, "est quisque discipulus Christi, ex quo biberunt de spirituali consequente Petra; et super talem petram construitur omnis ecclesiastica doctrina... Quod si super unum illum Petrum tantum existimas ædificari totam ecclesiam, quid dicturus es de Joanne filio tonitrui, et apostolorum unoquoque? Alioqui enim audebimus dicere, quod adversus unum Petrum non prævalituræ sint portæ inferorum, adversos ceteros apostolos ac præfectos sint prævalituræ? ac non potius in omnibus et singulis eorum, de quibus dictum est, sit illud quod dictum est, Et portæ inferorum non prævalebunt adversus eam; et illud, Super hanc petram ædificabo ecclesiam meam? An vero soli Petro dantur a Christo claves regni cœlorum, nec alius beatorum quisquam eas accepturus est? Quod si hoc dictum, Tibi dabo claves regni cœlorum, ceteris quoque commune est, cur non simul omnia, et quæ prius dicta sunt, et quæ sequuntur, velut ad Petrum dicta, sunt omnia communia[3]?" "Una," inquit Hilarius, "est felix fidei petra, quam ore suo Petrus confessus est[4]." Et rursus, "Super hanc," inquit, "confessionem Petri ædificata est eccle-

Tract. 1. in Matt.

boast? whence comes it? from heaven, or of men? Christ, they say, spake unto Peter, "Upon this rock I will build my church:" by which words the pope's authority is confirmed; for the church of Christ is placed in Peter, as in the foundation. But Christ gave nothing to Peter by these words apart from the other apostles; neither doth he make any mention of the pope, or of Rome. Christ is that Rock; Christ is that foundation. "No man," saith St Paul, "can lay any other foundation than that which is already laid, which is Christ Jesus."

These words, "Upon this rock I will build my church," St Augustine expounds thus: "Upon this," saith he, "which Peter confessed, saying, 'Thou art Christ, the Son of the living God.' It is not said, Thou art the rock, but, Thou art Peter: the rock was Christ." St Basil says thus: "Upon this rock, that is, upon this faith, I will build my church." Origen, that most ancient father, says that "every disciple is a rock, after that he hath drunk of the spiritual rock that followed; and upon such a rock all the doctrine of the church is builded. But, if thou thinkest that the whole is built upon Peter only, what sayest thou of John the son of thunder, and of each of the apostles? For shall we be so bold as to say, the gates of hell shall not prevail against Peter only, but they shall prevail against the rest of the apostles and rulers? or shall we not rather say, that what was spoken ('the gates of hell shall not prevail against him;' and that other, 'upon this rock I will build my church') is true in all and each of those of whom it was spoken? Were the keys of the kingdom given to Peter only; so that none of the other saints might receive them? Then if this saying, 'To thee I will give the keys of the kingdom of heaven,' be common to the rest also, why are not the others which were uttered before and after, as said to Peter, so too?" St Hilary says, "There is but one happy rock of faith, which Peter confessed with his mouth." And again he says, "Upon this confession of

[1 August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. Retract. Lib. I. cap. xxi. 1. Tom. I. col. 32; where *ut super hunc intelligeretur quem confessus est.*]

[2 ...νοοῦμεν τὸν τοῦ Ἰωνᾶ ... τὸν διὰ πίστεως ὑπεροχὴν ἐφ' ἑαυτὸν τὴν οἰκοδομὴν τῆς ἐκκλησίας δεξάμενον.—Basil. Op. Par. 1721-30. Adv. Eunom. Lib. II. 4. Tom. I. p. 240. Conf. Comm. in Esai. Proph. cap. ii. 66. ibid. p. 427. The Benedictine editors do not consider this last work genuine. The exact words above cited have not been found.]

[3 Orig. Op. Par. 1733-59. Comm. in Matt. Tom. XII. 10, 11. Tom. III. pp. 524, 5. See Vol. I. page 340.]

[4 Hilar. Op. Par. 1693. De Trin. Lib. II. 23. col. 800. See Vol. I. page 340, note 2.]

sia[5]." Et non ita multo post, "Hæc," inquit, "fides ecclesiæ fundamentum est[6]." Ad hunc modum alii etiam patres, Hieronymus[7], Cyrillus[8], Beda[9], ecclesiam exædificatam aiunt, non in Petro, sed in fide Petri, hoc est, in Christo Jesu Filio Dei, quem Petrus cœlesti instinctu professus fuerat. "Petrus," inquit Augustinus, "a petra [dictus est]; non petra a Petro.... Nec ego me, inquit, ædificabo super te, sed te ædificabo super me[10]." Imo etiam Nicolaus Lyranus, etsi non semper bonus auctor, (scis enim in quæ tempora inciderit ejus ætas,) tamen hoc recte vidit: "Super hanc, inquit, petram,...id [est], super Christum....Ex quo non potest ecclesia constare in aliquo homine, ratione potestatis vel dignitatis ecclesiasticæ,...quia multi.... papæ inventi sunt apostatæ[11]."

28. Qua ergo in re sita est ista auctoritas pontificia? In docendo? at nihil docent. In ministrando sacramenta? at non ministrant. In pascendo? at nihil pascunt. Atqui hæc est illa potestas, quam Christus contulit in apostolos. "Ite," inquit, "in universum mundum, et prædicate evangelium:" et, "Posthac eritis piscatores hominum:" et, "Sicut me misit vivens Pater, ita ego mitto vos." Isti vero quo eunt? quid docent? quid prædicant? quid piscantur? unde eunt? a quo mittuntur? Non est ista auctoritas apostolica, sed superba et intolerabilis dominatio per vim et tyrannidem usurpata. "Nemo nostrum," inquit Cyprianus, "episcopum se episcoporum dicit, aut tyrannico terrore collegas ad obsequendi necessitatem compellit; quando habeat omnis episcopus pro licentia libertatis et potestatis suæ arbitrium proprium, tanquam judicari ab altero non possit, quum nec ipse possit alterum judicare[12]." "Et hoc," inquit, "erant utique ceteri apostoli, quod fuit Petrus, pari consortio prædíti et honoris et potestatis[13]." Et

Peter the church is built;" and a little after, "This faith is the foundation of the church." In like manner other fathers, Hierome, Cyril, Beda, say that the church is built, not upon Peter, but upon his faith, that is, upon Jesus Christ the Son of God, whom Peter by divine inspiration had confessed. "Peter," saith Augustine, "takes his name from the rock, not the rock from Peter; neither will I," says he, "build myself upon thee, but I will build thee upon me." So also Nicholas Lyra (though he be not always a good author, for you know in what age he lived) saw this in a right light: "Upon this rock," saith he, "that is, upon Christ. By this it appeareth that the church cannot rely wholly upon any man by reason of any power or ecclesiastical dignity, because many popes have been found to be apostates."

Why then, wherein doth this papal authority consist? In teaching? They teach not at all. In administering the sacraments? They administer them not. In feeding? But they do not feed. Yet this is the power which Christ bestowed on his apostles. "Go," saith he, "into the whole world, and preach the gospel:" and, "Hereafter ye shall be fishers of men:" and, "As the living Father sent me, so send I you." But these men, whither go they? what do they teach, or preach, or fish for? From whence go they, or by whom are they sent? Theirs is not apostolical authority, but a proud intolerable domination, usurped by force and tyranny. "None of us," saith Cyprian, "calls himself bishop of bishops, nor violently compels his colleagues to the necessity of obedience; seeing that every bishop may use his liberty and power according to his own discretion, without being judged by any, as he himself cannot judge another." Again he says, "The other apostles were that which Peter was, and had the same fellowship of honour and power." St Hierome saith, "The authority of the world is greater than that

[5] Id. ibid. Lib. VI. 36. col. 903. See Vol. I. page 340, note 3.]

[6] Id. ibid. 37. col. 904.]

[7] Hieron. Op. Par. 1693-1706. Comm. Lib. III. in Matt. cap. xvi. Tom. IV. Pars I. col. 75.]

[8] Cyril. Alex. Op. Lut. 1638. De Sanct. Trin. Dial. IV. Tom. V. Pars I. p. 507. See Vol. I. page 340.]

[9] Ven. Bed. Op. Col. Agrip. 1612. In Matt. cap. xvi. Lib. III. Tom. V. col. 52.]

[10] August. Op. De Verb. Evang. Matt. xiv. Serm. lxxvi. 1. Tom. V. col. 415. See Vol. I. page 340, note 7.]

[11] Bibl. cum Gloss. Ord. et Expos. N. de Lyra, Basil. 1502. Matt. cap. xvi. Pars V. fol. 52. See before, page 928, note 10.]

[12] Neque enim quisquam nostrum &c. constituit, aut &c. ad obsequendi necessitatem collegas suos adigit; quando &c. tamque judicari ab alio non possit, quam nec ipse potest judicare.—Cypr. Op. Oxon. 1682. Concil. Carthag. p. 229.]

[13] Id. de Unit. Eccles. pp. 107, 8. See Vol. I. page 360, note 3.]

divus Hieronymus: "Major," inquit, "est auctoritas orbis quam urbis.... Quid mihi profers unius urbis consuetudinem? quid paucitatem, de qua ortum est supercilium, in leges ecclesiæ vendicas?.... Ubicunque fuerit episcopus, sive Romæ, sive Eugubii, sive Constantinopoli, sive Rhegii,... ejusdem est meriti et ejusdem sacerdotii. Potentia divitiarum et paupertatis humilitas superiorem vel inferiorem episcopum non facit[1]." Et Gregorius: "Petrus," inquit, "præcipuum in corpore membrum; Joannes, Andreas, Jacobus, particularium plebium capita; omnes tamen sub uno capite membra [ecclesiæ sunt]... Imo sancti ante legem, sancti sub lege, sancti in gratia, et omnes perficientes corpus Domini in membris sunt constituti; et nemo se unquam universalem dici voluit[2]."

29. Hæc illa est potestas, quam hodie quidam ita strenue defendunt, et, quicquid de pontificis vel vita vel religione sentiant, tamen illam sacrosanctam et integram esse volunt, quasi sine ea ecclesia Dei incolumis esse non possit; aut, nisi papa velit et jubeat, concilium non sit concilium; et, si totus mundus contra sentiat, nihil sentiat. Quare cum videas hæc omnia iniquissime esse comparata, nihil hodie in conciliis sincere et vere fieri; mirari non debes, si nostri homines domi manere malint, quam tam procul frustra proficisci, ubi et operam lusuri sint et causam perdituri.

30. Sed injussu pontificis, inquies, et concilii, nefas erat in religione voluisse quicquam immutare. Imo vero, pontifices ipsi universum prope statum primitivæ ecclesiæ sine ullo concilio mutaverunt. Est quidem ista speciosa et pulchra oratio, sed erroribus fœdissimis prætexitur. Morari enim tantum volunt exspectatione animos hominum; ut mora ac tædio hebescere incipiant, et ad extremum spem abjiciant. Quid enim? an, dum papa convocet concilium, et abbates atque episcopi domum redeant, volunt interea populum Dei falli, errare, decipi, circumfundi erroribus et ignoratione Dei, et abduci ad interitum sempiternum? Non licet cuiquam nostrum credere in Christum, profiteri evangelium, rite et

of one city. Why do you extol the custom of one city? Why do you make a few, whence pride began, to give laws to the church? Wheresoever any bishop is, whether at Rome, or at Eugubium, or at Constantinople, or at Rhegium, he is of the same estimation and priesthood. The authority of riches, or humbleness of poverty, makes a bishop neither greater nor less." Gregory says, "Peter is the chief member in the body; John, Andrew, James, are heads of particular peoples: yet all of them are members of the church under one head. Nay, the saints before the law, the saints under the law, the saints under the gospel, and all that make up the body of the Lord, are to be accounted members; and none was ever willing to be called universal."

This is that power which some do so strenuously defend at this day, and which, whatsoever they may think of the pope's life or religion, they would have to be most religiously maintained, as if the church could not subsist without it; or as if a council were no council except the pope did will and command it to be so; or as if the whole world must needs be wrong, if it should think otherwise. Wherefore now that you see that all these things are most unjustly handled, that nothing is sincerely and fairly carried in councils, you ought not to wonder that our men would rather tarry at home, than take so long and so idle a journey, in which they shall lose both their labour and their cause.

But you will say, it is not lawful to make any change in religion without order from the pope and a council. Yet the popes have changed almost the whole state of the primitive church without any council at all. This assertion of yours is fair and smooth, but it is made to cover the foulest errors. For their purpose is only to keep men's minds in expectation, that, being wearied with tedious delays, they may at the last despair of any good. Why, while the pope is assembling a council, and while the bishops and abbats are returning home, will they have God's people in the meanwhile to be misled, to err, to be deceived, to be overwhelmed with errors, and want of the knowledge of God, and so to be

[1 Hieron. Op. Par. 1693-1706. Ad Evang. Epist. ci. Tom. IV. Pars II. col. 803. See Vol. III. page 293, note 9.]

[2 Gregor. Magni Papæ I. Op. Par. 1705. Epist. Lib. v. Indict. XIII. Ad Johan. Episc. Epist. xviii. Tom. II. col. 743. See Vol. I. page 440, note 3.]

vere Deum colere, fugere superstitiones et cultus idolorum, nisi isti velint? Miserabilis vero esset status ecclesiæ Dei, si in tot erroribus tam late diffusis, tam crassis, tam cæcis, tam fœdis, tam perspicuis et manifestis, ut eos ne adversarii quidem nostri negare queant, nihil possit effici sine concursu orbis terrarum, et concilio generali, ejus præsertim, cujus et exspectatio incerta sit, et exitus multo incertior. Quum Persæ olim in Græciam irrupissent, et cœpissent omnia populari, et Lacedæmonii, quorum virtus inter omnes tum Græcos eminebat, quosque oportuit primo quoque tempore procurrere, ad rem gerendam lunam opportuniorem exspectarent (erat enim ea illis jam inde a Lycurgo avita superstitio, ne proficiscerentur ad pugnam, nisi in plenilunio), patria interea, dum illi cunctabantur, diripi et incendi potuisset. Periculum, inquiunt, est in mora. Agitur salus ecclesiæ Dei: diabolus rugit ut leo, et circuit, et quærit quem devoret: homines simplices facile trahuntur in fraudem, et, quamvis sæpe tanguntur zelo Dei, tamen imprudentes persequuntur Filium Dei; utque Nazianzenus ait, "Quum putent se pugnare pro Christo, pugnant sæpe contra Christum[3]." Episcopi autem, quibus oportuit ista esse curæ, aut, ut inanes larvæ, omnia susque deque ferunt; aut, ut quod res est dicam, augent etiam errorem, et conduplicant caliginem. An ergo nos oportuit sedere otiosos, et hujusmodi patrum cognitionem exspectare, et manus comprimere, et nihil agere? "Imo," inquit Cyprianus, "unus est episcopatus, cujus a singulis in solidum pars tenetur[4];" et certe pro sua cuique parte Domino reddenda est ratio. "Sanguinem illorum," inquit Dominus, "de manu tua requiram." Quod si quis admoveat manum ad stivam, et respiciat a tergo, et sollicitus sit quid alii sentiant, et exspectet auctoritatem concilii generalis, et interea recondat thesaurum Domini sui, audiet: "Serve male, et perfide: tollite illum, et abjicite in tenebras exteriores." "Sinite," inquit Christus, "mortuos sepelire mortuos suos: tu veni et sequere me." Veritas Dei non pendet ab hominibus. In humanis quidem conciliis prudentis est exspectare judicium et

carried to everlasting destruction? Is it not lawful for any of us to believe in Christ, to profess the gospel, to serve God aright, to fly superstition and idolatry, except they will be pleased to give us leave? Miserable indeed would be the state of God's church, if, there being so many errors, so generally spread, so gross, so blind, so foul, and so open and manifest, that even our adversaries themselves are not able to deny them, nothing could be done unless the whole world should meet in a general council; the expectation whereof is very uncertain, and the event much more so. In former times, when the Persians had invaded Greece, and began to lay all waste, and the Lacedemonians, whose valour was at that time most eminent amongst the Grecians, and whose help was requisite as soon as might be, had waited a more seasonable moon to make war in (for it was an ancient superstition, which had existed from the time of Lycurgus, not to go forth to fight but in a full moon), their country might have been spoiled whilst they were dallying. They say, delay breeds danger. The safety of God's church is in question: "the devil goeth about like a roaring lion, seeking whom he may devour." Simple men are easily deceived; and, though they be often touched with a zeal towards God, yet they persecute the Son of God before they are aware; and, as Nazianzen says, "when they purpose to fight for Christ, they often fight against him:" nay, the bishops themselves, who ought to have a care of these things, are (as though they were but empty shadows) careless of them: or, to speak truth, they increase the error, and make the darkness twice as great as it was. Must we therefore sit idle, waiting how these fathers will handle the matter? must we put our hands together and do nothing? "Nay," saith Cyprian, "there is but one bishoprick, of which every one holds an entire part;" whereof he is to give for his own part account to the Lord. "I will require," saith the Lord, "their blood at thy hand." If any shall put his hand to the plough and look back, and be solicitous what others think, and expect the authority of a general council, and hide in the meanwhile his Lord's treasure, he shall hear this: "O wicked and unfaithful servant! take him away, and cast him into outward darkness." "Suffer," saith Christ, "the dead to bury their dead; but come thou and follow me." In human councils, it is the part of a wise

[3 Gregor. Naz. Op. Par. 1778-1840. Orat. ii. 85. Tom. I. p. 53. See Vol. I. page 98, note 2.]

[4 Cypr. Op. Oxon. 1682. De Unit. Eccles. p. 108. See Vol. III. page 284, note 1.]

consensum hominum; in rebus autem divinis vox Dei debet instar esse omnium; quam postquam mens pia semel accepit, statim cedit, et manus dat, non tergiversatur, aut exspectat alios: intelligit enim se non pontificis aut concilii arbitrio oportere credere, sed voluntati Dei; ejus autem voci obtemperandum esse, invitis omnibus. Propheta Elias Domino jubenti statim obsequutus est, etsi se credebat esse solum. Abrahamus monitu Dei migravit e Chaldea. Lot egressus est e Sodomis. Tres illi Israelitæ publice ediderunt confessionem religionis suæ, et publice detestati sunt idololatriam, nihil exspectato generali concilio. "Exite," inquit angelus, "de medio ejus, et ne sitis participes peccatorum ejus; neve accipiatis de plagis ejus:" non dicit, exspectate synodum episcoporum. Sic primum publicata est veritas Dei; sic eadem nunc restituenda est. Sine publico concilio apostoli primum docuerunt evangelium; sine publico concilio idem potest postliminio revocari. Quod si Christus ipse ab initio, aut ejus apostoli cunctari voluissent, et rem omnem ad futurum concilium rejecissent, quando tandem exivisset sonus illorum in omnem terram? quomodo vim pertulisset regnum cœlorum, aut violenti in illud invasissent? ubi nunc esset evangelium? ubi nunc esset ecclesia Dei? Nos quidem non formidamus aut fugimus[1], imo multo potius optamus et cupimus concilium; modo liberum, modo ingenuum, modo christianum, modo ad apostolorum exemplar conveniatur; modo abbates et episcopi a religione jurisjurandi, quo nunc Romanis pontificibus obstricti sunt, eximantur; modo universa illa conjuratio dissolvatur; modo nostrarum partium homines modeste ac libere audiantur; modo ne inauditi condemnentur; modo ne, quicquid agatur, unus quispiam infirmare et rescindere possit omnia. At cum id his moribus et temporibus impetrari non posse, et omnia absurda, inepta, ridicula, superstitiosa, impia, tantum quod semel recepta essent, consuetudinis causa pugnacissime defendi videremus, proprium esse judicavimus, ut municipali concilio ecclesiis nostris prospiceremus[2].

31. Scimus enim Spiritum Dei nec locis alligatum esse, nec numeris hominum.

man to wait for the judgment and consent of men; but in matters divine God's word is all in all: the which so soon as a godly man hath received, he presently yields and submits himself; he is not wavering, nor does he wait for others. For he understands that he is not bound to give ear to the pope, or the council, but to the will of God, whose voice is to be obeyed, though all men say nay. The prophet Elias presently obeyed God's command, though he thought he was alone: Abraham, being warned of God, went out of Chaldea: Lot went out of Sodom: the three Israelites made a public confession of their religion, and did publicly shew their detestation of idolatry, without waiting for a general council. "Go," saith the angel, "out of the midst of her, and partake not of her sins, lest you taste of her plagues:" he saith not, Wait for a synod of bishops. So God's truth was first published, and so it is now to be restored. The apostles first taught the gospel without a public council; in like manner the same gospel may be restored again without a public council. If at the first Christ and his apostles would have tarried, and deferred all until a general council, when had their sound gone forth into all lands? how had the kingdom of heaven suffered violence? and how had the violent taken it by force? Where now would the gospel and the church of God have been? As for our parts, we do not fear and fly, but desire and wish for a council, so that it be free, honest, and christian; so that men meet as the apostles did; so that abbats and bishops be freed from the constraint of that oath by which they are now bound to the popes; so that that whole conspiracy be dissolved; so that the men of our part may be temperately and freely heard, and not condemned without being heard; so that one man may not have power to overthrow and repeal whatsoever is done. But, seeing it is impossible, with manners and times like the present, that this should be obtained; and seeing that all absurd things, foolish, ridiculous, superstitious, and impious, are defended most pertinaciously, and that for custom's sake, because they have been once received, we have thought it fit to provide for our churches by a national council.

For we know that the Spirit of God is tied neither to places, nor to numbers of men.

[1 See Vol. III. page 36.] [2 See Vol. III. page 42.]

"Dic," inquit Christus, "ecclesiæ;" non sane universæ, quæ diffunditur in totum terrarum orbem, sed particulari, quæ possit una aliquem in locum convenire. "Ubicunque," inquit, "erunt duo aut tres congregati in nomine meo, ibi sum ego in medio illorum." Sic Paulus, ut instauraret ecclesias Corinthiorum et Galatarum, non jussit exspectare generale concilium: ad ipsos scripsit, ut, quicquid esset erroris aut vitii, id ipsi statim resecarent. Sic olim, cum episcopi dormirent, atque aliud agerent, aut etiam contaminarent et polluerent templum Dei, semper Deus extraordinaria ratione alios quosdam excitavit, magno viros spiritu atque animo, qui omnia in integrum restituerent.

32. Nos vero nihil temere, nihil nisi summa cum ratione fecimus, nihil nisi quod videbamus et semper licuisse fieri, et a sanctis patribus sæpe sine ulla reprehensione fuisse factum. Itaque convocatis episcopis frequenti synodo, communi consensu omnium ordinum, ecclesiæ sordes, quas vel incuria hominum vel malitia infuderat, tanquam Augeæ stabulum repurgavimus, et, quantum assequi maxime potuimus, omnia ad pristinum nitorem, ad apostolicorum temporum et primitivæ ecclesiæ similitudinem revocavimus[3]. Idque et potuimus recte facere, et quia potuimus fidenter fecimus.

33. Libet hic audire, quid Gregorius papa I. hac de re scripserit; quanquam magis libet, quod ille de Anglicarum ecclesiarum institutione ad Anglorum episcopum Augustinum ea scripserit. Hortatur autem, non ut ad concilium referat, sed ut ipse pro sua prudentia id instituat, quo videat pietatem maxime posse promoveri. "Novit," inquit, "fraternitas tua Romanæ ecclesiæ consuetudinem, in qua se meminit [esse] nutritum. Sed mihi placet, ut, sive in Romana, sive Gallicorum, sive... qualibet ecclesia... invenisti quod plus omnipotenti Deo possit placere, eligas sollicite, et in Anglorum ecclesiam, quæ adhuc in fide nova est et in constitutione, præcipua, quæ de multis ecclesiis colligere poteris, infundas. Non enim pro locis res, sed pro rebus loca... amanda sunt[4]."

"Tell it to the church," saith Christ; not to the whole church spread over the world, but to a particular, which may easily meet in one place. "Wheresoever," saith he, "two or three shall be gathered together in my name, there am I in the midst of them." When Paul would reform the churches of the Corinthians and of the Galatians, he did not command them to wait for a general council; but only wrote unto them that, what error soever or vice was amongst them, themselves should presently cut it off. So in times past, when bishops did sleep, or were attending to by-matters, or did defile and pollute the Lord's temple, God did always extraordinarily raise up some men of great spirit and courage, to make all well and sound again.

For ourselves, we have done nothing but with very good reason; nothing but what we saw to be lawful, and to have been practised by the fathers of the primitive church without any censure at all. Wherefore we called a full synod of bishops, and, by common consent of all sorts, purged our church, as it were an Augean stable, of that filth which either the negligence or wickedness of men had brought in. We have restored all things, as much as possibly we could, to the ancient purity of the apostolical times, and the pattern of the primitive church. This it was properly in our power to do, and, because we could do it, we did it boldly.

Here I think it fit that you should hear what pope Gregory I. wrote concerning this matter; which pleases me the more, because he wrote it to Augustine, bishop of the English, about the institution of the church of England. He exhorts him not to call a council, but to ordain that which he himself in his own wisdom thought would most promote piety and religion. "You know, my brother," saith he, "the custom of the Roman church, in which you have been brought up. But my judgment is, that whatever you have found either in the Roman church, or that of France, or any other, which may be more pleasing to Almighty God, you should introduce the chief of such things into the English church, which is as yet but new in faith, and, as it were, but now to be framed.

[3 See Vol. III. pages 36, 46. It is probable that the deliberation or synod referred to was that in the reign of Edward VI. The reference can hardly, if the date above assigned for the epistle be accurate, be to the convocation of 1563.]

[4 Gregor. Magni Papæ I. Op. Par. 1705. Tom. II. col. 1152; where *enutritam, sive in Galliarum, sollicite eligas et in Anglorum ecclesia est institutione præcipua*, and *colligere potuisti*.]

34. Ad eundem modum scribunt patres in concilio Constantinopolitano ad Damasum episcopum urbis Romæ, et reliquos episcopos occidentis. "De cura," inquiunt, "administrationis singularum ecclesiarum, scitis veterem sanctionem et definitionem Nicenorum patrum semper invaluisse, ut in unaquaque provincia cultores, assumptis etiam, si videatur, finitimis, conferant ecclesiasticos honores iis, quos utiliter gesturos esse confidunt[1]." Et Africani episcopi ad Celestinum Romanum: "Presbyterorum," inquiunt, "et sequentium clericorum improba refugia, sicut te dignum est, repellat sanctitas tua: quia et nulla patrum definitione hoc ecclesiæ denegatum est Africanæ; et decreta Nicena sive inferioris gradus clericos, sive ipsos episcopos, suis metropolitanis apertissime commiserunt: prudentissime enim justissimeque quæque negotia in suis locis, ubi orta sunt, [esse] finienda; nec unicuique provinciæ gratiam Sancti Spiritus defuturam. Quæ æquitas a Christi sacerdotibus et prudenter videatur, et constanter retineatur[2]."

35. Multo vero melius, et ad hanc rem, qua de nunc agimus, accommodatius Eleutherius episcopus Romanus ad Lucium regem Britanniæ: "Petiistis," inquit, "a nobis leges Romanas et Cæsaris vobis transmitti, quibus in regno Britanniæ uti voluistis. Leges Romanas et Cæsaris semper possumus reprobare; legem Dei nequaquam. Suscepistis enim miseratione divina in regno Britanniæ legem et fidem Christi: habetis penes vos in regno vestro utramque paginam. Ex illis Dei gratia per concilium regni vestri sume legem, et per illam Dei patientia poteritis vestrum Britanniæ regnum instituere. Vicarius vero Dei estis in regno illo, juxta Psalmistam: 'Domini est terra[3].'"

36. Quid multis? Victor episcopus Romanus habuit Romæ synodum provincialem. Justinianus imperator mandat, si quid opus sit, in singulis provinciis habere

For things are not to be valued because of the place where they are found; but places are to be valued for the things that are in them."

So the fathers in the council of Constantinople write to Damasus, bishop of Rome, and to the other western bishops: "You know," say they, "that the old decree and definition of the Nicene fathers concerning the care of particular churches hath always been in force, that the husbandmen of the Lord's vineyard in every province, taking their next bordering neighbours unto them, if they please, should bestow ecclesiastical honours upon those who they think will use them well." The bishops of Africa wrote thus to Celestinus bishop of Rome: "Let your holiness, as becometh you, take away all wicked evasions of priests, and inferior clergymen; for by no limitation of the fathers has this been denied to the African church. And the decrees of the Nicene council do most plainly refer not only the inferior clergy, but even the bishops themselves, to their metropolitans. For matters are best and most wisely ended in the places where they arose; neither is the grace of the Holy Spirit wanting unto any province. Let this equity be wisely observed, and constantly maintained by the ministers of Christ."

Much better still and more appositely to our present purpose does Eleutherius, bishop of Rome, write to Lucius, king of Britain: "You have," says he, "desired that we should send you the laws of the Romans, and of the emperors, that you may make use of them in the kingdom of Britain. These laws we may abrogate when we will, but the laws of God we cannot. You have received (by God's mercy) into your kingdom of Britain the law and faith of Christ; you have there the old and the new testament: from them, by God's grace, take a law by a council of your own kingdom, and, God permitting, you will be able by this to rule your kingdom of Britain. For you are God's vicar in that kingdom; according to the saying of the Psalmist, 'The earth is the Lord's.'"

What should I say more? Victor, bishop of Rome, held a provincial synod at Rome. Justinian the emperor commands that synods (if there were occasion) should be

[1 Concil. Constant. in Concil. Stud. Labb. et Cossart. Lut. Par. 1671-2. Ad Damas. Epist. Tom. II. col. 963.]

[2 Presbyterorum quoque et sequentium &c. sicuti &c. ecclesiæ derogatum est &c. justissimeque providerunt,' quæcunque negocia &c. defuturam, qua æquitas &c. constantissime teneatur.—Concil. Aphr. cap. 105. in Crabb. Concil. Col. Agrip. 1551. Tom. I. p. 521.]

[3 See Vol. I. page 267, note 11; page 306, note 7.]

synodos: id ni fiat, se fore ultorem et vindicem[4]. "Unaquæque," inquit Hieronymus, "provincia habet mores, et ritus, et sensus suos, quos sine gravi perturbatione movere facile non possis[5]."

Nam quid ego commemorem vetera concilia municipalia, Eliberinum, Gangrense, Laodicenum, Ancyranum, Antiochenum, Turonense, Carthaginense, Milevitanum, Toletanum, Burdegalense[6]? non enim est ista nova ratio. Sic olim regebatur ecclesia Dei, antequam patres ad Nicenum concilium convenissent: non enim statim decurrebatur ad concilium generale. Theophilus habuit conventum provincialem in Palæstina; Palmas in Ponto; Irenæus in Gallia; Bachylus in Achaia; Origenes contra Beryllum in Arabia[7]. Mitto alia concilia municipalia quamplura, quæ habita fuerunt in Africa, Asia, Græcia, Ægypto, pia, orthodoxa, christiana, injussu pontificis Romani. Episcopi enim tum pro re nata, ut quidque incidisset, statim domestico concilio succurrebant ecclesiis suis, et modo vicinorum episcoporum fidem implorabant, modo operas mutuas tradebant, et, si quid opus esset, sese vicissim ultro juvabant. Nec tantum episcopi, sed principes etiam judicabant religionis causam ad suum officium pertinere. Nam, ut mittam Nabuchadnezarem, qui capitale sancivit, si quis blasphemasset Deum Israel; aut Davidem, Solomonem, Ezechiam, Josiam, qui partim exædificarunt, partim repurgarunt templum Dei[8]; Constantinus imperator sine concilio sustulit cultum idolorum, et gravissimis verbis edixit, capitale fore, si quis idolo sacrificasset. Theodosius imperator solo æquari jussit templa deorum. Jovinianus imperator, statim ubi esset renunciatus, tulit primam legem de reducendis exulibus christianis[9]. Justinianus imperator dicere solebat religionem Christi non minus sibi esse curæ, quam vitam suam. Josua, quum factus esset dux populi, statim accepit præcepta de religione, et de colendo Deo. Sunt enim principes nutritii ecclesiæ, et custodes utriusque tabulæ. Nec alia magis causa Deus semper

held in every province; threatening punishment if this were not done. "Every province," says Hierome, "hath peculiar manners, and rites, and feelings, which you cannot alter without great trouble."

Why should I mention those old provincial councils at Eliberis, Gangra, Laodicea, Ancyra, Antioch, Tours, Carthage, Milevis, Toulouse, and Bourdeaux? This is no new invention. For so was the church of God governed before the fathers met in the Nicene council: men did not run at once to a general council. Theophilus held a provincial council in Palestina, Palmas in Pontus, Irenæus in France, Bacchylus in Achaia, Origen against Beryllus in Arabia. I omit many other national councils held in Africa, Asia, Greece, Egypt, without any order from the bishop of Rome; which councils were godly, orthodox, and christian. For bishops in those times upon the sudden, if any thing had occurred, were used at once to provide for the necessity of their churches by a domestic council, and sometimes craved aid from their neighbour bishops; sometimes united their common labours, so that they mutually helped one the other. Neither did only bishops imagine that the cause of religion belonged to them, but princes too. For, to pass over Nebuchadnezzar, who commanded upon pain of death that the name of the God of Israel should not be blasphemed; to omit David, Solomon, Ezekias, Josias, who partly built, partly purged the temple of the Lord, Constantine the emperor put down idolatry without a council, and in severe terms prescribed that it should be capital to sacrifice to idols. Theodosius the emperor caused the temples of the heathen gods to be levelled with the ground. Jovinian, as soon as he was created emperor, made his first law for the restoring of banished Christians. Justinian the emperor was wont to say, that he had no less care for the christian religion than for his own life. When Joshua was made ruler of the people, he presently received command concerning religion, and the worship of God. For princes are nursing fathers of the church, and

[4 Phot. Nomocan. Tit. VIII. cap. viii. in Canon. Apost. &c. cum Comm. Theod. Balsam. Lut. Par. 1620. pp. 94, 5.]

[5 ...quod videlicet unaqnæque provincia habeat aliquid proprium, quod alia æque habere non possit. —Hieron. Op. Par. 1693-1706. Paul. et Eustoch. ad Marcell. Epist. xliv. Tom. IV. Pars II. col. 550. Conf. Hieron. ad Lucin. Epist. lii. ibid. col. 579.]

[6 See Vol. III. pages 42, 43.]

[7 Euseb. in Hist. Eccles. Script. Amst. 1695-1700. Lib. V. cap. xxiii; Lib. VI. cap. xxxiii. pp. 154, 5, 88.]

[8 See Vol. III. page 40.]

[9 Id. in eod. De Vit. Const. Lib. II. cap. xlv. p. 382; Socr. in eod. Lib. III. cap. xxiv. p. 166; Soz. in eod. Lib. VI. cap. iii. p. 520; Lib. VII. cap. xx. p. 597.]

voluit politias existere, quam ut essent, qui religionem et pietatem incolumem conservarent.

37. Quo magis hodie gravitusque peccant multi principes, qui appellantur quidem christiani, qui sedent otiosi, et indulgent voluptatibus, et patienter ferunt impios cultus et contemptum Numinis, et hæc omnia devolvunt ad episcopos, ad illos ipsos quibus sciunt omnem religionem esse ludibrio; quasi cura ecclesiarum et populi Dei ad ipsos nihil pertineat, aut ipsi tanquam pastores quidem sint armentarii, et corporum tantum, ac non etiam animarum curam gerant. Non meminerunt se servos esse Dei, ea causa delectos ut serviant Domino. Ezechias rex non prius ascendit in domum suam, quam vidisset perpurgatum templum Dei. Et David rex, "Non dabo," inquit, "somnum oculis meis, nec patiar ut conniveant palpebræ meæ, donec inveniam locum Domino, et tabernaculum Deo Jacob." O si principes christiani audire vellent vocem Domini sui! "Nunc, reges, intelligite," inquit Dominus, "erudimini, qui judicatis terram." "Ego," inquit, "dixi, Dii estis," hoc est homines divinitus electi, quibus nomen meum esset curæ. Cogita tu, quem ego de sterquilinio excitavi, et in summo dignitatis et honoris gradu collocavi, et præfeci populo meo, cum ita studiose ædifices et ornes domum tuam, quo animo potes contemnere domum meam? aut quomodo quotidie oras, ut regnum tuum tibi posterisque tuis confirmetur? An ut nomen meum semper afficiatur contumelia? ut evangelium Christi mei extinguatur? ut servi mei mea causa ante oculos tuos, te inspectante, trucidentur? ut tyrannis longius grassetur? ut populo meo semper imponatur? ut per te scandalum confirmetur? Væ illi, per quem venit scandalum; væ etiam illi, per quem confirmatur scandalum! Horres sanguinem corporum: quanto magis horrere debes sanguinem animarum! Memineris quid acciderit Antiocho, Herodi, Juliano: ego regnum tuum transferam ad hostem tuum, quia peccasti adversum me: ego muto tempora et vices temporum: abjicio reges et instituo, ut intelligas me altissimum esse, et vim habere in regno hominum, et illud dare cui volo: ego humilio, et ego exalto; ego glorificantes me glorifico, et eos qui me contemnunt afficio contumelia.

keepers of both tables. Neither for any greater cause hath God willed governments to exist, than that there might be always some to maintain and preserve religion and piety.

Princes therefore now-a-days do most grievously offend, who are called indeed Christians, but who sit at ease, follow their pleasures, and patiently suffer impious rites and contempt of God, leaving all unto the bishops, to those very men to whom they know that all religion is a laughing-stock; as if the care of the church and of God's people belonged not to them, or as if they were pastors but of sheep and oxen, as it were, and had care of their bodies, and not also of their souls. They remember not that they are God's servants, chosen of purpose to serve him. Ezekias went not into his own house, before he saw God's temple purified. King David said, "I will not give any sleep unto mine eyes, nor suffer mine eye-lids to slumber, until I have found a place for the Lord, a tabernacle for the God of Jacob." O that christian princes would hear the voice of the Lord! "Now," saith the Lord, "understand, O ye kings, and learn, ye that be judges of the earth:" "I have said, ye are gods;" that is, men chosen by God to honour his name. Thou, whom I have raised out of the dust, and placed in the highest degree of dignity and honour, and set thee over my people, when thou art so careful to build and adorn thine own house, with what mind canst thou contemn my house? Or how dost thou pray daily, that thy kingdom may be confirmed to thee and thy posterity? Is it that my name may be contemned? that the gospel of my Christ may be put down? that my servants, for my sake, may be slain before thine eyes? that tyranny may be further spread, my people always deceived, and scandal confirmed by thee? Woe unto him by whom scandal cometh! woe also unto him by whom it is confirmed! Thou abhorrest bodily bloodshed: how much more the blood of souls! Thou rememberest what happened to Antiochus, Herod, and Julian: I will give thy kingdom to thine enemy, because thou hast sinned against me: I change times and seasons: I put down and raise up kings; that thou mayest understand, that I am the Most High; that I have power over the kingdom of men, and give it to whom I will: I bring low, and I exalt: I glorify them that glorify me, and put to shame those that despise me.

A VIEW

OF A

SEDITIOUS BULL.

A VIEW OF A SEDITIOVS Bull sent into *England*, from *Pius Quintus* Bishop of *Rome*, 1569.

Taken by the reuerend Father in God, IOHN IEWEL, late Bishop of SARISBVRIE.

Whereunto is added a *short Treatise of the holy Scriptures.*

Both which he deliuered in diuers Sermons, in his Cathedrall Church of *Sarisburie*, 1570.

LONDON,
Printed by IOHN NORTON,
Printer to the Kings most excellent Maiestie.
1611.

TO THE GODLY READER.

THE present state of these our days, and the honourable and reverent love that every one of us subjects oweth to so gracious a prince as God in mercy hath set over us, hath caused this small work to be presented unto thee, gentle reader. For it carrieth in itself and bringeth unto thee a ripping up and an unfolding of that seditious bull of Pius Quintus, that was set up and published by Felton, a rebellious traitor, in the twelfth year of her Majesty's reign[1], to withdraw thee from the obedience and love that thou owest to her majesty, to her laws and godly proceedings, and to this realm thy dear country.

To which is also adjoined another treatise of the holy scriptures. Wherein is shewed thee the authority, and the profit, and the pleasure, and the necessity of the word of God.

Both these the reverend father in God, D. Jewel, late bishop of Sarum, delivered to that church and people, in the great care he had to do his Master's service, and to keep the people committed to his charge from incurring such offence to God, or undutifulness to her majesty, or their own everlasting damnation. His meaning herein was good toward them; and no doubt but they reaped the comfortable fruit of his godly travails. The like mayest thou gather to thyself by direction of the same his speeches thus drawn into short and compendious form, if thou wilt read them with diligence and judgment.

If thou learn to humble thyself before God, and to seek wisdom of him; if thou search the scriptures, and make them thy guides to lead thee through the desert and wide sea of this life, as thou art advertised by the latter[2]; thou shalt soon espy the danger of all such practices towards disloyalty and rebellion, whereto the bull driveth thee, which is disclosed in the former. For it is not only said by the wise man, "The fear of the Lord is the beginning of wisdom;" but also Prov. i.
set down by the prophet, "They have rejected the word of the Lord; and what Jer. viii.
wisdom is in them?" that is, therefore men become foolish, and do such things as are unmeet, because they care not for the word of God; and therefore David in his experience so confesseth, that "by the commandments of God he was Psal. cxix.
made wiser than his enemies, and had more understanding than all his teachers, because the testimonies of the Lord were ever with him, and he did meditate them." If thou settle thy heart to like and do those things which please God, if thou have the love of his word, he will teach thee the way wherein thou shouldest walk in obedience to him, and in duty to her majesty our dread sovereign his servant.

I trust thou wilt take good instructions out of these two treatises to thy duty and zeal to them both, and be thankful to God for that learned father, who hath left a light unto thee, both in example, and by these and other his works; whose steps if thou shalt follow, thou shalt live godly, and die with comfort, as a good servant of thy merciful God and Father. The benefits of his great travails taken in time of his life are thine. And unto the end he ceased not to continue in the faith which he before professed. For (as I, one of many yet living, can testify) in the day and night before his departure out of this world, he expounded the Lord's prayer, and gave short notes upon the 71st Psalm to such as were by him. He thought good to say somewhat at that time of his books written by him, and set forth in print, and also of his preaching: in both which services done by him to the glory of God, and thy comfort, he made protestation of his good conscience, which even then, as he declared, witnessed and should witness with him before God, that he dealt simply and

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[1 See Strype, Annals, Vol. II. Book I. chap. ii. Bullinger, it may be added, answered this bull. | Strype, ibid. Vol. I. chap. lvi.]

[2 Later, 1582.]

plainly, having God only before his eyes, and seeking the defence of the gospel of Christ, and that the truth thereof might be opened and maintained; and farther gave thanks to God, that made him his servant in so great a work, and then visited him by this messenger of death, whiles he was doing the message of God in visiting his diocese; that then he called him to rest from his labours, when his weak body was spent and worn out in setting forth the glory of God; for which he many times prayed it would please God to let him be offered in sacrifice.

He was at that time very fervent in prayer, which he poured out before the Lord abundantly, and in great faith, crying often, "Lord, let thy servant now depart in peace. Lord, let thy servant now come to thee. I have not so lived that I am ashamed to live, neither am I afraid to die; for we have a gracious Lord. There is laid up for me a crown of righteousness. Christ is my righteousness. Thy will be done, O Lord; for mine is frail:"—with many other such godly speeches. In the extremity of his disease he shewed great patience; and, when his voice failed that he lay speechless, he lifted up his hands and eyes, in witness of his consent to those prayers which were made. Thus being virtuously occupied, and wholly resting himself upon the mercies of God through Jesus Christ our Saviour, he rendered up his soul to God, the 23. of September, 1571.

Be thou thankful to God for giving his church so worthy an instrument of his glory; and be careful to follow the good doctrine which he left behind him, not only in this that cometh forth at this present, but in all other his books, which have been set forth before, or shall be put forth hereafter to thy benefit and increase of godliness.

27. Jan. 1582. North Crowlie.

Thine in the Lord,

IO. GARBRAND[1].

[1 It may here be remarked, that there appear to have been two editions of these tracts issued in the same year. The editor first began to collate the text of 1611, with a copy dated 1582 in the British Museum: he afterwards obtained a copy of the same date by the same printers from the University Library, Cambridge; and it was not immediately discovered that this differed from the Museum copy. The discovery has caused some little perplexity: the editor has only to remark, that in his references to the readings of 1582 it is the Cambridge copy that is generally intended.]

The following is the Bull of Pius V.

Damnatio et excommunicatio Elisabeth Reginæ Angliæ, eique adhærentium, cum aliarum pœnarum adjectione.

(*Henricus quoque rex, ejus pater, itidem damnatus fuit a Paulo III. ut in ejus const.* 7. *Ejus. fol.* 619.)

Pius Episcopus, Servus servorum Dei. Ad perpetuam rei memoriam. Edita An. D. 1570.

Regnans in excelsis, cui data est omnis in cœlo et in terra potestas, unam sanctam catholicam et apostolicam ecclesiam, extra quam nulla est salus, uni soli in terris, videlicet apostolorum principi Petro, Petrique successori Romano pontifici, in potestatis plenitudine tradidit gubernandam. Hunc unum super omnes gentes et omnia regna principem constituit, qui evellat, destruat, dissipet, disperdat, plantet, et ædificet, ut fidelem populum, mutuæ caritatis nexu constrictum, in unitate Spiritus contineat, salvumque et incolumem suo exhibeat Salvatori. Exordium.

1. *Quo quidem in munere obeundo, nos ad prædictæ ecclesiæ gubernacula Dei benignitate vocati, nullum laborem intermittimus, omni opera contendentes, ut ipsa unitas et catholica religio (quam illius auctor ad probandam suorum fidem, et correctionem nostram, tantis procellis conflictari permisit) integra conservetur. Sed impiorum numerus tantum potentia invaluit, ut nullus jam in orbe locus sit relictus, quem illi pessimis doctrinis corrumpere non tentarint, adnitente inter ceteros flagitiorum serva Elisabeth prætensa Angliæ regina, ad quam veluti ad asylum omnium infestissimi profugium invenerunt. Hæc eadem, regno occupato, supremi ecclesiæ capitis locum, in omni Anglia, ejusque præcipuam auctoritatem atque jurisdictionem monstruose sibi usurpans, regnum ipsum, jam tum ad fidem catholicam et bonam frugem reductum, rursus in miserum exitium revocavit.* Henricus Octavus rex Angliæ hæresim introduxit in illo regno ut sup. in Pauli III. const. cit. in rub.

2. *Usu namque veræ religionis, quam, ab illius desertore Henrico Octavo olim eversam, claræ memoriæ Maria regina legitima hujus sedis præsidio reparaverat, potenti manu inhibito, secutisque et amplexis hæreticorum erroribus, regium concilium ex Anglica nobilitate confectum diremit, illudque obscuris hominibus hæreticis complevit, catholicæ fidei cultores oppressit, improbos concionatores atque impietatum administros reposuit. Missæ sacrificium, preces, jejunia, ciborum delectum, cœlibatum, ritusque catholicos abolevit: libros manifestam hæresim continentes toto regno proponi, impia mysteria, et instituta ad Calvini præscriptum a se suscepta, et observata, etiam a subditis servari mandavit. Episcopos, ecclesiarum rectores, et alios sacerdotes catholicos, suis ecclesiis et beneficiis ejicere, ac de illis et aliis rebus ecclesiasticis in hæreticos homines disponere, deque ecclesiæ causis decernere ausa, prælatis, clero, et populo, ne Romanam ecclesiam agnoscerent, neve ejus præceptis sanctionibusque canonicis obtemperarent, interdixit; plerosque in nefarias leges suas venire, et Romani pontificis auctoritatem atque obedientiam abjurare, seque solam in temporalibus et spiritualibus dominam agnoscere jurejurando coegit; pœnas et supplicia in eos qui dicto non essent audientes imposuit, easdemque ab iis, qui in unitate fidei et prædicta obedientia perseverarunt, exegit. Catholicos antistites et ecclesiarum rectores in vincula conjecit, ubi multi, diuturno languore et tristitia confecti, extremum vitæ diem misere finiverunt. Quæ omnia cum apud omnes nationes perspicua et notoria sint, et gravissimo quamplurimorum testimonio ita comprobata, ut nullus omnino locus excusationis, defensionis, aut tergiversationis relinquatur:* Elisabeth regina hæretica etiam fuit et est, committendo multos errores, hic expressos.

3. *Nos, multiplicantibus aliis atque aliis super alias impietatibus et facinoribus, et præterea fidelium persecutione religionisque afflictione impulsu et opera dictæ Elisabeth quotidie magis ingravescente, quoniam illius animum ita obfirmatum atque induratum intelligimus, ut non modo pias catholicorum principum de sanitate et conversione preces monitionesque contempserit, sed ne hujus quidem sedis ad ipsam* Hic ideo Pont. illam eiq. adhærentes hæreticos declarat.

hac de causa nuncios in Angliam trajicere permiserit, ad arma justitiæ contra eam de necessitate conversi, dolorem lenire non possumus, quod adducamur in unam animadvertere, cujus majores de republica christiana tantopere meruere. Illius itaque auctoritate suffulti, qui nos in hoc supremo justitiæ throno, licet tanto oneri impares, voluit collocare, de apostolicæ potestatis plenitudine declaramus prædictam Elisabeth hæreticam, et hæreticorum fautricem, eique adhærentes in prædictis anathematis sententiam incurrisse, esseque a Christi corpore unitate præcisos.

Regno et dignitatib. privat.

4. *Quin etiam ipsam prætenso regni prædicti jure, necnon omni et quocunque dominio, dignitate, privilegioque privatam.*

Vasallos liberat.

5. *Et item proceres, subditos, et populos dicti regni, ac ceteros omnes, qui illi quomodocunque juraverunt, a juramento hujusmodi, ac omni prorsus dominii, fidelitatis, et obsequii debito, perpetuo absolutos, prout nos illos præsentium auctoritate absolvimus, et privamus eandem Elisabeth prætenso jure regni, aliisque omnibus supradictis. Præcipimusque et interdicimus universis et singulis proceribus, subditis populis, et aliis prædictis, ne illi ejusve monitis, mandatis et legibus audeant obedire. Qui secus egerint, eos simili anathematis sententia innodamus.*

Exemplis credi jubet.

6. *Quia vero difficile nimis esset, præsentes quocunque illis opus erit perferre, volumus, ut earum exempla, notarii publici manu, et prælati ecclesiastici ejusve curiæ sigillo obsignata, eandem illam prorsus fidem in judicio et extra illud ubique gentium faciant, quam ipsæ præsentes facerent, si essent exhibitæ vel ostensæ.*

D. P. An. 5. 25 Februari.

Datum Romæ apud sanctum Petrum, anno incarnationis Dominicæ millesimo quingentesimo septuagesimo, quinto Cal. Martii, pontificatus nostri anno 5.[1]

[1 Cherubin. Bullar. Rom. 1617. Pius Quintus, Const. ci. Tom. II. pp. 304, 5.]

A

VIEW OF A SEDITIOUS BULL

SENT INTO ENGLAND.

WHILES I opened unto you the words of the apostle, "That day shall not come, except there come a departing first, and that man of sin be disclosed, even the son of perdition; which is an adversary, and is exalted above all that is called God, or that is worshipped; so that he shall sit as God in the temple of God, and bear in hand that he is God[2];" there came to my hands a copy of a bull lately sent into this realm by the bishop of Rome. I read it, and weighed it thoroughly, and found it to be a matter of great blasphemy against God, and a practice to work much unquietness, sedition, and treason against our blessed and prosperous government. For it deposeth the queen's majesty (whom God long preserve!) from her royal seat, and teareth the crown from her head: it dischargeth all us her natural subjects from all due obedience: it armeth one side of us against another: it emboldeneth us to burn, to spoil, to rob, to kill, and to cut one another's throat: it is much like that box which Pandora sent to Epimetheus, full of hurtful and unwholesome evils. Are you desirous to hear it? It grieveth me to disclose, and your godly ears will hardly abide, his unseemly speeches. Yet, seeing he hath written them, and hath conveyed his copies thereof to work the mischief he hath intended, I may the better rehearse them unto you, if withal your discretion provide to season them with the fear of God, and with due obedience unto our dread sovereign, using these two as the wholesome meal of Elizeus to preserve from infection in the tasting of these wild gourds: then shall you by this bull espy out antichrist, even "that man of sin, the son of perdition, who is exalted above all that is called God, or that is worshipped." The matter is long: pope Pius hath bestowed some pains in writing of falsehood; let us take some pains to hear the truth. 2 Thess. ii.

But, before I lay abroad to your sight the packet of his gross untruths, and in the duty of a good subject make a true report of that estate wherein we live, as well of religion, as of civil policy, against the slanderous libel of this man of sin; if, otherwise than my wonted manner hath been, any hard or sharp speech pass from me; or if I speak more particularly of persons living, and matters well known unto you, than may seem fit for this place; I must desire your pardon, seeing the occasion is such, that it driveth me to be plain and earnest. For she is the servant of God: she is my gracious lady, and dread sovereign. I have sworn truth to her majesty. If I knew there were in mine heart one drop of disloyal blood towards her, I would take my knife and let it out.

This[3] title is: *Sententia declaratoria contra Elizabeth, &c.* "A sentence denounced against Elizabeth," our noble and renowned queen, whom God hath mercifully appointed to rule over us in place of her noble progenitors. A sentence is the conclusion of judgment, and the end of controversies, wherein many things are to be considered: that the judge be competent, also grave, and sober, and wise, and upright; that he call the party, and examine the cause, and weigh the circumstances, and have conference with the learned; that then upon great advice and due proofs (setting all affection aside, and having God only before his eyes) he open his mouth and pronounce sentence. Now, if the judge be a party, or have no jurisdiction over them whom he judgeth, and therefore be not a competent judge; if he send forth no process, keep no order nor form of judgment;

[2 See Vol. II. pages 896, &c.]

[3 The, 1582, 1609.]

if the party be not called; if the matter be not duly examined; if the presumption be false; if there be no proofs; if he begin where he should end, and declare a sentence of his own affection, without the[1] fear of God, against God and against his anointed; then he is no judge, and his sentence is no sentence, but rather a wicked judge, and a corrupt sentence. These circumstances are substantial, and, being well considered, will make you the better able to judge of these rash proceedings.

After this his angry title, his holiness hath thought good to shew us some little of his pretty imagery, and maketh Peter stand on the one side with keys, and a posy: *Tibi dabo claves regni cœlorum:* "I will give the keys of the kingdom of heaven to thee." And, lest you should not yet find which is he, he is marked, *Petrus claviger;* "Peter the key-bearer." Paul is placed on the left side, with his sword: his mark is, *Paulus ensifer;* "Paul the sword-bearer;" and his circumscription, *Paulus doctor gentium, et vas electionis;* "Paul the doctor of gentiles, and elect vessel;" and between them both the pope's arms, the triple mitre, the cross keys, and six gun-stones: so he maketh the two apostles supporters of his arms, and setteth forth himself under their name and credit. As if he should say, I sit here in the seat of Peter and Paul; even as did the Pharisees sometimes: "We are the seed of Abraham, we are the children of the prophets, we sit in the chair of Moses." But the apostle warneth us: "Such false apostles are deceitful workmen, and transform themselves into the apostles of Christ: and no marvel; for Satan himself is[2] transformed into an angel of light." What right hath he to carry Peter's keys? Chrysostom saith: *Clavis est scientia scripturarum*[3]*:* "The key is the knowledge of the scriptures:" and Tertullian, another ancient writer, saith: *Clavis est expositio legis*[4]*:* "The key is the exposition of the law." Again, what hath he to do with Paul's sword? That sword wherewith Paul fought is the word of God, which is "lively and mighty in operation, and sharper than any two-edged sword, and entereth through even to the dividing asunder of the soul and the spirit, and of the joints and the marrow, and is a discerner of the thoughts and intents of the heart." Why bringeth he forth Paul with his naked sword, and why maketh he shew of Peter's keys? In what pulpit did he ever set foot? Where hath he opened the scriptures of God? Where hath he taught the exposition of the law? Where did he ever fight with the sword of the Spirit? The sword which he useth is the sword of ambition and of covetousness, the sword of extortion, the sword of cruelty and tyranny, wherewith he fighteth against all truth, and all equity, and all honesty. It is the sword of which the prophet speaketh; "Their tongue is a sharp sword:" the key which he beareth is the key of error; it is "the key of the bottomless pit." Certainly Christ will say unto this key-keeper: "Woe be to thee, scribe and Pharisee, hypocrite, because thou shuttest up the kingdom of heaven before men; for thou hast taken away the key of knowledge, thou hast not entered in thyself, and them that came in thou forbadest." Let him therefore leave to deceive the world any longer under the names and by the countenance of the apostles of Christ. St Hierome saith: "It is no easy matter to stand in the place of Peter and Paul, and to hold the chair of them now reigning with Christ[5]." And again he saith: *Non sunt filii sanctorum qui tenent loca sanctorum*[6]*:* "They be not evermore the children of holy men which sit in the rooms of holy men." Peter was a principal apostle: Paul was a vessel chosen of God to bear his name before the gentiles, and kings, and the children of Israel. Did they send such bulls into the world? Were they such workers of treason? Did they disquiet the land by stirring up civil wars? Verily these holy apostles will reason this case with pope Pius: What warrant hadst thou to use our names? Why dost thou make our images, and set them before thy

2 Cor. xi.

Hom. 44. in Op. Imperf.

Lib. iv. contr. Marc.

Hebr. iv.

Psal. lvii.

Rev. xx.

Ad Heliod.

Dist. 40. ex Hier.

[1] He, 1611.]

[2] *Is* is supplied from 1582, 1609.]

[3] Chrysost. Op. Par. 1718-38. Op. Imperf. in Matt. Hom. xliv. ex cap. xxiii. Tom. VI. p. clxxxvi. See Vol. I. page 331.]

[4] Tertull. Op. Lut. 1641. Adv. Marcion. Lib. IV. 27. p. 549. See Vol. I. page 331, note 13.]

[5] Non est facile stare loco Pauli, tenere gradum Petri, jam cum Christo regnantium.—Hieron. Op. Par. 1693-1706. Ad Heliodor. Mon. Epist. v. Tom. IV. Pars II. col. 11.]

[6] Id. in Corp. Jur. Canon. Lugd. 1624. Decret. Gratian. Decr. Prim. Pars, Dist. xl. can. 2. col. 194. See Vol. I. page 401, note 18.]

bulls? What doest thou like unto us? or what did we like unto that thou doest? Is this our gospel? Did we preach thus? Is this that for which we lost our lives? Thou art not our successor: thou doest us wrong: we know thee not. We never discharged subjects from their oath of obedience: we did never stir up one prince against another: thou hast no deed of ours for thine example: thou hast no word of ours for thy doings: thou doest us wrong: we disclaim thee, we know thee not. Thus much of his title and arms.

Pius episcopus, servus servorum Dei, ad futuram rei memoriam: "Pius bishop, the servant of God's servants, to be kept in remembrance for ever." O how lowly and humble this man seemeth! Meek words, when he is contented to be a servant, yea, a servant unto servants. He hath made his style so low, that you would think he were put to the worst and vilest service among his fellows, that he were the common drudge, maintained with cast apparel, little accounted of, and ready to run and go at everybody's commandment. But what service doth he, either worldly or heavenly, or bodily or ghostly?

Let pope Pius tell his own tale: he saith, *Hunc unum super omnes gentes et super omnia regna principem constituit:* "Christ hath appointed him only to be the prince over all nations and over all kingdoms." Mark his words well, and see how they hang together. He saith, "I am a servant," and that is not all: "I am the servant of servants:" therefore I am no prince. But, as though he were sorry those words had escaped him, he mendeth the matter, "I have power over all nations and over all kingdoms." Therefore I am no servant. If he be a servant, and so vile a servant, how is he a prince? or, if he be a prince, and so mighty a prince, how is he a servant? What shift soever he useth, needs he must be taken. If he be true in the one, he is false in the other. It is well with him, that "he cannot err," and that his "words must be taken as the word of God;" that he[7] "may judge all men, but all the world may not judge him;" and that "he may not (with M. Harding's liking) be accused by *Hick, Hob, and Haunce, and judged by Jack and Gill[8]." Were it not that he hath given himself privilege thus to "sit as God in the temple of God, and to bear in hand that he is God;" were it not that his props and upholders might so[9] scorn and disdain the judgment of the whole world, it would be no hard matter to trip him in his tale, and take him in manifest untruth. For, when this servant sitteth at table, the emperor may not sit with him: when he sitteth in council, the emperor sitteth below at his feet: princes and kings do him service: they hold his stirrup, lead his bridle, carry his train, and bear dishes to his table: he walketh not forth on foot, but is carried on men's shoulders in gorgeous attire, shining and glittering with gold and precious stones[10]. It is worthy the noting which Albertus Krantzius, who writeth the history of Germany, reporteth of pope Boniface the eighth: *Utriusque penes se unum gladii potestatem manere affirmabat, quod ipso apparatu in eo qui... tum agebatur in urbe jubileo solenniter fertur ostentasse, primo quidem solenni die in pontificalibus apparens populo, apostolicam illis benedictionem impartitur; postero autem die imperiali habitu, infula nihilominus Cæsarea insignis, gladium ante se nudatum jussit deferri, et sedens alta voce testatur, Ecce duo gladii hic*[11]: "Boniface did affirm that the power of both swords did remain in him alone, which thing (they say) he did solemnly declare in his attire at the jubilee, which was then kept in the city. For the first day of that solemnity he shewed forth himself before the people in bishop-like array, and gave them apostolic blessing: but the next day he was clothed in robes like an emperor, having the imperial crown upon his head. He commanded a naked sword to be carried before him, and as he sat spake out in a loud voice, 'Behold, here are two swords.'" *Vides, O Petre* (saith Krantzius), *successorem tuum, et tu, salutifer Christe, tuum cerne vicarium. Vide quo ascendit superbia servi servorum tuorum*[12]: "Thou seest thy successor, O Peter; and thou, O Saviour Christ, look

* In the Confutation of the Apology of the Church of England. fol. 282. p. 2.

Saxon. Lib. viii. cap. xxxvi.

Ibid.

[7 *He* is supplied from 1582, 1609.]
[8 See before, page 915.]
[9 To, 1611.]
[10 See before, pages 690, 1.]
[11 Alb. Krantz. Rer. Germ. Hist. Saxon. Franc. 1575. Lib. VIII. cap. xxxvi. p. 225; where *insula*, and *postera autem*. Most of the editions of Jewel have *insula;* but *one* of the 1582 editions has *infula*.]
[12 Id. ibid.]

upon thy vicar. Behold the pride of the servant of thy servants, whither and to what it is come."

No doubt his holiness hath bestowed some study about the matter, and therefore would fain it should be known, and never forgotten, but registered *Ad futuram rei memoriam*, "To remain and be remembered hereafter." Hear it therefore, ye men and brethren, ye babes and children. You are the sons of God, you are the children of the holy fathers. You shall see that Babylon, Rev. xvii. "which hath made drunken the princes of the world with her golden cup." You 2 Thess. ii. shall see him that "doth sit as God in the temple of God, shewing himself that he is God." And, that you may take the better view of him, I will lay open before you the manifest untruths of his libel, and so make you judges of his unjust sentence.

1. Untruth. First, it is untrue that he is "the servant of servants," because he writeth himself in the same sentence, "prince over all nations and kingdoms." Again, 2. Untruth. it is untrue that he is "prince over all nations and kingdoms," because he writeth himself *Servus servorum*, "a servant unto servants." That also which followeth 3. Untruth. is false: *Regnans in excelsis uni soli Petro sanctam ecclesiam catholicam et apostolicam commisit gubernandam:* "He that ruleth the heavens hath given to Peter alone the government of the holy catholic and apostolic church." For where did Christ make this commission to Peter only? where be the words? in what scripture? in what gospel or epistle? Where did Christ ever say to Peter, I commit the government of the church to thee alone? If pope Pius' tale be true, why doth he not prove it? if it be false, how dare he write it? It is not meet the vicar of Christ should falsify the words of Christ. Christ spake to all the Matt. x. apostles, and not to Peter alone, "Go to the lost sheep of the house of Israel." Matt. xxviii. Christ said to all the apostles, and not to Peter alone, "Go and teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost." David the prophet spake not of Peter alone, but of all the apostles, Psal. xix. "Their sound is gone into the ends of the world." Wherefore doth he then inclose that to Peter alone, which is common unto all the apostles? He saith, "Christ hath given charge over his church to Peter alone." But Cyprian saith, Cypr. de Simplic. Prælat. *Parem tribuit apostolis omnibus auctoritatem, ... hoc utique erant ceteri apostoli quod fuit Petrus, pari consortio præditi et honoris et potestatis*[1]*:* "The Lord gave unto his apostles like power: the rest of the apostles were even the same that Peter was, endued with like fellowship both of honour and of power." And Hie- Lib. i. Adv. Jovin. rome saith: *Ex æquo super omnes apostolos ecclesiæ fortitudo solidatur*[2]*:* "The strength of the church is founded equally upon all the apostles."

4. Untruth. He addeth further: *Petrique successori Romano pontifici:* "And to the bishop of Rome, Peter's successor." This is another untruth, and the cause of all his[3] stir. This is it, wherefore Peter is set so far before his fellows. The pope maketh Peter a rock, the other apostles[4] small pebble-stones to be built upon him; Peter a shepherd, the other apostles sheep; Peter a school-master, the other apostles his scholars; Peter a giant, the other apostles little babes. And all this he doth to enfeoff the pope with that fulness of power whereunto he entitleth Peter. To proof whereof M. Harding saith: "Now we are not bound to obey Peter and Paul, but him that sitteth in their chair[5]." This is their doctrine, thus they teach: so boldly dare they set out their blasphemies against God.

"The whole church (saith pope Pius) is committed to the pope alone, by the commandment and word of God." What apostle or evangelist ever wrote so? Where did Christ at any time speak of the pope, or of Peter's successor, or of the bishop of Rome? What ancient council, what old doctor, what father, Augustine, Ambrose, Hierome, Chrysostom, Basil, ever said that the whole church was committed to the pope alone? It is not fit the pope should draw his own charter. If no evangelist, nor apostle, no ancient doctor, nor old council, will

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[1 Cypr. Op. Oxon. 1682. De Unit. Eccles. pp. 107, 8. See Vol. I. page 360, note 3.]

[2 Hieron. Op. Par. 1693-1706. Adv. Jovin. Lib. I. Tom. IV. Pars II. col. 168; where *super eos ecclesiæ*, and *solidetur*.]

[3 This, 1582, 1609.]

[4 Apostle, 1611.]

[5 See before, page 710.]

come in and bear him witness, it is not likely he hath given true evidence. Yet he saith moreover: *In plenitudine potestatis tradidit*: "Christ hath given this commission in fulness of power." This is a fifth untruth. 5. Untruth.

It is wonderful to see how much they make of this fulness of power. Abbat Panormitane telleth us, *Plenitudo potestatis omnem superat legem positivam, et sufficit quod in papa sit pro ratione voluntas*[6]: "The fulness of power passeth all positive law; and it is sufficient in the pope that the will[7] stand instead of reason." Durand doth tell us, "All bishops are derived from the pope, as members from the head, and all they receive of his fulness[8]." There was a council holden at Lateran in Rome, under Leo the tenth, where one Stephanus Patracensis gave forth these words: "In the pope is all manner of power above all powers, as well in heaven as in earth[9]." They tell us that, whatsoever he do, no man may presume to say, *Domine, cur ita facis*[10]? "Sir, why do you so?" To make an end of their tales, and vain ambitious[11] claim, another of his flatterers beareth the world in hand, *Potest papa quasi omnia facere quæ Deus potest*[12]: "The pope in a manner may do all things that God may do." Nay, not so only saith another, *Papa facit quicquid libet, etiam illicita, et est plusquam Deus*[13]: "The pope doth whatsoever he listeth, yea, although it be unlawful, and is more than God." They say, "He maketh right wrong, and wrong to be right, at his pleasure." "He may command angels, archangels, cherubin and seraphin[14]." This is the fulness of power whereof they dream. Who would thus presume, but that man of sin and child of perdition? Let them shew where ever Peter had like fulness of power. If he never had it, with what face can they require it? Cyprian told us, "Christ gave like authority to all the apostles." The authority of Peter was such as the authority of John and of James, and no otherwise. All the apostles were the "light of the world:" all were "ministers of Christ, and disposers of the secrets of God:" they all had the same authority and fulness which Peter had.

Extr. de Const. cap. 1.

Lib. ii. de Minist. et Ordin. Eccl.

De Conces. Præb. in Gloss.

Hostiens.

Zabarel.

Extra quam (*ecclesiam Romanam*) *nulla est salus.* "Without which (the church of Rome) there is no salvation." That is, who live not under the obedience of the church of Rome cannot be saved. No man can be saved without her bulls and pardons. The church of Rome is the ark of Noah; whosoever is without it is drowned. *Subesse Romano pontifici* (saith pope Boniface) *omni humanæ creaturæ declaramus, dicimus, definimus, et pronunciamus omnino esse de necessitate salutis*[15]: "We declare, say, determine, and pronounce, that it is of the necessity of salvation for every mortal creature to be subject to the bishop of Rome." If the case were so hard as it is made by his words, then it would go amiss with all those nations and kingdoms and people which believe in Christ in Æthiopia, India, Arabia, Africa, Asia, Græcia, Moscovia, of which some are greater than all Christendom. They are not subject to the pope, they yield no obedience to the church of Rome. Are they all drowned, because they be not within that ark? Are they all damned, because they know not their good manner to the bishop of Rome? The kingdoms of England, Scotland, Denmark, and Sweden; the dukes of Saxony, Brunswick, and Wittenberg; the palsgrave of Rhine, the lantgrave of Hessia, the earls and noble men through the whole country of Germany, the infinite number of their people and subjects; many hundred thousands in Spain, Italy, France, Hungary, and in the kingdom of Pole, are without that church, and live not under the obedience thereof: are they all therefore damned? God forbid: the mercy of the Lord is above all his works: "in every place whosoever calleth on the name of the Lord shall be saved:"

Extr. de Major. et Obed. Unam Sanct.

[6 See before, page 832, note 4.]

[7 That will, 1582.]

[8 Durand. Rat. Div. Offic. Venet. 1568. Lib. II. cap. i. 17. fol. 31. See before, page 829, note 22.]

[9 Orat. Steph. Arch. Patrac. in Concil. Later. v. Sess. x. in Concil. Stud. Labb. et Cossart. Lut. Par. 1671-2. Tom. XIV. col. 269. See Vol. I. pages 93, 4, note 2.]

[10 Extrav. Joan. XXII. in Corp. Jur. Canon. Lugd. 1624. De Conc. Preb. Tit. iv. Gloss. in cap. 2. col. 56.]

[11 Ambitions, 1611.]

[12 Hostiens. sup. Prim. Decretal. Par. 1512. Tit. vii. De Transl. Episc. cap. 3. fol. 75. 2. See before pages, 830, 1.]

[13 Francis. de Zabarell. De Schism. Pont. in Auth. Var. de Jurisd. Autor. et Præem. Imp. a Schard. Basil. 1566. p. 703. See Vol. II. page 992, note 3.]

[14 See Vol. II. page 919, note 14; also before, pages 845, 6.]

[15 Bonifac. VIII. in Corp. Jur. Canon. Extrav. Comm. Lib. I. De Major. et Obed. cap 1, col. 212.]

"whosoever trusteth in the Lord shall not be confounded." You may well reckon
6. Untruth. this for the sixth untruth: all which six are made in the compass of six lines.

7. Untruth. *Nos nullum laborem intermittimus:* "We take pains, we spare no travail, we
2 Cor. xi. forsake no labour." Alas! good man, I had thought he would have said, "I was often in perils of waters, in perils among the gentiles, in perils in the sea; in weariness and painfulness, in watching often, in hunger and thirst, in fastings
Rom. xv. often, in cold and in nakedness." I had thought he would have said: "From Jerusalem, and round about to Illyricum, I have caused to abound the gospel of
2 Tim. iv. Christ." "I have preached in season and out of season." "I have done the work of an evangelist." "I have fought a good fight, and have finished my
1 Cor. ix. course." "I made myself servant to all men, that I might win the more." "I am made all things to all men, that I might save some; and this do I for the gospel's sake." He keepeth himself safe enough from these pains and travails. Yet we must believe him, that he spareth no labour. He cometh not into the pulpit, he preacheth not the gospel; he spareth that labour. He is a shepherd, but feedeth not the sheep, and feedeth not the lambs: he is a steward, yet disposeth not the mysteries of God: this labour also he spareth. As for some other his travails, we deny them not. He sendeth his inquisitors, espies, *Agnos Dei*, and bulls. He spreadeth rumours, stirreth sedition, raiseth subjects against their princes, and forceth princes to plague their subjects. He hath conference with traitors in England, with traitors in Ireland, with traitors in Germany, with traitors in Helvetia, with traitors in Denmark, with traitors in Poland. He hath been cause of all that spoil and waste in the noble kingdom of France. He hath loosed and weakened the state of all Christendom: it was never so weak as it is at this day. And can we think all this could be brought to pass without pain and travail? It may appear he spareth no labour. And this doth[1] he—"for the gospel's sake?" and "that he may save some?"—no, but as did Caiaphas, to arraign Christ, to crucify the Lord of glory, to cut all those out of the land of the living, that their name may be no more in memory, whose mouths the Lord hath opened to publish the secret of the gospel, by whom the word of truth is come unto all the world, and is fruitful. He is child to them that murdered the prophets, and taketh all travail and pains to fulfil the measure of his fathers.

Sed impiorum numerus tantum potentia invaluit, ut nullus jam in orbe locus relictus sit, quem illi pessimis doctrinis corrumpere non tentarint: "But the number of the wicked hath increased so much, that there is now no place in the world which they have not sought to infect with corrupt doctrine." Now at length it breaketh from them. Here is the matter of all their grief. When the scribes and Pharisees perceived the passage and glory of the gospel of Christ,
John xii. and could not stay it, they said among themselves, "Perceive ye how ye prevail
John xi. nothing? Behold, the world goeth after him." And again, "What shall we do? If we let him thus alone, all men will believe in him." Our credit is gone: his doctrine is received; and ours is forsaken. The priests and Sadducees took it grievously that Peter and John taught the people, and when they saw
Acts iv. the boldness of them they conferred among themselves, saying, "What shall we do to these men? ... let us threaten and charge them that they speak henceforth to no man in this name." So they called them, and commanded them that in no case they should speak or teach in the name of Jesus. So did Annas the chief priest, and Caiaphas, and John, and Alexander, and as many as were of the kindred of the high priests, gather themselves together to resist the truth then: so did the Pharisees then devise that the light of the glorious gospel of Jesus Christ might not shine, and be known to the world. And so doth pope Pius now, for the like cause, rage, and storm, and speak his pleasure of us. They are wicked (saith he): their number daily increaseth: their doctrine spreadeth far and wide: it doth much harm: it hath prevailed in most places: they are a wicked rabble: their doctrine is corrupt: it hath infected the world. Belike his holiness is much disquieted; else he would write more modestly, and make more advised reports of such with whom he is not acquainted. A man would think he hath to do with Turks and infidels; with such who neither

[1 Doeth, 1582.]

believe in God, nor keep his laws, nor dread his judgments; that he hath made out commission against outlawries, who rob, and spoil, and murder, and destroy, without mercy; against such who have no regard of honesty, but, being past shame, maintain stews and harlots; even as his holiness liketh well, and suffereth to be done at Rome. But where are they, and who be they, whom he calleth "wicked?" What say they, what do they wickedly? It is much to be accused and condemned of wickedness. This he speaketh and writeth of you and your children, whose eyes the Lord hath opened to espy his errors. You are they whom he accounteth wicked, even you and all such who (like as you do) know that "Jesus Christ is the power of God, and the wisdom of God;" 1 Cor. i. which confess that he is "the Lamb of God, which taketh away the sins of the John i. world;" which say with the apostles, "Among men there is given none other Acts iv. name under heaven whereby we must be saved," and with Paul, "God forbid Gal. vi. that I should rejoice but in the cross of our Lord Jesus Christ."

We read the scriptures of God: we send the people to the fountains, there we require them to examine our doctrine: we call upon the name of the Lord who liveth for ever: we teach the people to make their prayers in a language they understand: we administer the sacraments according to Christ's institution: we say that Christ is the only sacrifice for the forgiveness of sins, and that God hath appointed him over all things to be the head of the church: we do not make our prayers to dead creatures: we seek no help at their hands, which neither hear us, nor can help us. We move the people to repentance: we rebuke sin: we seek reformation of life: we make it manifest that the pope hath shamefully abused the whole world; that the man of sin, even the son of perdition, shall be destroyed with the sword of the Spirit; that every plant which our heavenly Father hath not planted shall be rooted out, and that the word of the Lord shall continue for ever. This is our profession, this is that doctrine which we receive from God, and learn by the word of truth, which is able to make us wise to[2] salvation through the faith which is in Christ Jesus. This doctrine the pope calleth wicked. This doctrine (he saith) hath done much hurt. Blessed be God: "for the things that are acceptable to God are declared Baruch iv. to us." "The things which eye hath not seen, neither ear hath heard, neither 1 Cor. ii. came it into men's[3] heart, which God hath prepared for them that love him, God hath revealed them to[4] us by his Spirit." "It hath pleased God by the 1 Cor. i. foolishness of preaching to save them that believe." The number of them which are converted unto God by this word increaseth, and will more and more increase in all places. It is not the counsel or work of men; for then it would come to nought: but it is of God: the pope cannot destroy it. Christ came to put fire on the Luke xii. earth: it shall not be quenched. If we hold our peace, or if we all (whom the pope thus revileth) be taken out of the world, the stones shall cry out, and give witness to this doctrine. "For God is able of stones to raise up children unto Matt. iii. Abraham." He is God alone, he will make his name to be known, he will not "give his glory to another." This maketh up eight untruths, plain, and evident 8. Untruth. to be seen. Unto which number he layeth five more, all together in one line, so that he maketh almost a several falsehood for every several word.

Missæ sacrificium, preces, jejunia, ciborum delectum, cœlibatum abolevit: "She (queen Elizabeth) hath clean put away the sacrifice of the mass, prayers, fastings, choice or difference of meats, and single life." I beseech you, consider this speech, and judge uprightly. You are able to discern truth from falsehood. You have knowledge of these things, be not deceived. Have we no sacrifice? no prayers? no fastings? no difference in meats? are none unmarried? be all these abolished? I ask you again, be they all abolished? When was this done? at whose suit? by what law, or statute, or proclamation, or parliament? Indeed the mass is abolished, through the gracious working of God. It was a work of his great mercy to do it away: for it was a dumb, uncomfortable, and unprofitable thing. They did tell us that in their mass they were able to make Christ the Son of God, and to offer him unto God his Father for our sins. O blas-

[2] Unto, 1582, 1609.]
[3] Came into man's, 1582; came it into man's, 1609.]
[4] Unto, 1582.]

phemous speech, and most injurious to the glorious work of our redemption! Shall a vile wretch, a lump of earth, a sinful man, take upon him the power of God in creation, and presume to make his Creator? Shall he which is conceived in sin, in whom there dwelleth no good, who is altogether unprofitable, which never can recompense his own debt of ten thousand talents, who is a stranger to the covenant of promise, and hath no entrance unto the Father but through Jesus Christ, make intercession to the Father, that for his sake he will look upon and receive his Son, even because he doth offer him for a sacrifice? What is blasphemy, if this be not? Such kind of sacrifice we have not.

Christ himself is our high priest, which offereth us up unto God, which maketh us a pure, a lively, and a well-pleasing sacrifice; by whom also we have access through faith unto this grace wherein we stand, and rejoice under the hope of the glory of God; by whom we are sanctified, even by the offering of the body of Jesus Christ once made; who took away our sins, and fastened them upon the cross. It is therefore the blood of Jesus Christ which cleanseth us from all sin. This is our sacrifice, this is our propitiation, this is the propitiation and sacrifice for the whole world. How then saith pope Pius we have no sacrifice?

9. Untruth. It is the ninth untruth.

10. Untruth. Again, he saith we have no prayers. He thinketh we meet together like wild men, or rather like brute beasts. You know he speaketh untruly. Behold the suffrages, the psalms, the lessons taken out of the old and new testament. Consider the form and order of our churches. We make humble confession of our sins, we hear especial comfortable places of scripture, which shew us how merciful God is to them that truly and earnestly repent. We give thanks to God for his mercies and blessings which he poureth upon us. We pray him to continue his goodness towards us, and to lead us into all truth. We pray for the queen's majesty, for all that are in authority, for all the people, for those which suffer affliction, for all that either obstinately or ignorantly refuse the comfort of the gospel. To be short, with one mind and with one mouth we praise God even the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ; and all the people say[1] Amen. Why should pope Pius report untruths? What meaneth he to say we have no prayers? Is it because we have not his Latin prayers? The people do not understand them: they are like the chirping of birds, and the tinkling of cymbals. Thanks be to God for the prayers which we have, and grant that we may hold them unto the end.

11. Untruth. Again, "All fasting is abolished." So the scribes and Pharisees said unto
Matt. xv. Luke v. Christ: "Why do[2] thy disciples break the traditions of the elders[3]? They eat and drink," they do not fast. Would God we were all more careful than we are
Isai. lviii. of keeping the true fast! "The fasting which the Lord hath chosen," saith the prophet, "is it that a man should afflict his soul for a day, and to bow down his head as a bulrush, and to lie down in sackcloth and ashes? Wilt thou call this fasting, or an acceptable day to the Lord? Is not this the fasting that I have chosen, to loose the bands of wickedness, to take off the heavy burdens, to let the oppressed go free, that ye break every yoke? Is it not to deal thy bread to the hungry, and that thou bring the poor that wandereth unto thine house? When thou seest the naked that thou cover him, and hide not thyself from thine own flesh?"

In like sort the apostle Paul, having occasion to speak of the true fast, saith:
1 Tim. iv. "Bodily exercise profiteth little; but godliness is profitable to all things." Whereby we learn not to esteem the works of the body[4], such as are watchings, abstaining from meats, often rehearsal of prayers, and long prayers, going barefoot, and lying on the ground, and such like (which the body suffereth), as an acceptable fast; but we require the crucifying of the flesh, with the affections and the lusts, that in the days of our fast the Lord be honoured, in that no man do his own ways, nor seek his own will, nor speak a vain word.

And herein we follow the judgment of the holy fathers. Chrysostom saith:
Hom. 47. in 13. Matt. *Ibi est jejunium,... si pecuniam despicis, si ardeas caritate, si famelicos pascas,... si*

[1 Saith, 1582, C.]
[2 These two words are not in 1582, C.]
[3 Here 1582, C. inserts *they keep no fasting days.*]
[4 Of body, 1582, C.]

gloriam contemnas[5]: "There thou dost fast, if thou despise money, if thou be fervent in love, if thou feed the hungry, and if thou forsake glory." And Origen: "Wilt thou that I yet shew what manner of fast thou must keep? fast from all sin, eat none of the meat of malice, eat none of the delicates of pleasure, stir not up lust with the wine of riotousness, fast from doing evil, abstain from evil words, keep thyself from evil thoughts, touch not the stolen bread of corrupt doctrine, desire not the deceitful meats of philosophy, which will lead thee from the truth. Such a fast pleaseth God. But to abstain from meats, which God hath created to be received with giving thanks of them which believe and know his truth, and this to do after the example of them which have crucified Christ, cannot be acceptable to[6] God[7]." And again saith Chrysostom: "What profit cometh of thy fasting, if thou eat nothing all the day long, and yet playest and triflest, yea, oft-times takest false oaths, and blasphemest, and so dost spend the day? I pray you, let us not neglect our own salvation; but let our talk rather be of spiritual things, and let some one take the book of God in his hand, and call his neighbours together, and with godly speeches water the mind both of himself and the congregation; that so we may escape the snares of the devil, and reap much fruit by our fasting, and be partakers of the mercy of God[8]." Thus far Chrysostom.

In Levit. cap. xvi. Hom. 10.

Hom. 6. in i. Gen.

Now, what if some few be wanton, and neglect the wholesome use of fasting? What if godly preachers exhort the people to put away the abuse, and do teach them, out of the word of God, and the ancient writings of holy fathers, the true order and use of fasting? Should pope Pius therefore untruly charge her majesty that she hath abolished fasting-days? You know the laws stand in force which are made for that purpose; and, moreover, that common prayers, and an order for public fast to be used in time of contagious sickness, and other troubles and unquietness, have been set forth by the queen's majesty's special commandment. You know the manner and form of that general fast was, first, that it should be kept in every week upon the Wednesday; secondly, by all persons between sixteen years of age and three-score (sick folks and labourers, &c. excepted), that it appointed "but one only competent and moderate meal," that it leaveth it "indifferent in the same meal to eat flesh or fish, so that the quantity be small," and "fit for sober and spare diet, without variety of meat, spices, confections, or wines, but only such as may serve for necessity, comeliness, and health;" and that "men of wealth and ability, who by this order did abate the costliness of their fare, should increase their liberality towards the poor" with that which they spared; then, that "the same day ought to be bestowed in prayers, study, reading or hearing of the scriptures or good exhortations, and other godly exercises;" but "no part thereof to be spent in plays, pastimes, or idleness, much less in lewd, wicked, or wanton behaviour[9]." This fast was commanded, and set forth in print: this fast we observed, and taught the people that they should answer before God, if in such godly exercises they either should contemn public order, or dissemble with God, pretending abstinence, and doing nothing less. Let pope Pius shew what law of this realm hath forbidden, or what doctrine of ours hath condemned fasting. We commend it[10], and shew the necessary use thereof.

Anno 5. Elizabeth. 10 August.

[5 Chrysost. Op. Par. 1718-38. In Matt. Hom. xlvi. Tom. VII. pp. 485, 6.]

[6 Unto, 1582, C.]

[7 Vis tibi adhuc ostendam quale te oportet jejunare jejunium? Jejuna ab omni peccato, nullum cibum sumas malitiæ, nullas capias epulas voluptatis, nullo vino luxuriæ concalescas. Jejuna a malis actibus, abstine a malis sermonibus, contine te a cogitationibus pessimis. Noli contingere panes furtivos perversæ doctrinæ. Non concupiscas fallaces philosophiæ cibos, qui te a veritate seducant. Tale jejunium Deo placet. Abstinere vero a cibis, quos Deus creavit ad percipiendum cum gratiarum actione fidelibus, et hoc facere cum his qui Christum crucifixerunt, acceptum esse non potest Deo.—Orig. Op. Par. 1733-59. In Levit. Hom. x. Tom. II. p. 246.]

[8 Τί γὰρ ὄφελος, εἰπέ μοι, τῆς νηστείας, ὅταν ἄσιτος μὲν διημερεύῃς, κύβοις δὲ ἑαυτὸν ἐκδιδῷς, καὶ φλυαρίαις ἀνονήτοις, πολλάκις δὲ καὶ ἐπιορκίαις καὶ βλασφημίαις πᾶσαν ἀναλώσῃς τὴν ἡμέραν; μὴ παρακαλῶ, μὴ οὕτω ῥᾳθύμως περὶ τὴν ἑαυτῶν σωτηρίαν διατεθῶμεν, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον περὶ τῶν πνευματικῶν ἡμῖν ἔστω διηνεκῶς ἡ διαλεξις, καὶ βιβλίον τις θεῖον λαβὼν μετὰ χεῖρας, καὶ συγκαλέσας τοὺς πλησίον, διὰ τῶν θείων λόγων ἀρδέτω καὶ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ διάνοιαν καὶ τῶν συγγινομένων, ἵν' οὕτω καὶ τὰς μηχανὰς τοῦ πονηροῦ διαφυγεῖν δυνηθῶμεν, καὶ μεγάλα ἀπὸ τῆς νηστείας καρπώσασθαι ἀγαθὰ, καὶ τῆς παρὰ τοῦ Θεοῦ φιλανθρωπίας ἀπολαύσωμεν.—Chrysost. Op. In cap. i. Gen. Hom. vi. Tom. IV. p. 48.]

[9 The form of prayer and the order of the public fast prescribed may be found in "Liturgical Services of the reign of Queen Elizabeth," Park. Soc. 1847. pp. 478, &c. See especially pp. 489, 90.]

[10 *It* is not in 1582, C.]

12. Untruth[1]. Col. ii. 1 Cor. viii. Matt. xv. Again: "She hath abolished all choice of meats." I pray you, where did God ever command the "choice of meats?" Paul saith: "Let no man condemn you in meat and drink." And to the Corinthians: "Meat maketh us not acceptable to God." And Christ saith: "That which goeth into the mouth defileth not a man." What if some eat flesh, whose weak stomachs cannot be nourished with fish? Do they not kill and eat flesh in the city of Rome? Doth not pope Pius for money sell licence to eat what a man listeth? The thing is not made holy because he selleth it, nor unholy because it cometh freely. This might be sufficient for answer. But yet, because he maketh himself so privy to our doings, and doth so precisely charge us with his vain accusations, let him consider that we, to whom he maketh this report, and sendeth over this tale, are Englishmen, acquainted (better than he seemeth to be) with the laws of our country. What one fish-day is changed through the whole year? What Lenten, Ember, Saturday, Friday, or other usual fasting-day? Our law saith: "It shall not be lawful to any person or persons within this realm to eat any flesh upon any days now usually observed as fish-days[2]." Nay, besides those days which our forefathers kept, we have appointed that Wednesday in every week throughout the year be kept fish-day, and that no manner of person shall eat any flesh on the same day: whereby we have made nigh fifty fish-days more than have been observed heretofore by the laws and customs of this realm. We cannot hear of the like increase of fasting-days procured by the pope, and kept in the countries of Spain, France, Italy, or in his own city of[3] Rome. It may be he is angry with the proviso in the said statute: "Because no manner of person shall misjudge of the intent of this statute, limiting orders to eat fish and forbear the eating of flesh, but that the same is purposely intended and meant politicly,... and not for any superstition to be maintained in the choice of meats; be it enacted, that whosoever shall by preaching, teaching, writing, or open speech, notify that any eating of fish or forbearing of flesh, mentioned in this statute, is of any necessity for the saving of the soul of man, or that it is the service of God, otherwise than as other politic laws are and be, that then such persons[4] shall be punished as spreaders of false news are or ought to be[5]." Why doth he lay it against her majesty, that she hath abolished all difference of meats? We profess, as doth St Augustine, *In nostro jejunio nihil melius est, quam ut non manducans manducantem ne judicet*[6]: "In our fasting there is nothing worthy better account than this, that he which eateth not doth not condemn another which eateth." We warn the people in times of abstinence to live in the obedience of such order as the law and magistrates have appointed; and that, whiles they forsake a common and necessary diet of flesh, they feed not their fantasy with such costly sorts of fish, or such dainty banqueting and junkets, whereby they should give force to the lusts of the flesh in the day of their fasting.

Elizab. Anno quinto, cap. v.

Ibid.

August. ad Casulan.

13. Untruth. Heb. xiii. 1 Cor. vii. Lib. iii. cap. xxx. Hieron. Epist. ad Ocean. It followeth: "She hath abolished single life in priests and ministers." Is it not lawful for a minister to be single? You are witnesses to the contrary; you know some unmarried, and again you know some that have wives, and are married. They which marry do well: God grant they do no worse which do not marry. The apostle saith: "Marriage is honourable among all, and the bed undefiled; but whoremongers and adulterers God will judge." All have not the gift of chastity, save they to whom it is given: "for every man hath his proper gift, one after this manner, and another after that." The holy patriarchs, the prophets, and the apostles of Christ, Peter, Paul, James, Philip, and others, had wives: they lived in marriage. Eusebius reporteth out of Clemens Alexandrinus, that Peter, when he saw his wife led away to execution, called her by her proper name, and said, "O wife, remember the Lord[7]." Hierome saith, if he should name severally all the married bishops, they would be more in number than all

[1] This is inserted from 1582, C.]

[2] Statutes at large, Lond. 1763, &c. Vol. II. p. 545.]

[3] At, 1582, 1609.]

[4] Person, 1582, 1609.]

[5] Ibid. p. 547; where *intent of this estatute, and to forbear eating*, and *are and ought to be.*]

[6] Verumtamen in hujus sabbati jejunio ... nihil mihi videtur tutius pacatiusque servari, quam ut qui manducat non manducantem non spernat, et qui non manducat manducantem non judicet.—August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. Ad Casulan. Epist. xxxvi. cap. xi. 26. Tom. II. col. 78.]

[7] Euseb. in Hist. Eccles. Script. Amst. 1695-1700. Lib. III. cap. xxx. p. 82.]

the multitude of the council of Ariminum[8]." And in another place: *Quasi non hodie quoque plurimi sacerdotes habeant matrimonia*[9]: "As though at this day many priests had not their wives." We hear of the bishops in Ethiopia, that they are at this day married. It is not long sithence priests were married here in England, and in France, and in Germany. Will these men be more holy than so many bishops, and saints, and martyrs, and patriarchs, and prophets, and apostles, which by their example have approved and commended unto us this divine ordinance? Idem. Lib. i. Adv. Jovin.

Let every man consider the strength of his own vessel, for which he shall render account before God in that consistory, where we shall be judged, not by the laws of Rome, but by the laws of God, our own conscience accusing or excusing us[10]. Paul saith: "If they cannot abstain, let them marry: it is better to marry than to burn." The name of virginity is commendable; but every thing is not as it sheweth. I protest before the living God, which is the Judge of the quick and the dead, that no filthiness under the sun is comparable to forced virginity. I condemn not, but rather highly commend, single life. No doubt there are many true virgins, holy in body, and holy in spirit; but yet all are not virgins which live unmarried, as Hierome seemeth to note: *Eliguntur mariti in sacerdotium, non nego, &c.*[11]: "Such as are married are chosen into the priesthood, I deny not. For virgins are not to be so much accounted of as priests." And again: "But why (say you) in giving of priestly orders is one which is a virgin oftentimes refused, and another which is married admitted? It may be, because his doings are not agreeable to his virginity, or because he is thought to be a virgin, yet is not, or because his virginity is infamous[12]." So much saith Hierome, for reason why married men were[13] preferred to orders of the church before others which carried[14] the shew of virginity. Now, to conclude this, we say, our laws (after the counsel of the apostle, and finding so many examples in all ages of the godly which were married, and the notable inconveniences which grew by forced chastity) have given liberty, that those who have not the gift of chastity, to avoid fornication, may marry: but no law made among us hath forbidden virginity or single life. This is the thirteenth untruth; and so have you in these few words the number which I spake of, even five untruths in little more than five words: 1 Cor. vii. Lib. i. Adv. Jovin. Ibid.

First, that we "have no sacrifice." This is not true. For we have the sacrifice of the death and blood of Christ, a sacrifice which lasteth for ever.

Again, that we "have no prayers." This is untrue. For we call upon the name of the Lord. We glorify God, even the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ. God grant all the churches in Christendom may do the like!

Again, that we "have no fasting." This is untrue. Our doctrine requireth fasting: our laws command it: we commend it.

Again, "They make no difference of meats." This is untrue. For we have not put down one fish-day; and we have appointed fifty more than our forefathers kept.

Again, "Single life is abolished." This is untrue. For a minister may live single, if he will; there is no law to the contrary. God grant our lives may be single and simple, and pleasing him: else we are like painted graves, fair and holy without, but within full of stinking carrion.

Now let us proceed. You have heard thirteen untruths; and may we think that he which hath uttered so much falsehood will stay there?

Eadem, occupato regno, supremi ecclesiæ capitis locum in omni Anglia, ejusque 14. Untruth.

[8 ...ad episcopos venio, quos si sigillatim voluero nominare, tantus numerus congregabitur, ut Arimenensis synodi multitudo superetur.—Hieron. Op. Par. 1693-1706. Ad Ocean. Epist. lxxxii. Tom. IV. Pars II. col. 647. The question was respecting the case of a Spanish bishop, who had had a wife before he was baptized, and who had afterwards, having been baptized, when his first wife was dead, married another.]

[9 Id. adv. Jovin. Lib. I. Tom. IV. Pars II. col. 165.]

[10 Accusing us or excusing, 1582, C.]

[11 Eliguntur &c. nego: quia non sunt tanti virgines, quanti necessarii sunt sacerdotes.—Id. ibid. col. 175.]

[12 Et quomodo, inquies, frequenter in ordinatione sacerdotali virgo negligitur, et maritus assumitur? Quia forte cetera opera non habet virginitati congruentia: aut virgo putatur, et non est: aut est virginitatis infamis.—Id. ibid. col. 176.]

[13 Be, 1582, C.]

[14 Carry, 1582, C.]

præcipuam auctoritatem atque jurisdictionem monstrose sibi usurpans, regnum ipsum rursum in miserum exitium revocavit: "She (the queen's majesty) invaded the kingdom, and, by usurping monstrously the place of the supreme head of the church in all England, and the chief authority and jurisdiction of the same, hath again brought the said realm into miserable destruction."

You must keep reckoning; for here, to the thirteen untruths, he giveth three others, more wicked and slanderous than the rest. Hath queen Elizabeth invaded the realm? O vain man! Is it beseeming for Christ's[1] vicar to speak so untruly? What, sendeth he such tales unto us, who know the truth, and can reprove him? Did her majesty invade this realm? Came she by force and violence to her crown? No child so simple but he may control him herein. Was not queen Mary her sister? Was not king Edward her brother? was not king Henry her natural father? and king Henry the VII. her grandfather? Is she not the right inheritor of both the houses, York and Lancaster? Hath she not both the roses, that is, both the titles to the kingdom inclosed in one? Did not the whole body of the council take their oath to her thirty-five years ago[2]? Was not the crown due to her by inheritance, and by succession, and by the laws of this realm? Did not her father warrant it to her by will, as to his daughter? Did not queen Mary by express words leave it to her, as to her sister? Did not the whole nobility of the realm confirm it? Did not queen Mary's bishops kneel down before her, and acknowledge her to be their natural and lawful queen? Did not you, did not all the commons of this realm, willingly of yourselves make bonfires, ring your bells, and clap your hands for joy? Did not the children and little babes cry out in your streets, 'God save queen Elizabeth?'

How then dareth the pope, a wilful friar, a wilful and unlearned friar, how dareth he say that queen Elizabeth is no lawful queen, but did invade this realm with force and violence? O good and gracious lady! what host had she? what captain? what soldiers? what weapon was worn? what sword drawn? what spear bent? what banner displayed? what trumpet sounded? She entered to her right peaceably, and hath reigned in great peace, save that pope Pius hath practised her trouble by certain rebels and traitors. But God doth mercifully preserve her to the confusion of her enemies, to the comfort of her subjects, and the[3] advancement of his glory. Young men and maidens, old men and children may see and say, Pope Pius is a forger, a reporter of untruth, hath no regard what he saith or doth; that he is past all shame, and hath no fear of God.

15. Untruth. Again: *Supremi capitis locum usurpans:* "Taking upon her the place of the supreme head." This is untrue. Here lay a chase. If the pope go forward, he will win the game. Where is she ever called the supreme head? Peruse the acts of parliament, the records, the rolls, and the writs of chancery or exchequer, which pass in her grace's name: where is she ever called the supreme head of the church? No, no, brethren, she refuseth it, she would not have it, nor be so called. Why then doth Christ's vicar blaze and spread abroad so gross untruth? why should he say, queen Elizabeth maketh herself the head of the church?

16. Untruth. Nay yet more: *Monstrose præcipuam ejus auctoritatem atque jurisdictionem usurpans:* "Taking upon her monstrously the chief authority and jurisdiction of the same." Here I might well say: *O monstrum hominis!* "O monster in the likeness of man!" He imagineth that her majesty preacheth in the pulpits, that she administereth the sacraments, that she sitteth in the consistories and heareth all spiritual causes. Which if she do, she doth more than the pope doth. It were monstrous to see the pope in a pulpit. And it is monstrous to see antichrist sit in the temple of God, to see a bishop girded with both swords, to see a priest take upon him the rule of heaven and earth, the servant of servants advanced above all the princes of the world, and to set his foot upon their necks; a wretched man to claim authority over the angels of God, and a sinful creature to suffer himself to be called by the name of God. This is a mis-shapen wonder, and a monster in nature. Let the pope therefore look upon himself, and know

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[1 Christ, 1611.]

[2 See the oath in "The Book of Oaths and the several forms thereof," Lond. 1689, pp. 186, 7. Conf. Statutes at large, London, 1763, &c. 26. Henry VIII. cap. 2. Vol. II. p. 203.]

[3 And to the, 1582, C.]

what supreme authority and jurisdiction, and over whom he taketh it upon him monstrously.

Queen Elizabeth doth not any thing "monstrously." She preacheth not, she ministereth not the sacraments, she doth neither excommunicate nor absolve from excommunication, she sitteth not to give sentence in spiritual causes, she challengeth not the dispensation of the keys of the kingdom of heaven. She doth[4] nothing but which she may lawfully do, nothing but whereunto the Lord God hath given her especial warrant. Her majesty is supreme governor over her subjects. The bishops within her realm are subjects to her. She governeth; they yield obedience. When occasion is offered to dispose of any thing specially appertaining to the service of God, or to judge of any controversy arising in spiritual causes, she commendeth and giveth to her learned divines the due consideration thereof: all other pleas and suits she causeth to be ended at home, and suffereth no appeals to fly[5] to Rome. Which is done for the ease and quietness and wealth of her good subjects. For wherein grew more extremity against plain-dealing simple and honest poor men? whereby were they oftener shifted off, and put from the right of their suit, than by such appeals? when, after they had been hailed through all the courts of[6] their own country, they were driven to follow the matter 1500 miles at the pope's court[7] in Rome.

To be short, queen Elizabeth doth as did Moses, Josua, David, Salomon, Josias, Jehosaphat, as Constantine, Valentinian, Gratian, Theodosius, Arcadius, Honorius, and other godly emperors have done. God hath given charge to her of both tables. In the first she hath charge of religion, in the other of civil causes. By the prophet Esay God promiseth to his church, "Kings shall be thy nursing-fathers and queens thy nurses." And David saith: "Be wise therefore, ye kings, be learned, ye judges of the earth: serve the Lord in fear." Upon which place the learned father Augustine saith: *Quomodo ergo reges serviunt Domino in timore, nisi ea quæ contra jussa Domini fiunt, religiosa severitate prohibendo atque plectendo? Aliter enim servit quia homo est; aliter quia ... rex est. Quia homo est, ei servit vivendo fideliter: quia vero etiam rex est, servit [ei] leges justa præcipientes et contraria prohibentes convenienti rigore sanciendo, sicut servivit Ezechias, &c.*: "How then do kings serve the Lord in fear, but in that they do forbid, and in a religious severity punish such things as are done against the Lord's commandments? For he serveth after one manner as a man, and after another as[8] a prince: as a man he serveth the Lord in living faithfully; but, in that he is also a king, he serveth him by making laws, which command the things that are right, and which with convenient rigour forbid the contrary; as Ezechias served the Lord, when he destroyed the woods and temples of idols, and those high places which were built against the commandments of God; as Josias served, doing also the like; as the king of Nineve served, gathering together all his city to appease the wrath of the Lord; as Darius served, giving authority to Daniel to break the idol, and casting his enemies into the lions; as Nabuchodonosor served, of whom we spake before, who by a terrible law forbad all within his kingdom to blaspheme God." *In hoc ergo* (saith he) *serviunt Domino reges, quando ea faciunt ad serviendum illi, quæ non possunt facere nisi reges*[9]: "Herein therefore do kings serve the Lord, when they do those things to serve him which none may do but kings." The pope therefore writeth unadvisedly. We know not any so monstrous and unlawful doing. It is her office; it is her duty. I trust God will give her grace to discharge the same to[10] his glory.

Isai. xlix. Psal. ii.

Epist. 50. ad Bonif. Comit.

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[4] Doeth, 1582, C.]

[5] Flee, 1582, C.]

[6] In, 1582, 1609.]

[7] Courts, 1582.]

[8] Another manner as, 1582, C.]

[9] Quomodo &c. Domino serviunt &c. convenienti vigore sanciendo. Sicut servivit Ezekias, lucos et templa idolorum, et illa excelsa quæ contra præcepta Dei fuerant constructa, destruendo. sicut servivit Josias, talia et ipse faciendo. sicut servivit rex Ninivitarum, universam civitatem ad placandum Dominum compellendo. sicut servivit Darius, idolum frangendum in potestatem Danieli dando, et inimicos ejus leonibus ingerendo. sicut servivit Nabuchodonosor, de quo jam diximus, omnes in regno suo positos a blasphemando Deo lege terribili prohibendo. In hoc &c. reges,...cum ea faciunt &c.—August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. De Correct. Donat. Lib. ad Bonif. seu Epist. clxxxv. cap. v. 19. Tom. II. col. 651.]

[10] Unto, 1582, C.]

17. Untruth. *Regium concilium ex Anglica nobilitate conflatum diremit:* "She hath removed the noblemen of England from the king's council." The poets had a fond device of their great god Jupiter, that he held a golden chain in his hand, and tied to the end of it both the land and sea, and coasts of the whole world, and so might toss and turn, and set them higher and lower at his pleasure. Pope Pius bestirreth himself as though he were in Jupiter's place, and might by his bulls and curses set higher and lower, place and displace, appoint who shall, and again who shall not, be in princes' councils. Nothing may be done but by his sufferance. Such a practice he hath to make himself king of kings, and the god of this world: for, when he may rule the council, he may rule the king; and, being able to rule the king, he may rule the people throughout the world. He saith, "Queen Elizabeth's council is not to my liking. She hath put those from the council which were of the nobility of England."

Thus he goeth on, and increaseth his folly. He singeth by reports, and speaketh he wotteth not what. Hath her majesty removed all the nobility? Who would think the vicar of Christ would be so vain? You which have lived in countenance, and have been at the court, and have these many years known the state of our country, you know well that this is false. The nobility are all in England, and in court, and in council, as before. I do not speak of such as became traitors. You know what unnatural attempts were lately made. Their guilty conscience did make some to fly[1]. I speak not of one in durance: I dispute not his case. A prince ought to be very careful and jealous for his preservation. It toucheth not himself only, but the welfare of his people. Of these I speak nothing. Yet when this bull was stamped at Rome, all were at liberty.

Anno Dom. 1569. Mark the date, the fifth of the calends of March in the year past; at which time they were all at liberty and of the council, or at least in good favour. Since which time, what hath been wrought by this bull, I pray you, consider. Remember what ensued the summer following[2]. The coals were kindled here; but the bellows which gave the wind lay at Rome; and there sat he which made the fire. At what time he wrote this bull, she had displaced none, neither lord, baron, nor earl; nor touched them in their lives, bodies, goods, or lands. Indeed pope Paulus IV. cast Moronus[3] into prison, and there kept him all the time of his papacy. Pius IV. took Caraffa, a chief cardinal; he cast him into prison, and in the midnight sent a slaughterman to put him to death. Pope Urbanus took six cardinals, and knit them in bags, and threw them into the sea[4]. Her mild, gracious, and merciful nature hath never been distained by any the like cruelty; neither have any of her noblemen been so by her dishonoured.

18. Untruth. Again: *Hominibus obscuris complevit:* "She hath made her council of poor, dark, beggarly fellows, and hath placed them over the people." What hath pope Pius to do with the council of princes? May not a king choose a councillor, unless he allow of him? Men take their own eyes to choose their wives; and princes take their own hearts to choose their councillors. As well he might say, no king shall have any secretary, any judge, or justice, or sergeant, or attorney, or solicitor, or man at law, any captain for wars, any guard to his person, any physician to his body, any sewer or taster, but by his appointment. O what a charge this man taketh!

He calleth her honourable councillors "dark, and obscure, and beggarly." What if they had been such? May not princes have any other councillors than dukes and earls? Cardinal Woolsey was able to do something in this realm in the late time of king Henry: of what noble house came he? Of what noble house came B. Heth, Stephen Gardner, John Bourne, and M. Boxall[5]? Of what honourable parentage, of what noble blood came they? They were of the council; yet who was their father, grandfather[6]? what duke, earl, lord, baron, or knight? I speak not this in despite of their persons; let no man so mistake me:

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[1] Flee, 1582, C.]

[2] The rebelliqn in the north is referred to. See Strype, Annals, Vol. I. chapp. liv. &c. The "one in durance" was probably the duke of Norfolk.]

[3] Cast cardinal Moronus, 1582, C.]

[4] Rer. Mem. Append. ad calc. J. Sleidan. Comm. Argent. 1572. p. 110; Stell. Vit. Pont. Basil. 1507. fol. I. 4. 2.]

[5] Heath had been archbishop of York, Bourne bishop of Bath and Wells: Boxal had been dean of Windsor and secretary to queen Mary.]

[6] Father or grandfather, 1582, C.]

some of them are yet alive; I pray for them as for myself. God direct them to do those things which may be for his glory! He is noble, which is the child of God, which is born from above: he is honourable, he is noble.

But what are they who are now in authority, whom Pius calleth so poor and beggarly? I will not name them. I cannot flatter: it were unseemly I should. You know them, and are thankful to God for them. There is none of them which hath not been at the least a knight, or worthy of that degree, above these twenty years; so wise, learned, virtuous, and godly, so careful of the commonweal, as ever were bred up in this realm. They have ever been in credit, in the countenance and knowledge of the world.

As pope Pius complaineth now of the councillors of England, so did the wolf sometimes make complaint to the shepherd against his dogs. "Thou hast two vile ill-favoured curs: they jet up and down, they bark and howl, and trouble thy flock, which cannot be quiet nor feed for them. Remove them away, tie them up, brain them, hang them; what do they here?" The shepherd answereth: "Would you so? nay, I may not spare my dogs: they do me good service. Spaniels and greyhounds are fair and dainty, yet they never do me so much good: these watch when I sleep, they ease me of much pain, and save my flock. If I should tie them up, thou wouldest be bold with me, and take thy pleasure." I shall not need to apply this. The queen's majesty is our shepherd: we are left by God to her safe-keeping. The faithful councillors are like the watchful mastiffs; they take pains, they ease our shepherd, they save the flock. Now you may soon judge who is the wolf. If pope Pius could place his pilot in our ship, he would make us arrive at what port he listed.

Seeing Pius hath upon guesses or vain reports after this manner unseemly dealt with the peers and honourable estate of our country, let us look somewhat abroad, and see what worthy wights the pope hath placed in the councils of kings; and so let us be advised by the harms of our neighbours. Did he not place[7] one David Retchio so high in Scotland, that he took upon him to rule the queen there, and sought all means to disgrace and disquiet the nobles, and to undo that country, and therefore was slain in the queen's presence? Was not the cardinal of Lorraine the highest councillor in France? Did not cardinal Granvele bear the whole sway in Flanders? They were appointed by pope Pius, they were endued with his spirit, they went from his side, they knew what he would have done. Have not they spoiled and wasted those two noble countries, and brought them to such villany and misery as they never felt before? The king of Spain suffereth monks and friars to govern him and his country. It is well known what good they have done him. By these few you may see what councillors the pope alloweth, and for what purpose. Yet, that we may the better mark the order of their government, and what good cardinals work in princes' councils, one telleth us: *Legati Romanorum pontificum sic bacchantur in provinciis, ac si ad flagellandam ecclesiam Satan egressus sit a facie Domini*[8]: "The pope's legates keep such revels in kingdoms and countries, as if Satan were sent abroad from the face of the Lord to scourge the church." He was wise, and did see what was done. If we open our eyes and behold the story and present course of their doings, we may find the like. What prince soever receiveth them receiveth traitors and enemies to his estate. They always breed suspicion, stir up dissension, increase hatred between prince and prince, and set them one against another; they seek to advance their master the pope, they spoil all churches to furnish one, they be the very plagues and decay of countries. Let not pope Pius complain of the councillors of England: no prince in Christendom this day hath better. God grant them the spirit of understanding and of counsel; God continue them in his fear, and direct them in his glory! If pope Pius had but one so wise a councillor, he never would have sent such bulls and bables about the world.

Corn. Agrip. de Vanit. Scient. cap. lxi. ex Camot.

Again: *Hominibus hæreticis complevit.* The councillors are not only "poor and beggarly," but also "heretics." The accusation of heresy is heavy, and should

[7 Not lately place, 1582, C.]

[8 H. C. Agrip. De Incert. et Vanit. Scient. Col. 1584. cap. lxi. fol. N.7. See before, page 679, note 11.]

not be laid upon any but after due proof. Paul the apostle was accused for
Acts xxiv. heresy; but he answered: "After that way which they call heresy worship I the God of my fathers, believing all things which are written in the law and the
Matt. xxvii. prophets." The high priests and Pharisees called our Saviour a "deceiver." All
Euseb. Lib. iv. cap. xviii. the Christians of the primitive church were called heretics. *Misistis per omnem terram, qui circumirent et dicerent impiam hæresim surrexisse Christianorum*[1]: "You have chosen (saith Justin the martyr) certain men fit for that purpose, and have sent them over the world, to go about and say there is a wicked heresy of the Christians sprung up." Even so it liketh the pope to speak of them which be in authority among us, and calleth them heretics. God forbid his mouth should be a slander, and all be heretics whom he so calleth. Then as many as reprove his errors, and refuse to fall down and worship him, shall be heretics.
Dist. 22. Omnes. They spare not to say so: *Qui... Romanæ ecclesiæ privilegium.... auferre conatur, hic proculdubio labitur in hæresim*[2]: "He doubtless falleth into heresy, which goeth about to take away the privilege of the church of Rome."

But heresy is another matter. An heretic is he which denieth the articles of our christian faith. We deny them not, no, not any one article. We hold the creed of the apostles, and of the Nicene council, and of Athanasius. We hold all the scriptures of the old and new testament. We hold all the ancient[3] councils. We hold all the ancient[4] fathers, Augustine, Ambrose, Chrysostom, &c. We condemn all heresies which our fathers condemned. This is our profession; and yet notwithstanding doth the pope lightly and rashly give sentence against us of heresy. But let him take heed lest, whiles he calleth others heretics, and reckoneth not the causes wherefore, his arrow which he hath shot up fall upon his own head, and he fall into the pit he hath digged for others.

[19.] Yet there remaineth one pretence more against her majesty: *Ad quam velut ad asylum omnium infestissimi perfugium invenerunt:* "Unto whom all such as are the worst of the people resort, and are by her received into safe protection." Is it not lawful for the queen to receive strangers without the pope's warrant? This he speaketh of the poor exiles of Flanders and France, and other countries, who either lost or left behind them all that they had, goods, lands, and houses; not for adultery, or theft, or treason, but for the profession of the gospel. It pleased God here to cast them on land: the queen of her gracious pity hath granted them harbour. Is it become so heinous a thing to shew mercy? God willed the
Deut. x. children of Israel to love the stranger, because they were strangers in the land of Egypt. He that sheweth mercy shall find mercy. If God shall turn his hand, thou mayest be in case of poverty and banishment as well as they. I am not a prophet, nor the son of a prophet; but I doubt the time will come when men shall look for the pope at Rome, and not find him. His seat shall be removed: he shall not be there. Then shall he know what it is to be a stranger. He which devoureth shall be devoured.

But what is the number of such who have come in unto us? Are they three or four thousand? Thanks be to God, this realm is able to receive them, if the number be greater. You may remember what other strangers arrived within these parts not long sithence: these are few; they were many: these are poor and miserable; they were lofty and proud: these are naked; they were armed: these are spoiled by others; they came to spoil us: these are driven from their country; they came to drive us from our country: these come to save their lives; they came to have our lives. The difference is great between these strangers. If we were content to bear them then, now let it not grieve us to bear these: it is the commandment of God, that we "love the stranger:" yet a prince that doth it shall abide the pope's controlment.

He himself is good to them, and spareth the liberties of his city to some number, and of worse condition. For (besides those which resort thither out of England, Germany, France, Spain, &c.) he giveth harbour to 6000 Jews,

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[1 Euseb. in Hist. Eccles. Script. Amst. 1695-1700. Lib. IV. cap. xviii. p. 114. Conf. Just. Mart. Op. Par. 1742. Dialog. cum Tryph. Jud. 17. p. 117.]

[2 Nicol. Papa II. in Corp. Jur. Canon. Lugd. 1624. Decret. Gratian. Decr. Prim. Pars, Dist. xxii. can. 1. col. 100; where *in hæresim labitur.*]

[3 The old ancient, 1582, C.]

[4 Hold the ancient, 1582, C.]

which live by usury, and pay him yearly pensions. He alloweth in his city of Rome 20,000 courteghians or common women. This was the old reckoning: it may be the number is now improved. All these live by filthiness, and yield him therefore a pension of 30,000 ducats.

If the pope may maintain so many thousand adulterers, harlots, Jews, and enemies of the cross of Christ, why may not queen Elizabeth receive a few afflicted members of Christ, which are compelled to carry his cross? If it be no fault in him to receive so many servants of the devil, why may not queen Elizabeth receive a few servants of God? whom when he thought good to bring safely by the dangers of the sea, and to set in at our havens, should we cruelly have driven them back again, or drown them, or hang them, or starve them? Would the vicar of Christ give this counsel? or, if a king receive such, and give them succour, must he therefore be deprived? They are our brethren, they live not idly. If they have houses of us, they pay rent for them. They hold not our grounds, but by making due recompence. They beg not in our streets, nor crave any thing at our hands, but to breathe our air, and to see our sun. They labour truly, they live sparefully. They are good examples of virtue, travail, faith, and patience. The towns in which they abide are happy; for God doth follow them with his blessings.

Thus have I opened nineteen untruths all packed in this bull. If I would have been curious or quarrelous, I might have gathered twice so many. But I have no pleasure to pass further[5] in them. God and man, heaven and earth, know they are untrue. I may say to pope Pius, "Thou son of man, how long wilt thou blaspheme the honour of God? Why hast thou such pleasure in vanity, and seekest after leasing?" Psal. iv. What opinion hath he of our nation? Doth he think we are so simple to be led in a mask[6] with so vain fables? Doth he think we have neither eyes to see, nor hearts to judge? Doth he think his bare word will go for gospel? Would he write thus if he thought there were a God? If he deceive us in these earthly things which we see with our eyes, no reason we credit him in heavenly things. Christ is the truth. It becometh not his vicar to speak falsehood.

Now let us examine how he wresteth and corrupteth the scriptures of God, how he giveth us a false interpretation, and corrupteth them. In his whole bull he hath one only place out of the scripture, only one place, I say, and no more; and the same he setteth down to maintain his own authority, and to uphold his power, whereby he setteth up and deposeth the kings and princes and states of the world. The words be in[7] the first chapter of Jeremy: "Behold, this day have I set thee over the nations, and over the kingdoms, to pluck up, and to root out, and to destroy, and throw down, to build, and to plant." Jer. i. If he abuse this place of scripture, which he hath advisedly chosen, and sent over, to make thereby some shew of his devilish practices, to work rebellion and treasons among us, we may well think he dealeth the like with other places, when he draweth them to serve his turn.

Hunc unum super omnes gentes principem constituit, qui evellat, destruat, &c.: "He hath appointed him only (Peter and his successor the bishop of Rome) prince over all nations, to pluck up, and to destroy, to root out, and throw down, to build, and plant[8]." No doubt this commission is large: there can be no greater authority given in matters of the world. But this authority hath no man: God keepeth it to himself. "By me kings reign, and princes decree justice." Prov. viii. They bear my name, they draw my sword, they are my ministers to take vengeance on him that doth evil: their hearts are in my hands. I turn them whithersoever it pleaseth me: I take the "prayers and supplications and intercession for kings, and for all that are in authority, that men may lead a quiet and peaceable life in all godliness and honesty." Daniel telleth king Nabuchodonosor, "That the Most High beareth rule over the kingdoms[9] of men, and giveth it to whomsoever he will." Dan. iv. Wherefore doth he not give this glory unto God? Wherefore saith he,

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[5 Farther, 1582.]
[6 To be lead a masket, 1582, C; to be led in a masket, 1582, B. M., 1609.]
[7 *In* is supplied from 1582, C.]
[8 And to plant, 1582, C.]
[9 Kingdom, 1582, C.]

I will go up and be like unto the Highest; I will exalt myself, and shew myself that I am God? I have (saith he) a deed of gift. The words set down by the prophet Hieremy are my warrant to place and depose whom I will.

And he doth not only say thus, but, as if it were too small and base a title to set the name of God or of our Saviour Christ before the words of his privilege, he keepeth his feet from the ground, and raiseth aloft, and jetteth in the air above, as though he were one of the "spiritual wickednesses which are in the high places," and saith: *Regnans in excelsis, cui data est omnis in cœlo et in terra potestas, &c.:* "He that ruleth in the heights, to whom all power is given both in heaven and in earth, &c." Let him not deceive you with vain words. You shall witness against him, that he taketh the name of the Lord his God in vain. For, if any word in that piece of scripture be spoken either of prince, or removing[1] of princes; if the whole sense of those words carry any greater authority to the pope than to the bishop of any other place, or to the simplest minister in the world, let me be no more credited. Mark, therefore, and see how boldly and fondly pope Pius seeketh to mock the world. First he saith: *Deus constituit me unum principem super gentes:* "God hath appointed me alone to be prince over the nations." Here is a shameless falsifying of God's words. The prophet saith, "I have set thee over the nations." The pope thrusteth in three words more, "me," "alone," and "prince," that so he, and none but he, may revel and rule in all places. Read the place of the prophet, if you have your books. The words are: "I set thee over the nations." They say nothing, neither of the pope, nor of Peter's successor, nor of one alone, nor of prince. All these the pope hath pieced of his own device.

Eph. vi.

Prov. xxx. But Salomon warneth him: "Put nothing to his words, lest he reprove thee, Rev. xxii. and thou be found a liar." Also St John telleth him: "If any man shall add unto these things, God shall add unto him the plagues that are written in this book." Whose words, or what evidence, will he not corrupt, which dareth in such presumption to handle the word of God deceitfully, and without shame send it forth so into the world?

As for Hieremy the prophet, unto whom God spake the words which the pope sendeth us, will Pius say that he was a prince, and had authority over nations and kingdoms? will he say that Hieremy deprived princes, and thrust them from their royal seats? Hieremy did no such thing: but all contrary, he suffered persecution, not only of the princes, but of the wicked people. Pashur smote him and put him in the stocks. He was in derision daily: every one mocked him. He heard the railing of many; and fear came on him on every side. All his familiars lay in wait for him, that so they might prevail against him, and execute their vengeance upon him. He moaneth his case before God, saying: "How is it that I came forth of the womb to see labour and sorrow, that my days should be consumed with shame?" And in the six and twentieth chapter, all the people were gathered against Hieremy in the house of the Lord: "then the priests and the prophets and all the people took him, and said, Thou shalt die the death."

Jer. xx.

Jer. xxvi.

Was all this done unto him by rebellion as against their prince? was it because he had used himself proudly or cruelly in matters of temporal government? was it not rather "because he stood in the court of the Lord's house, where the Lord had sent him to prophesy, and said to all the people the words of the Lord of hosts?" Was it not because he "prophesied in the name of the Lord?"

Jer. xix. & xx.

Jer. xxvi.

Would pope Pius be thus set over nations and kingdoms? would he be smitten and put into the stocks, and railed at? would he have his days consumed in shame? would he be let down with cords into the dungeon where was no water, but mire, and so stick fast in the mire? would he have his friends moan his case to the king, and tell what evil hath been done to him, in that they have cast him into the dungeon, and say, he dieth for hunger in the place where he is? would he, I say, thus be set over nations and kingdoms? Or will he say that Hieremy, suffering these reproaches of the rulers and the priests and the people, did enjoy an earthly peace, and possess a worldly kingdom? or will he say

Id. cap. xxxviii.

[1] Or of removing, 1582, C.]

that God mocked his prophet, when he said unto him, "This day I set thee over nations?"

The words therefore must needs have another meaning; and what that meaning is, who is better able to declare than Jeremy himself? "The Lord stretched out his hand, and touched my mouth, and the Lord said unto me, Behold, I have put my words in thy mouth." "I have ordained thee to be a prophet unto the nations." "Thou shalt go to all that I shall send thee, and, whatsoever I command thee, thou shalt speak." "Be not afraid of their faces. For I this day have made thee a defenced city and an iron pillar, and walls of brass against the whole land, against the kings of Juda, and against the princes thereof, against the priests thereof, and against the people of the land. For they shall fight against thee, but shall not prevail against thee. For I am with thee, saith the Lord." Such authority had he over the nations, to be their prophet, to speak what the Lord commanded, to reprove them without fear. Jer. i.

In like authority spake Elias to Achab: "I have not troubled Israel, but thou and thy father's house, in that you have forsaken the commandments of the Lord, and thou hast followed Baalim." In like authority spake John the Baptist unto Herod: "It is not lawful for thee to have thy brother's wife." And the like authority did God give unto Moses: "Behold, I have made thee Pharaoh's god. Thou shalt speak all that I command thee." "And thou shalt say unto him, The Lord God of the Hebrews hath sent me unto thee." As Moses was set over Pharao king of Egypt, and Elias over Achab king of Israel, and John over king Herod, so was this prophet set over the nations; not to remove or pull them down, but to rebuke their errors, and to direct their lives, to plant the truth, to overthrow the vanity of men, and to build the fear of the Lord. In all this we find nothing for the pope's purpose. Mark vi. Exod. vii.

But, if it were so, and that had been the meaning of this place, what had that made for him? Was Hieremy his predecessor in the bishopricke of Rome? or is he the successor of Hieremy in Israel? was the prophet called the head of the church? had he, and did he exercise such jurisdiction over kings and princes, as the pope hereby challengeth? If he never attempted any such things, how doth pope Pius maintain his proceedings by the example of Hieremy? or, if the words will carry no such meaning, why doth he so vainly allege them? One of their own doctors saith: "He speaketh not of the overthrowing of the kingdoms of the world, but of the overthrowing of vices, and of the planting of faith and manners[2]." And so Hierome writing upon the same place: *Omnis... plantatio, quam non plantaverit Pater cœlestis, eradicabitur; et ædificatio, quæ super petram non habet fundamentum, sed extructa est in arena, sermone Dei suffoditur atque destruitur*[3]: "Every plant which our heavenly Father hath not planted is rooted up; and that building which is not founded on a rock, but is built upon the sand, is undermined, and overthrown with the word of God." Johan. de Paris. cap. xv. Hieron. in i. Jer.

Such poor Hieremies hath God given unto the world, who have overthrown and pulled up the vanities and follies which were grown to a great height in the church of God. They have planted faith and manners. They have opened and preached the truth. The Lord hath prospered their labours, as we see this day: he hath rooted out those strange plants, and thrown down the weak foundations with the breath of his mouth. This is the plucking up, the rooting out, the destroying, and throwing down: this is the building and planting, whereof the prophet speaketh; as we have heard it proved by the prophet himself, by the interpretation of Hierome a learned father, who maketh good this saying with two several places written in the new testament, and by the confession of their own doctor Johannes de Parisiis, and might be further proved by sundry others.

Yet, all this notwithstanding, it must be taken in the sense wherein Pius useth

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[2 ... sic exponitur a sanctis, non de evulsione et destructione regum mundi, et subrogatione aliorum; sed de destructione vitiorum, et plantatione fidei et morum.—Johan. de Parrhis. De Potest. Reg. et Papal. cap. xv. in Goldast. Mon. Rom. Imp. Hanov. et Franc. 1612-14. Tom. II. p. 128.]

[3 Hieron. Op. Par. 1693-1706. Comm. Lib. I. in Jerem. Proph. cap. i. Tom. III. col. 530; where *plantavit cœlestis Pater, supra petram,* and *in arena exstructa est.*]

it; or else some of his predecessors popes of Rome might likewise be worthily blamed for their doings. Pope Adrian wrote somewhat roundly to the emperor Frederic: *Imperator, quod habet, totum habet a nobis. Sicut Zacharias transtulit imperium a Græcis ad Teutonicos; ita nos possumus illud transferre ab Alemannis ad Græcos. Ecce in potestate nostra est, ut demus illud cui volumus. Propterea constituti sumus a Deo super gentes et regna, ut destruamus, et evellamus, ædificemus*[1], *et plantemus*[2]: "Whatsoever the emperor hath, he hath it of us. As pope Zachary translated the empire from the Greeks unto the Germans, so may we again translate the same from the Germans to the Greeks. Behold, it is in our power to bestow the empire upon whom we list. Therefore we are[3] appointed by God over nations and kingdoms, to pull down, to root up, to build, and to plant again." No mouth would utter these blasphemies but the mouth of antichrist.

Aventin. in Adrian. IV. An. 1154.

Jer. i.

Thus have we tried the pope to be a corrupter and a falsifier of the scriptures. He putteth in three words, "me," "alone," "prince." He applieth the place to himself, and among all other to himself alone, and so setteth himself above princes. He changeth the rooting out of error, to the overthrowing of princes; and the preaching of the truth, to the deposing of kings. He forgeth a sense which the Spirit of God and the prophet Jeremy never meant. He saith, "Thus saith the Lord;" when the Lord never spake it. He knew them well, which said, "They wrest the scriptures to maintain their power[4]." This thou seest, O God, and sufferest. He calleth himself the vicar of thy Christ, he abuseth thy most holy word, he deceiveth thy people, he maketh thee to be a false witness to his folly; and all this doth he to countenance his ambition and pride.

Now, upon warrant of these words so fondly applied, he addresseth himself solemnly to pronounce sentence: *Declaramus prædictam Elizabeth eique adhærentes in prædictis anathematis sententiam incurrisse*: "We make it known that Elizabeth aforesaid, and as many as stand on her side in the matters above named, have run into the danger of our curse." This is a terrible thunderbolt shot in among us from Rome, in paper. These clouds are without rain: these guns will do no harm. Even so did the Pharisees cast Christ Jesus out of their synagogues, and excommunicate him, and accurse him. So did Diotrephes excommunicate John the Evangelist, and did neither himself receive the brethren, but forbade them that would, and did thrust them out of the church. So was Hilary accursed and excommunicated by the Arians. He layeth his curse not only upon the Lord's anointed, our blessed queen, but upon all that follow her godly proceedings, that is, upon every one of you, and upon all other her majesty's true subjects. He knoweth you not, and yet accurseth you. You are children[5] of God; yet he maketh you the children of the devil. The Lord hath shewed the light of his countenance upon you, and hath given you his heavenly word, whereby you have gotten understanding, and are made wiser than your enemies, and are taught to refrain your feet from every evil way; and therefore the pope crieth out against you, and doth reckon you accursed. But his own words tell us: *Neminem ligare debet iniqua sententia*[6]: "A wrongful sentence bindeth no man." The curse shall come into his own bosom. "For the Lord our God turneth the curse unto a blessing to us, because the Lord our God loveth us." And, "He will send a curse upon them, and will curse their blessings: yea, he hath cursed them already; because they do not consider in their hearts, nor give glory unto his name." "He hath also made them to be despised and vile before all the people; because they have not kept his ways."

Epist. 3 Joh.

xi. Quæst. 3.

Deut. xxiii.

Mal. ii.

In this case Christ saith, "Rejoice[7] and be glad; for so persecuted they the prophets which were before you." Origen sheweth how all that be like-

Origen. Hom. 3. in Exod.

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[1] Et ædificemus, 1582, C.]

[2] Avent. Annal. Boior. Ingolst. 1554. Lib. VI. p. 636. See before, page 677, note 14.]

[3] Are we, 1582.]

[4] Joan. Saresb. Policr. Lugd. Bat. 1595. See Vol. I. page 385, note 11, and before, page 939, note 9.]

[5] Are the children, 1582, C.]

[6] Non obest homini injusta sententia.—Corp. Jur. Canon. Lugd. 1624. Decret. Gratian. Decr. Sec. Pars, Caus. XI. Quæst. iii. can. 50. Rubr. col. 939.]

[7] Christ biddeth us rejoice, 1582, C.]

minded unto Pharao cry out that men are seduced, and led out of their way, if Moses and Aaron, that is, if the speech of the preachers call upon them to be diligent in the law of God, and to follow his word[8]. And Chrysostom telleth us this is no new thing. *Ne admiremur quod spiritualibus instantes multa patiamur adversa, &c.*[9]: "Let us not marvel if we abide many adversities, because we follow after and desire those things which are spiritual. For, as the thief diggeth not, nor layeth his wait at the place where straw, and chaff, and feathers are laid, but there where is gold and silver; so is the devil most out of quiet with those which take in hand spiritual business." "These things (saith our Saviour) have I said unto you, that ye should not be offended. They shall excommunicate you: yea, the time shall come that whosoever killeth you will think that he doth[10] God service. And these things will they do unto you, because they have not known the Father, nor me." Chrysost. Hom. 1. ad Pop. Antioc. John xvi.

But what are the effects and force? what success take the pope's blessings and his curses? He stirred up the king of France to plague his subjects, and to that purpose he blessed him and his followers: they and their country were brought to great misery. He blessed Philip king of Spain: he hath been wonderfully troubled by the Moors at home, and liveth in continual turmoil with his subjects in other his dominions abroad. He blessed the states of Venice: they are still disquieted by the Turk. On the other side, he hath accursed England: thanks be to God, it was never better in worldly peace, in health of body, in abundance of corn and victuals. He hath accursed the princes and states of Germany: they were never stronger. He blesseth his own side; but it decayeth and withereth. He curseth the gospel; but it prevaileth and prospereth. The more he curseth, the more it prospereth. "This is the Lord's doing, and it is marvellous in our eyes." So doth God turn the pope's curse into a blessing unto us. And so we may well say with Seneca: *Cœlestis ira quos premit miseros facit; humana nullos*[11]: "The anger of God maketh those men miserable upon whom it lighteth; but so doth not the wrath of man." Senec. in Herc. Oeto.

Quinetiam ipsam prætenso regni prædicti jure, necnon omni et quocunque dominio, dignitate, privilegioque privatam: "We also make it known that we have deprived her from that right she pretended to have in the kingdom aforesaid, and also from all and every her authority, dignity, and privilege." This is the other part of the pope's sentence. In this his vain fantasy, and by this childish mockery, he thinketh to depose queen Elizabeth from her kingdom. O vain man! As though the coasts and ends of the world were in his hands, or as if no prince in the world might rule without his sufferance.

So have the proud prelates of that see these many years troubled the states of all Christendom, and thereby been cause of much slaughter and shedding innocent[12] blood. And so at this present he seeketh to disquiet Elizabeth, Elizabeth, I say, our sovereign and most gracious lady, a virgin full of wisdom, virtue, grace, and compassion: she is unto us as a comfortable water in a dry place, as a refuge for the tempest, and as the shadow of a great rock in a weary land.

The greatest blessing which God giveth to any people is a godly prince to rule over them. The greatest misery that can fall upon a people is to have a godly prince taken from them. For by a godly prince he doth so rule the people as if God himself were with them in visible appearance. The prince walketh in the ways of the Lord: the nobles follow the steps of the prince; and the people fashion themselves to the example of the nobles. The face of a godly prince shineth as the sun-beams, and bringeth joy and comfort to his subjects.

[8 Sed et hodie si Moyses et Aaron, id est propheticus et sacerdotalis sermo animam sollicitet ad servitium Dei,...operam dare divinæ legi, et sequi verbum Dei, continuo audies dici ab his qui Pharaoni unanimes et amici sunt: Videte quomodo seducuntur homines, et pervertuntur.—Orig. Op. Par. 1733-59. In Exod. Hom. iii. 3. Tom. II. p. 138.]

[9 ...μὴ θαυμάσωμεν, ὅτι πνευματικοῖς ἐπιτιθέμενοι πράγμασι πολλὰ πάσχομεν δεινά. ὥσπερ γὰρ οἱ λῃσταὶ οὐκ ἔνθα χόρτος, καὶ ἄχυρα, καὶ καλάμη, ἀλλ' ἔνθα χρυσίον καὶ ἀργύριον, ἐκεῖ διορύττουσι, καὶ συνεχῶς ἀγρυπνοῦσιν· οὕτω καὶ ὁ διάβολος τούτοις μάλιστα ἐπιτίθεται τοῖς πνευματικῶν ἀπτομένοις πραγμάτων.—Chrysost. Op. Par. 1718-38. Ad Pop. Ant. Hom. i. Tom. II. p. 17.]

[10 Doeth, 1582, C.]

[11 L. Ann. Senec. Hercul. Œt. Act. II. vv. 441, 2.]

[12 Shedding of innocent, 1582, C.]

When the Lord was displeased with the people of Israel, he took Samuel from them, and gave them Saul to be their king. Saul did wickedly, without justice, without mercy. He devoured the people like a lion, he overthrew the tabernacle, and slew the priests. Then was there no revelation; none that did prophesy, or care for the name of the Lord.

But, when God took mercy upon the people, he gave unto them David, a man after his own heart. He delivered him from danger, and took him out of the lion's mouth. He crowned him, and did set a crown of pure gold upon his head. David loved the people, he taught them the ways of God, he put down idolatry, and destroyed the groves[1], he set up a tabernacle to the God of Jacob. Under him the people had great prosperity in their houses, and abroad, in their vines, in their corn, and in their cattle, in time of peace, and in time of war.

When it pleased God to send a blessing upon us, he gave us his servant Elizabeth to be our queen, and to be the instrument of his glory in the sight of all the world. Who is so blind which seeth not, who is so unthankful that remembereth not, what things God hath wrought by her? who seeth not the glorious beams of the truth? who seeth not the wonderful peace in which we have lived? who seeth not the wise and safe guiding of the people? One of those alone were a great blessing, but all together are such a blessing as our fathers before us never enjoyed so happily.

As touching religion, let us think of that time of ignorance wherein we were before. How miserable a case was it to see such deadly dumbness in the church of God, to see the people led away in the dark, they knew not whither, to see the word of life taken away, to see the people fed with fables, to see an idol set up in the place of God, to see Jesus Christ our Saviour put to silence! In this case were we. This we did see, we did feel this. Out of this deadly dungeon God delivered us by the hand of our queen. By her he restored the truth: by her he sent us the light of his holy word: by her he hath relieved the hearts of the people. God himself hath been the worker hereof. Elizabeth hath been his instrument, and the mean by whom he hath done this work.

And mark the time when she attempted this. Even at the first entry into her kingdom; at which time the king of Spain, the king of France, the queen of Scots, and many of the nobles and the bishops of this realm, were against it. She had learned "first to seek the kingdom of God:" she had learned to seek his glory, and not her own: she had learned to say as David said, "I will not suffer mine eyes to sleep, nor mine eye-lids[2] to slumber, until I find out a place for the Lord, an habitation for the mighty God of Jacob." She had learned to say, "If God be on our side, who can be against us?" So was her gracious heart consumed with the zeal of God's house. O who can conceive the joy and comfort[3] of the people! It was so great, as no man can declare. They held up their hands to God, they had not words to give him, they could not speak for joy. They rejoiced as a bird doth at the day-spring; as Jonas rejoiced when he came out of the whale's belly; as Daniel rejoiced when he was brought safe out of the lions' den; as the children of Israel rejoiced when they came out of Egypt; as the three children rejoiced when they came forth of the burning furnace; so did we rejoice and said: "This is the day which the Lord hath made; let us rejoice and be glad in it."

Matt. vi.
Psal. cxxxii.
Rom. viii.

I need not speak of the continual peace which God hath given us all the time of her government. He that knoweth not the price of peace, and how to esteem it, let him behold the kingdoms which border next upon us, how pitifully they be afflicted. Let him behold Spain, France, Denmark, Flanders, and Scotland; and consider what they have suffered these few years past; what houses have been overthrown, what cities have been burnt, what blood hath been shed; how many women have lost their husbands; how many mothers have lost their children; and how many children have been made fatherless.

But God, even our God, gave us queen Elizabeth; and with her gave us peace, and[4] so long a peace as England hath seldom seen before.

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[1] Graves, 1582, C.]
[2] Eye-lid, 1582, C.]
[3] And the comfort, 1582, C.]
[4] Peace such a peace and, 1582, C.]

What should I speak of her wisdom in government? Let us look upon the state as it was before. What hunger was in this land! many of our brethren died for lack of food. What cruel executions were then in London! there were few streets where was not set up a gallows or a gibbet. In Oxford two and fifty were executed at one sessions. What diseases fell upon us! the gravest, and wisest, and richest men were taken away. Calais was lost. A stranger[5] and foreign people had the rule over us. All things went against us; because God was not with us.

But God restored by his servant our queen those joys again which we lacked. He hath given us civil peace among ourselves, and peace with foreign nations. He hath given us health of body, and store of victuals; discharge of debts, and avoiding of strangers: he hath given us mercy in justice, abandoning all cruelty. We are now with God; and all things go well with us.

They talk much of an unbloody sacrifice. It is not theirs to offer it. Queen Elizabeth shall offer it up unto God; even her unbloody hands, and unbloody sword, an unbloody people, and an unbloody government. This is an unbloody sacrifice. This sacrifice is acceptable unto God. I say not that it is not lawful for her to put to death. God saith, "Thine eye shall not pity the wicked, nor shew mercy; but thou shalt kill him;" "that all Israel may hear and fear, and do no more any such wickedness as this among you." She must do it: if she would not, yet her laws would see offenders punished. But I speak it to shew the gracious goodness of her merciful nature. Deut. xiii.

O how graciously did her majesty commend us, her subjects, to the careful and wise government of her council and judges, when she spake thus unto them! "Have care over my people. You have my place: do you that which I ought to do. They are my people. Every man oppresseth them, and spoileth them without mercy. They cannot revenge their quarrel, nor help themselves. See unto them, see unto them; for they are my charge. I charge you, even as God hath charged me. I care not for myself: my life is not dear to me; my care is for my people. I pray God whosoever succeed me be as careful as I am. They, which might know what cares I bear, would not think I took any great joy in wearing the crown."

These ears heard when her majesty spake such words. I trust they will work such affection in your hearts, which hear them reported, as they did in me when I heard them spoken. She loveth her subjects; and they reverence her: she is careful for them; and they are true to her. God continue his blessing towards her, and overshadow her with his merciful hand: for she is the comfort and diamond of all Christendom. This is she against whom pope Pius rageth and stormeth, and hath sent his curse and sentence of deprivation against her. If he had been acquainted with our happy estate under her, he might with better grace have said to her: Because thy God loveth England, to establish it for ever, therefore hath he made thee queen over them to execute judgment and justice. He might with more and better advisement have said, "How shall I curse, where the Lord hath not cursed? or how shall I detest, where the Lord hath not detested?" He is not so wise as Balaam, which would not for a house full of gold pass the commandment of the Lord to do either good or bad of his own mind. Num. xxiii.

Præcipimus et interdicimus universis et singulis proceribus, subditis, et populis, et aliis prædictis; ne illi ejusve monitis, mandatis, et legibus audeant obedire: qui secus egerint, eos simili anathematis sententia innodamus: "We charge and forbid all and every the nobles, and subjects, and people, and others aforesaid, that they be not so hardy as to obey her, or her will, or commandments, upon[6] pain of like accurse upon them." Would you take this man to be the vicar of Christ? He seemeth rather to be some master of misrule, which so dischargeth all manner of subjects from all manner obedience. For what order will he leave us, when we may not do those things which we do under her obedience, by charge

[5] Strange, 1582, C.

[6] Commandments or laws upon, 1582, C.

of her will, or commandments or laws? His words speak very broad. I command under pain of damnation that no servant obey his master, no wife obey her husband, no child obey his parents, and that no subject obey his prince. "I command and forbid, that you dare not obey her, &c."

But what if you shew him of our laws which queen Elizabeth hath made and established against burglary, and robbing by the highway, and any other kind of theft; against murder, adultery, and all filthiness, as keeping of concubines and courteghians (like to the use of his city at Rome)? Keep them not, saith the pope, under pain of my curse. Again, sir, by her laws we are required to resort to our several churches, there to hear the word of God, to give thanks unto him, and to pour out our prayers before him, &c. He yet saith, Obey them not. What shall we do then for laws of common peace, and of holding our possessions and goods to our private use, and so maintaining the good estate of our neighbours; for paying our rents to landlords, and custom and tribute, where tribute and custom are due? Let not any obey these laws, saith the pope. "Let no man dare obey her, or her will, or commandments, or laws." Esteem not her law as a law; take not her to be your queen.

Is not this fatherly counsel? Are they not happy which follow it? What godly creature ever gave the like? What patriarch, or prophet, or evangelist, or apostle, ever sent the like commissions into the world? Pius will be called the vicar of Christ. Did Christ ever set up himself against the prince, did he so teach his disciples, was it any part of that doctrine he hath left us?

Pius telleth us, he is successor to Peter and Paul, that he is invested in their authority, and enthronized in their chair. Let us confer the doctrine of Peter and Paul with that which is written by their successor. Pius saith of our sove-

1 Pet. ii. reign: "Let no man be subject to her, or obey her." But Peter saith: "Submit yourselves to all manner ordinance of man for the Lord's sake; whether it be unto the king, as unto the superior; or unto governors, as unto them which are sent of him for the punishment of evil-doers, and for the praise of them that do well; for so is the will of God." And again he saith: "Fear God, honour the king." Peter saith: "It is the will of God that you obey your prince." Pius gainsaith: "Obey not your prince; my will is that you obey not."

Rom. xiii. Paul hath left words for our obedience: "Let every soul be subject to the higher powers; for there is no power but of God; and the powers that be are ordained of God. Whosoever therefore resisteth the power resisteth the ordinance of God; and they that resist receive unto themselves judgment." "For he is the minister of God for thy wealth; but, if thou do evil, fear; for he beareth not the sword in vain. Wherefore ye must be subject, not because of wrath only, but also for conscience' sake. Give therefore tribute to whom you owe tribute, custom to whom custom, fear to whom fear, honour to whom you owe honour." Now saith Pius, "Let no soul be subject to the higher powers: resist power, resist the ordinance of God, be not subject neither for wrath, nor for conscience. Yield your prince no tribute, no custom, no fear, and no honour." How agreeth this with the apostle? whether it be right in the sight of God that you be led by Peter and Paul the apostles of Christ, or by pope Pius, judge ye. And for what prince doth Paul require this of the Romans? For Nero, an enemy to[1] God and godliness, and all that lived godly; who destroyed and burned their city, who slew his mother, and ripped that belly which brought him to life; a monster in nature, and the most wicked ruler that ever reigned. And yet doth Paul require them to obey him, because he is the minister of God, &c.

Who was like to Nabuchadonosor, king of Babylon? He was the rod of the Lord's wrath, he oppressed the people of God, fired and rased their city, sacked

Baruch i. their sanctuary, and spoiled their temple; yet are the people commanded "to pray for the life of Nabuchadonosor, king of Babylon, and for the life of Baltazar his son, that their days may be upon the earth[2] as the days of heaven." And

Jer. xxix. again God speaketh by the prophet Hieremy: "I have caused you to be carried

[1] Unto, 1582.]

[2] Upon earth, 1582, 1609.]

away captives from Jerusalem unto Babylon. Seek the prosperity of the city whither I have sent you away captives, and pray unto the Lord for it; for in the peace thereof shall you have peace." If the apostle withdrew not the Romans from the subjection of Nero, if the prophets willed the children of Israel to pray for the life of Nabuchadonosor[3], who were wicked princes, will pope Pius tell the subjects unto[4] a godly and virtuous lady, that they must not obey her?

Into what case doth he lead miserable simple men that give him some credit! How doth he amaze them! God telleth us we receive to ourselves judgment if we resist his ordinance: Pius saith, we are accursed unless we do resist it. What shall a simple man do? Which way shall he follow? If he obey God, he must forsake the pope; or, if he obey the pope, he must forsake God. If he obey the prince, as God willeth him, then the pope curseth him; or, if he disobey the prince, as the pope willeth him, then doth God condemn him. The commandment of the one is as contrary to the commandment of the other, as light is contrary unto darkness. But thanks be to God who hath filled us with the knowledge of his will. We know pope Pius is no God. We pray for him that he may be the servant of God.

Paul hath warned us, "If an angel from heaven, or if any man preach unto you otherwise than that you have received, let him be accursed." We have received of Paul, and of Peter, and of God himself, that we should obey: yet dareth pope Pius, no angel, but a man, command us that no man obey, no, not under pain of his curse. Accursed is he for so commanding: we have good warrant to say he is accursed. Gal. i.

Omnes qui illi quomodocunque juraverunt, a juramento hujusmodi, ac omni prorsus dominii, fidelitatis, et obsequii debito, perpetuo absolutos declaramus: "We pronounce, that all, whosoever by any occasion have taken their oath unto her, are for ever discharged of such their oath, and also from all fealty and service which was due to her by reason of her government." Doth pope Pius know what an oath meaneth? Doth he know what it is to swear by the name of God? An oath is a solemn promise made between men, wherein God (who knoweth the secrets of the heart) is called to witness of the doing. As for example: we have taken this oath: "I will be a true and liege subject to our sovereign lady queen Elizabeth: I will neither in word nor deed procure her evil: I will not conceal any treason or conspiracy against her: and this do I promise, as I hope to be saved by the blood of Jesus Christ; and I take witness to this of God, who seeth the singleness of my heart, beseeching him to avenge it upon me, to put my name out of the book of the living, and to give me no portion in the kingdom of Christ and of God, if I willingly or wittingly break this my promise." Such is the oath which we have taken to her highness.

"This is nothing," saith pope Pius: "I can dispense with it: I am able to dispense against the law of nature, against the canons of the apostles, against the new testament: I can dispense for all things done contrary to the commandments of the old and new testament: I can dispense against the law of God. I am above all general councils: my will must be kept for a law[5]." And doth he only say this? Or shall we think they be words of reverence, written by such as are devout to his holiness, and that he doth not so much as he may by virtue of his special privilege? Who was it that gave a dispensation to the brother, that he might marry his own sister? Who was it that gave dispensation to Henry the fifth to rise up against Henry the fourth his own father, and put him from the empire[6]? What dispensation pope Pius sent to king Philip, God knoweth; but the young prince the king's son lost his life[7]. I know not what dispensation passed lately into Scotland; but the king was strangled, &c. A horrible deed: the world knoweth it was so, what mists and pretences soever they make. To work such practices the pope sendeth abroad his dispensations.

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[3] For Nabuchodonosor, 1582, 1609.]
[4] Of, 1582, C.]
[5] See Vol. I. page 442; Vol. III. page 218.]
[6] See before, pages 697, 8.]
[7] Don Carlos, son of Philip II. of Spain.]

Such a dispensation did pope Pius lately send into England, and discharged the subjects from their due obedience to our prince, and thereby made way for them, with his favour and licence, to run headlong into everlasting damnation. With some weak heads he hath prevailed. It is likely he hath used secret conference with them some long time, before they would be drawn to be traitors to their own country, and be emboldened to put themselves in armour, and rob, and spoil, and burn, and kill their countrymen, and friends, and kinsfolks, and children, and parents, against the law of nature and the commandment of God.

This was done not long sithence. You cannot but remember it: they were in arms, and had gathered a great company of confederates: the banner was displayed in the field[1]. What think you was their meaning? Or to what end did they rise? Among all those that live within this realm, whose person sought they? against whom bent they their spears? and against whose body drew they their swords? But the Lord preserved his anointed: he hath placed her upon his holy hill of Sion: no traitorous malice shall annoy her.

Consider now whence all this rebellion grew. There is no treason without conference. There, even there began all our trouble. The master of all this mischief sitteth at Rome, as I told you before: the coals were kindled here; but the bellows were there; and there sat he that blew the fire. We saw the poppets; but the juggler that drew the strings kept himself close. They which rebelled brake their oaths, forswore themselves, robbed their country, spoiled towns, burnt the holy bible, the word of God: they cared neither for God, nor man, neither for prince, nor for law. They were promised furtherance in their doings by insurrections which should have been likewise made in other places of the realm. In all this they took courage and countenance of pope Pius. He furnished them with all device of counsel, he blessed them in their purpose, he promised them forgiveness of their sins, for part of their wages.

Miserable man which could find no better company! and in miserable case when he cannot be upholden by other means than by treason! But most miserable are they which through his wicked persuasions are content to cast themselves, and to seek how their country may be brought under the subjection of foreign enemies, into bondage and misery. So doth he loose and set at liberty the consciences of men, and flattereth the wicked in their ungodliness, as if his dispensation should be their excuse.

It is an old saying, *Caveat emptor:* "let him that buyeth take heed." What colour soever the pope setteth on his merchandise, let the buyer take heed of them. We have called God to record unto our souls: our conscience standeth charged. If we commit perjury, God will avenge it. If we resist the power, we break the ordinance of God, and then we receive to ourselves damnation. Let us therefore be wise and circumspect. As for pope Pius' word, it is no warrant for us against the judgment of God. In the day of the Lord, when we would call him forth for our discharge, we shall not find him. He is not able to warrant himself.

Yet, for his better credit, and to prevail the more with us, he saith well of himself, and magnifieth and advanceth his own name, when he telleth us: "I am a prince: I am above nations and kingdoms: I excommunicate kings and princes: I deprive them, and put them down, and root them up: I have authority over their subjects, I discharge them of their oaths: I curse them, and give them up to the devil: I am like to the Highest." These are blasphemous and abominable words, meet words for him that sent them; to whom is given a mouth to speak great things and blasphemies. And thus he imagineth all the world should fall down before him with a *sanctus*. He imagineth he holdeth the sun and moon in his hands, and can rule them as it pleaseth him; and thus is fallen[2] into a pleasant phrensy: he dreameth of great matters, and with his own breath he bloweth himself big like a bladder.

[1 In field, 1582, 1609.] [2 Is he fallen, 1582, C; he is fallen, 1582, B. M.]

But this breath is nothing: it is easy to let it out; and then the bladder will also be as nothing. It will not be so easy as he thinketh to have such place given him in the consciences of men as he sometimes had, or to root out all that profess the gospel of Christ, or to make that the name of the Holy One of Israel shall be no more spoken of. Yet he attempteth it, and thereto employeth all his power, and his wisdom, and his counsel. But "he that dwelleth in heaven laugheth him to scorn: the Lord shall have him in derision." As though he were a Samson, he taketh hold of the pillars, he crasheth them in pieces; but the house which he pulleth down shall fall upon his own head. His heart is exalted against his fall, which is at hand. All his great boast is but a cloud of darkness; a clear wind will blow it over. Psal. ii.

And now, to give you a short view of the whole matter. Remember that pope Pius hath sent us over against our gracious queen, and all her subjects[3], a sentence of his curse and deprivation: wherein he hath dealt ignorantly, and contrary to the laws, without wit or discretion, and followeth no order. For the sentence, which should be kept until the last, is given out before the parties were called, or the cause and proofs duly alleged and examined.

Remember, that he is no competent judge, that he hath no jurisdiction over us, that he himself is a party, that he hath been accused and found guilty by the judgment of the whole world, that he is over-much affectionate in the case wherein he seeketh to exalt and enrich himself.

Remember, that he hath conveyed nineteen untruths into this one bundle; that he hath forged a false commission; that he hath corrupted and falsified the word of God, and hath made God a false witness unto his follies. Remember, that he teacheth us contrary to that we have received of Peter, and of Paul, and of Christ, and of God; and that he saith, "Let no soul be subject to the higher powers; let every soul resist the prince; let him withstand the ordinance of God; be not obedient neither for wrath, nor for conscience, give no custom, nor tribute, nor fear, nor honour unto her."

Remember, if thou obey thy[4] prince as God hath commanded thee, thou art accursed by the pope; or, if thou disobey thy[5] prince as the pope requireth thee, thou art condemned by the judgment of God.

Remember, that the pope hath conference with traitors in all countries, that he raiseth subjects against their princes, that he causeth princes to plague their subjects, that he hath no regard of the stranger and the fatherless, that he suffereth Jews and harlots to live in wealth and peace with him at Rome, and yet will not suffer a christian and lawful prince to live in the peace of her own country at home; that he is the procurer of theft and murder, of rebellion and dissension in the land; that he hath sent in a bull, to shew his meaning, and to work our disquiet, so bold, and vain, and impudent a bull, and so full fraught with blasphemy and untruth, as never before him did any. Let these things never be forgotten: let your children remember them for ever.

Let us and our[6] children with us pray, "God save queen Elizabeth, and confound all those which rise up against her." Let us at the length take knowledge of the pope, and of his enterprise and boldness. He and his predecessors have deceived the world, and our fathers before us. Let us be no more children in understanding. God hath given us the light of his word: we have by it espied wherein they robbed us; let us be no more deceived. I say unto you again, I beseech you, let us at the length take knowledge of the pope, and of his enterprise and boldness. He and his predecessors have deceived the world, and our fathers before us. Let us be no more children in understanding. God hath given us the light of his word: we have by it espied wherein they robbed us; let us be no more deceived.

And thou, O most merciful Father, be our defence in these dangerous times. The lion rangeth and seeketh whom he may devour. Look down from thy

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[3] Her good subjects, 1582, C.]
[4] The, 1582, C.]
[5] The, 1582, 1609.]
[6] Your, 1582, 1609.]

heavens upon us. Give thy grace unto Elizabeth thy servant. Thou hast placed her in the seat of her fathers: thou hast made her to be a comfort unto the [1] people: thou hast endued her with manifold gifts: shadow her under the wings of thy merciful protection: confound and bring to nothing the counsel of her enemies: direct the work of thine own hands: establish that, O God, which thou hast wrought in us. So we, which be thy people, and the sheep of thy pasture, shall give thee honour and praise for ever and ever.

Amen.

[1 Thy, 1582.]

A TREATISE

OF

THE HOLY SCRIPTURES.

A

TREATISE OF THE HOLY SCRIPTURES,

GATHERED OUT OF CERTAIN SERMONS, WHICH THE REVEREND FATHER IN GOD, BISHOP JEWEL, PREACHED AT SARISBURY[1], ANNO DOMINI 1570.

AMONG all his creatures in heaven or earth God hath not made any like unto the sun in the firmament, the beams whereof are beautiful and pleasant, and do give[2] comfort in all places to all things. It rejoiceth the whole, and relieveth the sick: it causeth birds to sing, fishes to play, cattle to stir, worms to creep, grass to grow, and trees to bring fruit: it reneweth the face of the whole earth. Yet a blind man hath no pleasure in the beauty thereof, because he is blind, and cannot see it: yet a dead man hath no warmth by the heat thereof, because he is dead, and feeleth it not. Adam was placed in paradise, in perfect estate, and in the company of God's angels. God walked and did talk with him. He heard the voice and beheld the presence of God. The rivers yielded waters abundantly: the trees brought him food of life. He had plenty without travail; he had pleasures, joy, and his heart's desire. But Adam was unthankful, he knew not God the worker of his happiness, he knew not the place in which he was, he knew not his own estate[3] and blessedness; therefore the wrath of the Lord grew against him: he fell into the snares of the devil, he became mortal, and returned to dust.

What nation in all the world so happy as Israel? They were delivered by a mighty hand out of Egypt, from the tyranny of Pharao, from service[4] and villany. Their children were no more slain before their faces. They passed through the bottom of the sea as upon dry land. When they were hungry, there went forth a wind from the Lord, and brought them quails from the sea, and manna was given them from heaven to eat; when they thirsted, the rocks opened and poured out water, that they and their beasts might drink. In battle they were mighty and strong; no power was able to stand against them. The Lord went before them by day in a pillar of a cloud to lead them the way, and by night in a pillar of fire to give them light. When they called upon the Lord, he heard them: when they trusted in him, they were not confounded. But they grew unmindful of all these mercies, and murmured against the Lord, and against his servants; therefore God raught forth his hand against them. He sware in his wrath that they should not enter into his rest. He sent his angel and destroyed them in the wilderness.

Even so fareth it with all such which regard not the word of their salvation; because they have ears and hear not, nor will understand with their hearts, the fury of the Lord shall be kindled against them. The prophet saith in the name of God to Israel: "I have sent unto them all my servants the prophets; yet would they not hear me, nor incline their ear." And, "Behold, I sow my law in you, that it may bring forth fruit in you. But our fathers which received the law kept it not, neither observed thine ordinances; neither did the fruit of thy law appear. For they that received it perished, because they kept not the thing that was sown in them." Samuel telleth Saul: "Thou hast cast away the word of the Lord; and the Lord hath cast away thee." Again, Jeremy saith: "How do ye say, We are wise; and the law of the Lord is with us? They have rejected the word of the Lord; and what wisdom is in them?" Again:

Jer. vii.
2 Esdr. ix.
1 Sam. xv.
Jer. viii.

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[1] Salisbury, 1582, 1609.]
[2] And give, 1582, C.]
[3] State, 1582, 1609.]
[4] Servage, 1582, 1609.]

"Unto whom shall I speak, and admonish that they may hear? Behold, their ears are uncircumcised, and they cannot hearken: behold, the word of the Lord is unto them as a reproach; they have no delight in it." "I will cause a plague to come upon this people, even the fruit of their own imaginations; because they have not taken heed unto my words, nor to my law, but cast it off." Jer. vi.

After this sort doth God shew the cause why his word taketh not place in us; because we are wilful, and will not hear it, nor receive it, nor take delight in it, nor let the fruit thereof appear, but reject it, and make it a reproach, and cast it away from us: and therefore is it that the Lord doth cast us away, that we are unwise, that we please ourselves with our own devices, and follow our own imaginations, and perish, because we have not understanding to hear the instruction of the Lord's word, but, like ignorant men, disallow it, and cast it behind the back.

The consideration hereof moveth me to say somewhat of the holy scriptures, which are the bright sun of God, which bring light unto our ways, and comfort to all parts[5] of our life, and salvation to our souls; in which is made known unto us our estate, and the mercy of God in Christ our Saviour witnessed. That we may the better see the path which we have to walk in, my meaning is truly, and plainly, and shortly, to shew you what authority and majesty the word of God beareth; then, what profit we may reap by it; also, how needful it is that we be well instructed in the holy scriptures; and what pleasure and delectation a christian conscience may find in them; and, lastly, whether they be dark and doubtful, or plain and easy for your understanding: that, when we know the majesty and authority of the word, and what comfort and profit God giveth us by it, we deprive not ourselves thereof by our unthankfulness, nor close up our eyes that we see it not; but hear it in reverence and in fear, that it may be fruitful in us, and we receive it not in vain.

The authority of the scriptures.

The scriptures are "the word of God." What title can there be of greater value? What may be said of them to make them of greater authority, than to say, "The Lord hath spoken them?" that "they came not by the will of men, but holy men of God spake as they were moved by the Holy Ghost?" 2 Pet. i. At the word or proclamation of an earthly prince we stand up, and vail our bonnets, and give good ear to it: we are bound so to do; it is our duty; such honour belongeth to the powers that are placed to rule over us: for they are ordained of God; and whosoever resisteth them resisteth the ordinance of God. If we should have a revelation, and hear an angel speak unto us, how careful would we be to mark, and remember, and be able to declare, the words of the angel! Yet is an angel but a glorious creature, and not God. And what is a king? great and mighty, yet mortal, and subject to death: his breath departeth, and his name shall perish. Both he and his word, his power and his puissance, shall have an end. But the word of the gospel is not as the word of an earthly prince. It is of more majesty than the word of an angel. The apostle saith: "If the word spoken by angels was stedfast, and every transgression and disobedience received a just recompence of reward; how shall we escape if we neglect so great salvation, which at the first began to be preached by the Lord, and was confirmed unto us by them that heard him?" Heb. ii. God saith by the prophet Esay: "My word shall accomplish that which I will; and it shall prosper in the thing whereto I sent it." Isai. lv. And the same prophet saith: "The word of God shall stand for ever." Isai. xl. And, "It is more easy that heaven and earth pass away, than that one tittle of the law should fail," saith our Saviour. Luke xvi. For it is the word of the living and almighty God, of the God of hosts, which hath done whatsoever pleased him, both in heaven and in earth. By this word he maketh his will known. "I have not spoken of myself," saith Christ; "but the Father which sent me gave me a commandment what I should say, and what I should speak." John xii. And again: "If I had not come and spoken unto them, they should not have had sin; but now have they no cloke for their sin." John xv. "No man hath seen God at any time:" he is invisible; no eye can reach unto him. "The only-begotten Son, which is in the bosom of his

[5] Part, 1582, C.]

Father, he hath declared him:" he hath shewed us the throne of grace, that we may seek for mercy, and find grace in time of need: he hath disclosed unto us the will of his Father. He hath left unto us, and ordained that we should hear, his holy word.

This word the angels and blessed spirits used, when they came down from heaven, to speak unto the people; when they came to the blessed virgin, and to Joseph, and to others: they spake as it was written in the prophets and in the scriptures of God: they thought not their own authority sufficient, but they took credit to their saying, and authority to their message, out of the word of God. This word the prophets vouched and alleged to the people. Albeit they were sanctified in their mother's womb; albeit God had endued them with his heavenly Spirit; although a seraphin came unto one of them, and touched his mouth with a hot coal; albeit he saw the Lord sitting upon an high throne; yet they would not speak as of themselves, but only in the name of the Lord; for thus they use[1] to say: "The Lord hath spoken;" "This is the word of the Lord;" "Hear what the Lord saith." St Paul, albeit he was taken up into the third heaven, and into paradise, and heard words that are not lawful for man to utter, yet he wrote not his own words to the churches of Rome, of Corinth, and Thessalonica, and of other places, but delivered them which[2] he had received, and taught them according to the scriptures.

This word is the true manna: it is the bread which came down from heaven: it is the key of the kingdom of heaven: it is the savour of life unto life: it is the power of God unto salvation. In it God sheweth unto us his might, his wisdom, and his glory. By it he will be known of us: by it he will be honoured of his creatures. Whatsoever truth is brought unto us contrary to the word of God, it is not truth, but falsehood and error: whatsoever honour done unto God disagreeth from the honour required by his word, it is not honour unto God, but
Matt. xv. blasphemy; as Christ saith: "In vain they worship me, teaching for doctrines
Isai. i. men's precepts." By Esay God saith: "Who required this at your hands?" And
Jer. vii. by Jeremy: "I spake not unto your fathers, nor commanded them, when I brought them out of the land of Egypt, concerning burnt-offerings and sacrifices. But this thing commanded I them, saying, Obey my voice; and I will be your God; and ye shall be my people; and walk ye in all the ways which I have com-
Jer. xxiii. manded you, that it may be well unto you." Again: "What is the chaff to the wheat, saith the Lord?" What are your dreams to be weighed with the truth of God? "Search the scriptures:" in them ye shall learn to know me, and how you should worship me: in them ye[3] shall find everlasting life: "the words of the Lord are pure words, as the silver tried in the furnace:" there is no filth nor dross remaining in them. They are the store-house of wisdom, and of the knowledge of God; in respect whereof all the wisdom of this world is but vain and foolish.

Numa Pompilius, king of the Romans, Lycurgus, king of Lacedemon, and Minos, king of Creta, were wise men, and of great government: they devised laws to rule the people, and bare them in hand that they were taught by revelation; that so their ordinances might win the more credit, and be established for ever. But where are they now? Where is Numa, Minos, or Lycurgus? where be their books? what is become of their laws? They were unwise, and had no knowledge, nor understanding of God: they and their laws are dead, and their names forgotten. But the law of God came from heaven indeed: God wrote it with his finger: it is the fountain of all wisdom, and therefore shall it continue for ever, and never have an end.

Exod. xix. Here let us behold the great power and work of God. When Moses received the law, God himself came down in person, with thousand thousands of angels: the air was darkened at his presence, the mount stood all covered with fire, the earth shook, the heavens thundered, the people stood afar off, and fled for fear, and said unto Moses, "Talk thou with us, and we will hear; but let not God talk with us, lest we die." This was the first proclaiming and publishing of the law:

[1 Used, 1582, 1609.]
[2 Delivered unto them that which, 1582, C; delivered unto which, 1582, B.M.]
[3 You, 1582, 1609.]

such force and credit God gave to his word, and warranted himself to be the Lord.

Since that time so many thousand years are already passed. In the meantime the people of Israel were oppressed by tyrants, were spoiled and chased out of their country: first by Nabuchodonosor into Babylon; after that by Antiochus into Syria; and, lastly, were as vagabonds driven from country to country. Their city Jerusalem was sacked, their houses overthrown, their temple rased, and not a stone left upon a stone; their library destroyed, their books burnt, the tabernacle lost, the covenant broken, no vision, no revelation, no comfort for the people left; nor prophet, nor priest, nor any to speak in the name of the Lord. In all those[4] times of decays, of sackings, of darkness, and of misery, what was done with the word of God? It was wickedly burnt by Joachim king of Juda; and Antiochus burnt the books of the law, and cut them in pieces. No man durst be known to have them, and avouch the having. So thought they utterly to deface the glory of God, and abolish all remembrance of his laws. Jer. xxxvi. 1 Macc. i.

Then came the Pharisees, they drowned the word of God with their traditions: they took away the key of knowledge, and entered not in themselves, but forbade them that came in. After them came heretics; they denied, some one part, and some another part of scriptures: they rased, blotted, corrupted, and altered the word of God: of the word of God they made it their own word, or, which is worse, they made it the word of the devil.

By the space of so many thousand years the word of God passed by so many dangers of tyrants, of Pharisees, of heretics, of fire, and of sword, and yet continueth and standeth until this day, without altering or changing one[5] letter. This was a wonderful work of God, that, having so many, so great enemies, and passing through so many, so great dangers, it yet continueth still, without adding or altering of any one sentence, or word, or letter. No creature was able to do this: it was God's work. He preserved it, that no tyrant should consume it, no tradition choke it, no heretic maliciously should corrupt it. For his name's sake, and for the elect's sake, he would not suffer it to perish. For in it God hath ordained a blessing for his people, and by it he maketh covenant with them for life everlasting. Tyrants, and Pharisees, and heretics, and the enemies of the cross of Christ, have an end; but the word of God hath no end. No force shall be able to decay it. The gates of hell shall not prevail against it. Cities shall fall: kingdoms shall come to nothing: empires shall fade away as the smoke; but the truth of the Lord shall continue for ever. Burn it, it will rise again: kill it, it will live again: cut it down by the root, it will spring again. "There is no wisdom, neither understanding, nor counsel against the Lord." Prov. xxi.

Let us behold the nations and kingdoms which sometimes professed Christ, and are now heathenish; Illyricum, Epirus, Peloponnesus, Macedonia, and others. Again, let us behold such kingdoms and countries which were in times past heathenish and knew not God; as England, Ireland, Rome, Scotland, and divers other[6]. They were all without the gospel, without Christ, without God, and without hope of life. They worshipped idols, even the work of their own hands. To them they appointed priests for their service, days and places for the people to resort together to worship them. Here in England, Paul's church in London was the temple of Diana; Peter's church in Westminster was the temple of Apollo[7]. In Rome they had the temple of the great God Jupiter, and in Florence the temple of Mars; and in other places they had temples dedicated to other idols.

Jupiter, Mars, Apollo, and Diana, were unclean spirits, and filthy devils; yet gave they thanks to them for their peace and prosperity, prayed to them in war and in misery, and commended unto them their wives, their children, themselves, the safe keeping and custody of their souls. They built gorgeous churches and chapels, set up images of silver and gold to[8] them, prayed, lifted up their hands, did sacrifice, and offered up their children to them. A horrible thing to say,

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[4] These, 1582, C.]
[5] Changing of one, 1582, C.]
[6] Others, 1582, C.]
[7] It is said that temples to these deities stood where the churches were afterwards erected. See Stow, Survey of London, Lond. 1720. Book III. p. 141; VI. p. 7.]
[8] Unto, 1582, C.]

yet true it is: the darkness of those times were such, that men slew their own children, and offered them up to idols. They said, Great is Jupiter: Great is Apollo; and, Great is Diana of the Ephesians. These are the gods of our fathers; our fathers trusted in them: they made us, and have defended us, and have given us victory against our enemies. Whosoever denied them were thought worthy to die.

Thus were the kings and the princes and the people persuaded. And so continued they by the space of some thousand years, without controlment or contradiction. They had great props, of antiquity, universality, and consent; antiquity of all times, universality of all places, consent of all the people. So strongly and so mightily were they founded. Who would think such a religion, so ancient, and[1] so universal, and[1] so defended by common consent, should ever possibly be removed?

But, when the fulness of time came, God sent forth his word, and all was changed. Error fell down; and truth stood up: men forsook their idols, and went to God. The kings, and priests, and people were changed: the temples, and sacrifices, and prayers were changed: men's eyes and hearts were changed. They forsook their gods, their kings, their priests: they forsook their antiquity, customs, consent, their fathers, and themselves. What power was able to work these things? What emperor by force ever prevailed so much? What strength could ever shake down so mighty idols from their seat? What hand of man could subdue and conquer the whole world, and make such mighty nations confess they had done amiss? This did the Lord bring to pass by the power of his word, and the breath of his mouth. This was it that led[2] captivity captive, and threw down every high thing that lifted itself up against the Lord, and brought all powers under subjection unto the Lord. It is the image, the power, the arm, the sword, and the glory of God. It is mighty, of great force and virtue, of authority and majesty, because it is the word of God; therefore the glory thereof is great.

The profit which Christians reap by the scriptures.

Now let us stand afar off, and humble ourselves, and in reverence and fear learn to take the fruit and comfort of the same; for so is the will of God, that we may be partakers of his glory. But where shall we find entrance into this matter? And how shall we be able to come a-land? For this is the sea and the depth of all the works, of the judgments, and mercies, and of the kingdom of God. This is a sea that hath no shore, a pit that hath no bottom. The holy scriptures are the mercy-seat, the registry of the mysteries of God, our charter for the life to come, the holy place in which God sheweth himself to the people, the mount Sion, where God hath appointed to dwell for ever. The more comfort in them, so much the more greedily let us desire them: the more heavenly and glorious they are, with so much the more reverence let us come unto them.

For consideration of this matter of the fruit and comfort which God worketh by the word, what may we better call to mind than that is recorded by St Paul?

Rom. xv. "Whatsoever things are written aforetime are written for our learning, that we through patience and comfort of the scriptures might have hope." All that is written in the word of God is not written for angels, or archangels, or heavenly spirits, but for the sons of men, for us, and for our instruction; that by them we may receive strength and comfort in all adversities, and have hope of the life to come. It is the word of God: God openeth his mouth and speaketh to us, to guide us into all truth, to make us full and ready in all good works, that we may be perfect men in Christ Jesus; so rooted and grounded in him, that we be not tossed to and fro with every tempest.

The profit which the word of God bringeth shall best appear, if we first take a view of our estate; what we are, in what place we stand, and what enemies make force against us. We are the sons of Adam, stubborn children, the children of vanity and of wrath, the children of those fathers which forsook God, and have erred in their hearts, and were deceived. God, which created

Gen. viii. man, and breathed into him the breath of life, saith, "The imagination of man's heart is evil from his youth." Such are we even by the judgment of God; and his judgment faileth not. What error, what idol, what wickedness ever hath

[1] In these two places 1582 omits *and*.] [2] Lead, editt.]

been heard, which hath not been forged and wrought in the heart of man? We can neither do, nor speak, nor think the thing that is good: our understanding is heavy, our will froward, our eyes blind, and our heart unclean. We go astray through this world as lost sheep, every man after his own way. Even as a leaf is carried up and down with a blast of wind, so are we easily driven into error; in ourselves we find no stay, no succour, nor help. Such are we, and so weak of ourselves.

But where are we? In the world. And what is the world? Some think it to be a place full of all delights and pleasures, a goodly, strong, and gorgeous palace and a paradise of joy. Let no man deceive us, nay, rather let us not deceive ourselves: the world is a shop of vanities, it is a dungeon of darkness, a pot full of poison, a ship full of leaks, a way full of snares. It blindeth our eyes, beguileth our senses, and helpeth us forward into all dangers. We are blind ourselves; and the place wherein we are is nothing else but darkness.

Whereunto may I resemble our case? Jeremy the prophet was cast into a dungeon: there he sat without light, and without comfort. His case was miserable, and the place loathsome; yet he knew where he was, he knew what he lacked, he cried unto the Lord, and was delivered. Daniel was cast into the den of lions, there to be torn in pieces and devoured. But he saw his misery, and the danger in which he stood: he saw the lions, the paws which should gripe him, and the teeth which should tear him. His case was miserable; yet is ours more miserable. We are in the deep dungeon of hell, and think we are in safety: we are in the midst of darkness, and think it to be light: we are compassed with lions, with dragons, and scorpions, yet think not of our misery.

Who hath not heard the story of Jonas? Jonas was in a whale's belly: the place was very dark: the waves beat on every side: he was drowned, yet touched no water; he was swallowed up, yet not consumed; he lived without any sense of life: the fish was death[3], the sea was death, and the tempest was death; yet he died not, but lived in the midst of death: he could not see, he could not hear, he knew not to whom he might call for help; he was taken and carried away, he knew not whither. Let us mark well this story: it is a true pattern of our estate, and sheweth what our life is in this world. We are beset with like dangers, we are driven with tempests, we are drowned in like floods, we live in the midst of horrible darkness, we are carried we know not whither.

The philosopher telleth us, truth and falsehood are nigh neighbours, and dwell one by the other: the utter porch of the one is like the porch of the other; yet their way is contrary: the one leadeth to life; the other leadeth to death: they differ little to the shew, save that oft-times the door of falsehood is fair, painted, graven, and beautifully adorned; but the door or forefront of truth is plain and homely. Thereby it happeneth that men be deceived; they mistake the door, and go into error's house, when they seek truth. They call evil good, falsehood truth, and darkness light. They forsake that is good, deny the truth, and love not the light. This moved St Paul to say of his brethren the Jews: "I bear them record that they have the zeal of God, but not according to knowledge:" they have the care and fear of God; they are zealous in their doings; they have devotion; they pretend conscience; they think they do well, and that they please God. "When they professed themselves to be wise, they became fools." They knew not what they did; for, "if they had had knowledge[4], they would never have crucified the Lord of glory." But they know not the truth of God; they know not God; they are carried away in the vanity of their own heart. Their prayers are no prayers; the truth they hold is falsehood; their faith is no faith; they are sheep without a shepherd. Thus we have heard what we are, and in what place.

Rom. x.

Rom. i.

Now let us see what enemies bend their force against us. We fight against the gates of hell, with the devil, the prince of darkness, the father of lies; with the devil, which hath power over the children of disobedience, by whose malice

[3 Was his death, 1582, 1609.]

[4 They had knowledge, 1582.]

death came into the world. Even that devil bendeth his force against us, which deceived Adam in paradise; which hath deceived the learned philosophers, and beguiled the princes, and wise men, and the worthies of the world; which doth abuse and entice our hands, our eyes, our learning, our wit, and our own heart, to deceive us. He rampeth as a lion, and rangeth over the world, seeking whom he may devour. This is his delight and study. He hath been a murderer from the beginning. If this were ever true at any time, our times have found it most true. We are they "upon whom the ends of the world are come."

Now is this scripture fulfilled in our ears; now see we the days whereof Christ warned his disciples so earnestly: "They shall say, Lo, here is Christ,
Matt. xxiv. and there is Christ." This is the truth, that is the truth. "There shall arise false Christs, and false prophets, and shall deceive many;" they shall betray the truth. "Many shall be offended by them: if it were possible, the very elect," they whose names are written in the book of life, "should be deceived." "And, except those days should be shortened, there should no flesh be saved; but for the elect's sake those days shall be shortened." "The sun shall be darkened; and the moon shall not give her light." The sun is the word of God: the moon signifieth the church. "The powers of heaven shall be moved:" "all the kindreds of the earth shall mourn." "Abomination of desolation shall stand in the holy place." "Let him that readeth consider it." This is "the mystery of iniquity,"
2 Thess. ii. of which St Paul speaketh to the Thessalonians, "which worketh among them that perish." Thus are we forewarned. God hath given us his word to advise us, that we be not cast away unawares. They that walk in the dark know not whither they go: "if the blind lead the blind, both fall into the ditch:" he that is ignorant shall not be known. Christ shall say unto him, "I know you not: depart from me, ye cursed, into everlasting fire." "Their worm shall not die; and their fire shall not be put out."

In this case, what shall a godly-disposed simple man do? How shall he settle himself? To which side may he safely join himself? If he make reckoning of learning, there are learned men on both sides; if he make reckoning of virtue and godly life, there be virtuous men and of godly life on both sides; if he make reckoning of zeal, either side is zealous in the religion they hold; if he make reckoning of the name of the church, they take it as well to the one side as to the other; if he make reckoning of the multitude, there are many on either side, but neither side hath so many as hath the Turk. Whither then may a man turn himself, and to which side may he safely join? In this case we find the comfort and profit of the word of God. In this case St Paul telleth us, "Whatsoever things are written aforetime are written for our learning;" to lighten our eyes, to resolve our doubts, and to guide our feet. This light God hath kindled in his mercy, to lighten them that sit in darkness. Except he had left us a spark[1] of this light, we had perished, and become like to Sodom[2] and Gomorrah.

Psal. cxix. David saith: "Thy word is a lantern to my paths, and a light to my feet." By it I may see the way which is before me; by it I can escape danger; and by it I can keep the path wherein I ought to walk. When Christ perceived that the Capernaites and the Jews misliked his doctrine, and went back
John vi. and walked no more with him, he said to the twelve: "Will ye also go away?" You are my disciples whom I have chosen out of this world: will you also go away? Simon Peter answered him: "Master, to whom shall we go? thou hast the word[3] of eternal life." If we forsake thee, who shall instruct us? thy word is the word of eternal life.

With this word Christ confounded the scribes and Pharisees, and put them
Mark vii. to silence. "Ye reject," saith he, "the commandment of God, that ye may observe your own tradition. For Moses said, Honour thy father and thy mother; whosoever shall curse father or mother, let him die the death. But ye say, If a man say to father or mother, *Corban*, that is, by the gift that is offered by me thou mayest have profit, he shall be free." With this word he

[1 Sparkle, 1582.] [2 Unto Sodoma, 1582, C; to Sodoma, 1582, B. M.] [3 Words, 1582, C.]

confounded them for misusing of the temple by buying and selling: "It is written, Mine house shall be called the house of prayer; but ye have made it a den of thieves." With this word he put them to silence, and confounded their error, in that they thought it lawful for a man to put away his wife for every fault: "From the beginning it was not so." With this word he confounded the devil, and chased him from him: "It is written, Man shall not live by bread only, but by every word that proceedeth out of the mouth of God." And again: "It is written, Thou shalt not tempt the Lord thy God." And again: "It is written, Thou shalt worship the Lord thy God, and him only shalt thou serve." Matt. xxi. Matt. xix. Matt. iv.

This word confounded the Arians and all sects of heretics. What is become of Marcion, of Nestorius, of Valentinus, of Menander, of Sabellius, of Eutyches, and others? They are blown away as smoke before the wind: the word of God hath confounded them, and beat them away. As Dagon fell, and brake his hands and neck, and could not stand in the presence of the ark of the Lord, even so shall all falsehood fall and hide itself in the presence of the truth of God. As the rod of Moses devoured the rods of the charmers, as the beams of the sun drive away and consume darkness, so shall the word of God chase away errors.

When the two disciples walked by the way with Christ, they said between themselves, after their eyes were opened that they knew him: "Did not our hearts burn within us, while he talked with us by the way, and opened to us the scriptures?" His words did possess all our senses: this talk was not like common talk: we felt it forcible in us as the word of God. When the people of [4] Israel heard Peter declare unto them at Jerusalem, by proof of the scriptures, that Christ was come, they were not able to resist the word of God, but were pricked in their hearts, and said unto Peter and the other apostles, "Men and brethren, what shall we do?" We acknowledge our error: the words which you speak are most true: they are the words of life: teach us and instruct us what we shall do. They felt the force of it, and yielded unto it: they did acknowledge it was the word of God. Luke xxiv. Acts ii.

St Augustine, after he had continued long in error, and withdrawn[5] himself into a secret place, where he might make his prayer and bewail his ignorance, heard a voice say unto him: *Tolle, lege; tolle, lege:* "Take up and read; take up and read." And he forthwith took up the epistles of St Paul, and opened them, and secretly read the chapter which he first lighted on, even these words: "Not in gluttony and drunkenness, neither in chambering and wantonness, nor in strife and envying; but put ye on the Lord Jesus Christ, and take no thought for the flesh, to fulfil the lusts of the same." *Nec ultra volui legere* (saith he); *nec opus erat. Statim quippe cum fine hujusce sententiæ, quasi luce securitatis infusa cordi meo, omnes dubitationis tenebræ diffugerunt*[6]: "I would read no farther, for I needed not. For, when I had read to the end of this sentence, all the darkness of doubtfulness vanished away, as if some clear light of security were poured into my heart." It was as if it had been said: O man, acknowledge thy misery: thou art naked, cover thy filthiness, put upon thee Jesus Christ. And forthwith I felt a fire within me: my heart was lightened: the scales fell from mine eyes: I was able to see. Thus he was[7] comforted and staid by this the word of God. Lib. viii. Confess. cap. xii. Rom. xiii.

This profit of the word St Cyprian declareth: *Si ad divinæ traditionis caput et originem revertamur, cessat omnis error humanus*[8]: "If we return to the head and the beginning of the Lord's traditions, all error of man must needs give place." Theophylactus, writing upon these words in the gospel by St John, "He that entereth not in by the door into the sheep-fold, but climbeth up another way, he is a thief and a robber," saith: *Non ingreditur per ostium, hoc est, per scrip-* Cypr. ad Pomp. Theophyl. in x. cap. Joh.

[4] These four words are inserted from 1582, C.]

[5] Withdrew, 1582, C.]

[6] Et ecce audio vocem....Tolle lege, tolle lege... Arripui, aperui, et legi in silentio capitulum, quo primum conjecti sunt oculi mei: Non in commessationibus et ebrietatibus, non in cubilibus et impudicitiis, non in contentione et æmulatione: sed induite Dominum Jesum Christum, et carnis providentiam ne feceritis in concupiscentiis. Nec &c.—August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. Confess. Lib. VIII. cap. xii. 29. Tom. I. col. 156.]

[7] Was he, 1582, 1609.]

[8] Cypr. Op. Oxon. 1682. Ad Pomp. Epist. lxxiv. p. 215. See Vol. I. pages 79, 80, note 1.]

turas. Non enim utitur scripturis testibus, neque prophetis. Nam profecto scripturæ ostium sunt per quas adducimur ad Deum: illæ lupos non permittunt[1] *intrare: prohibent hæreticos ut nos securi simus; et de omnibus rationem dant de quibus voluerimus. Fur igitur est qui non ingreditur per scripturas in stabulum ovium, et ita per illas deprehenditur. Sed ascendit aliunde, hoc est, aliam sibi viam et insolitam parat.... Talis erit antichristus*[2]*:* "He entereth not in by the door, that is, by the scriptures. For he doth not use the scriptures, nor the prophets, as witnesses. For indeed the scriptures are the door by which we are brought to God; and they suffer not the wolves to come in, they keep off heretics, that we may be in safety; and they teach us the reason of any thing wherein we would be instructed: therefore he is a thief which entereth not into the sheep-fold by scriptures[3]. And by the scriptures it appeareth he is a thief, that[4] climbeth up another way, that is, maketh himself another way, a way which was not known, nor beaten. Such a one shall antichrist be." What greater profit? They bring us to God, teach us the truth, and give us reason of all things: they keep us in safety, suffer not wolves to devour us, keep off heretics, bewray a thief, and make known who is antichrist. Therefore, upon the gospel by St Luke, he expoundeth these words: "'Let your lights be burning;' that is, have not your being in the darkness, and be ye not void of judgment; but take unto you the light of God's word; which will teach you what things you should do, and what things you ought not to do[5]."

Theophyl. in xii. Luc.

And, as the word of God is the light to direct us, and to bewray errors, so is it also the standard and beam to try the weights of truth and falsehood. Chrysostom, writing upon the four and twentieth of St Matthew, sheweth it were unpossible for a man to stay himself, and find out which is the true church, but by the word of God: "For it could not be tried by working of miracles, because the gift of working miracles is taken away; and such false miracles as carry some shew are rather to be found among false Christians; nor yet by their conversation and life, because Christians live either as ill or worse than heretics." *Nulla probatio potest esse vera*[6] *Christianitatis, neque refugium potest esse Christianorum aliud, volentium cognoscere fidei veritatem,... nisi tantummodo per scripturas:* "There can be no trial of true Christianity; and Christians, which desire to know the truth, whereupon they may build their faith, have no other refuge, but to try and learn this by the scriptures. For (saith he) heretics have the counterfeit and likeness of those things which are proper to Christ. They have churches, they have the scriptures of God, they have baptism, they have the Lord's supper, and all other things like the true church; yea, they have Christ himself. He therefore that will know which is the true church of Christ, how may he know it but by the scriptures? Therefore our Lord, knowing that there should be such confusion of things in the latter days, commandeth that Christians which live in the profession of christian faith, and are desirous to settle themselves upon a sure ground of faith, should go to no other thing but to the scriptures. Otherwise, if they had regard to other things, they should be offended and perish, and not understand which is the true church[7]."

Hom. 49. in Op. Imperf.

The master of the ship, when he is on the main sea, casteth his eye always

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[1] Permittant, 1611.]

[2] Theophyl. Op. Venet. 1754-63. In Joan. Comm. cap. x. Tom. I. p. 644. The Greek text of the clause, *et ita per illas deprehenditur*, is ὥστε προνοεῖσθαι αὐτῶν.]

[3] By the scriptures, 1582, 1609.]

[4] But, 1582, C.]

[5] Καὶ οἱ λύχνοι καιόμενοι. ὅπερ ἐστὶ, μὴ ἐν σκότει καὶ ἀκρισίᾳ διάγετε, ἀλλ' ἔστω ὑμῶν τὸ τοῦ λόγου φῶς, πάντα ὑποδεικνύον τὰ πρακτέα καὶ μὴ πρακτέα.—Id. in Luc. Comm. cap. xii. Tom. I. p. 375.]

[6] Veræ, 1582.]

[7] ...nulla &c. veræ &c. scripturas. Quare? quia omnia hæc quæ sunt proprie Christi in veritate, habent et hæreses illæ in schismate: similiter ecclesias, similiter et ipsas scripturas divinas, similiter episcopos, ceterosque ordines clericorum, similiter baptismum, aliter eucharistiam, et cetera omnia, denique ipsum Christum. Volens ergo quis cognoscere quæ sit vera ecclesia Christi, unde cognoscat in tantæ confusione similitudinis, nisi tantummodo per scripturas?...Sciens ergo Dominus tantam confusionem rerum in novissimis diebus esse futuram, ideo mandat, ut Christiani qui sunt in Christianitate, volentes firmitatem accipere fidei veræ, ad nullam rem fugiant, nisi ad scripturas. Alioqui si ad alia respexerint, scandalizabuntur, et peribunt, non intelligentes quæ sit vera ecclesia.—Chrysost. Op. Par. 1718-38. Op. Imperf. in Matt. Hom. xlix. ex cap. xxiv. Tom. VI. p. cciv.]

upon the load-star, and so directeth and guideth his ways. Even so must we, which are passengers and strangers in this world, ever settle our eyes to behold the word of God. So shall no tempest overblow us; so shall we be guided without danger; so shall we safely arrive in the haven of our rest. The prophet David therefore saith: "Blessed are they that keep his testimonies, and seek him with their whole heart." "Their faces shall not be ashamed: they shall not be confounded, which have respect unto his commandment." "Blessed is the man whose delight is in the law of the Lord, and in that law doth exercise himself day and night." "The law of the Lord is perfect, converting the soul: the testimony of the Lord is sure, and giveth wisdom unto the simple." This is the rule of our faith: without this our faith is but a fantasy, and no faith; for "faith is by hearing, and hearing by the word of God." Therefore Christ saith, "Search the scriptures: they are they that[8] testify of me." There shall ye find John v. testimony of my doctrine, there shall ye know what is the will of my heavenly Father, and there shall you receive the comfort for everlasting life. Again: "He that followeth me shall not walk in darkness, but shall have the light of John viii. life." "If a man keep my word, he shall know the truth; he shall never see death." Therefore Baruch saith: "O Israel, we are blessed; for the things that Bar. iv. are acceptable unto God are declared unto us." This is thy blessedness: herein hath God shewed his favour unto thee, he hath revealed the secrets of his will unto thee, and hath put his word in thy mouth. "He sheweth his word unto Jacob, his statutes and his judgments unto Israel: he hath not dealt so with every nation; neither have they known his judgments." Therefore the prophet David teacheth us to pray unto God for the knowledge of his word: "Shew me thy Psal. xxv. ways, O Lord, and teach me thy paths." "Take not thy holy Spirit from me;" Psal. li. and, "Incline my heart unto thy testimonies:" "Give me understanding, that I may Psal. cxix. learn thy commandments:" "Open mine eyes, that I may see the wonders of thy law:" and, "Lighten mine eyes, that I sleep not in death;" that I may discern Psal. xiii. between safety and danger, that I may know truth to be the truth, and error to be error.

Thus I have declared part of that profit which groweth to us by the word of God: but it doth not only direct our judgment in the trial of truth, but doth also graff in us a boldness and constancy in the defence of the truth. Salomon saith, "A fool changeth as the moon:" he is always unstable and inconstant, he know- Eccius. xxvii. eth not, neither what to do, nor what to believe: he is sometimes full, and sometimes empty, and turneth and changeth as the moon: he buildeth and layeth his foundation upon the sand; therefore his house falleth to the ground. He halteth on both sides, sometimes worshippeth God, and sometimes worshippeth Baal; he is neither hot nor cold; he ebbeth and floweth like the waves of the sea, he doubteth and staggereth, and resteth in nothing. He knoweth not the truth, he knoweth not that the scriptures are the word of God; so he wandereth in the dark, and knoweth not the way in which he walketh. He hath no feeling, no heart, no understanding. He is unfaithful towards God, and keepeth no faith towards man: he is wavering in all his ways. And why? Because he knoweth not the will of God, nor hath the light of his word to guide his feet.

But a wise man is one and stedfast as the sun. He buildeth his house upon a rock; and that rock is Jesus Christ, the Son of God. Therefore his house is never shaken down: be the storm or tempest never so rough, yet it shall stand fast like mount Sion; because his trust is in the name of the Lord. He knoweth that his name is written in the book of life, he knoweth that he belongeth to the Lord's sheep-fold, and that no man can take him away out of the Lord's hand. In this boldness David saith: "Though I should walk through the valley of the Psal. xxiii. shadow of death, I will fear no evil; for thou art with me: thy rod and thy staff they comfort me." And again: "The Lord is my light and my salvation: whom Psal. xxvii. shall I fear?" And again: "Except thy laws had been my delight, I should now Psal. cxix. have perished in mine affliction." When Ezechias heard the proud message of Sennacherib sent to[9] him and his people by Rabshaketh, that they should not obey Ezechias, nor trust to him when he said, "The Lord will deliver you," and, "Let 2 Kings xix.

[8 Which, 1582, C.] [9 Unto, 1582, C.]

not thy God deceive thee, in whom thou trustest;" "he went up into the house of the Lord, and prayed unto the Lord to save him and his people out of their hands, that all the kingdoms of the earth might know that he is God alone." Even so the apostle: "Whether we live or die, we are the Lord's." And in this boldness our Saviour Christ settled himself to bear their reproaches, and to carry his cross: "Father, if thou wilt, take away this cup from me; nevertheless, not my will, but thine be done." Thus they that are taught by the word of God to put their trust in the Lord, and are thereby rooted and settled in him, cannot be removed by any practice of Satan, but stand fast, and continue for ever.

Luke xxii.

Which shall more plainly appear, if we look back into the times of persecution, and behold the boldness and constancy of the saints of God. They were brought before magistrates, cast into prisons, spoiled of their goods, cruelly murdered. Some were hanged upon gibbets, some run through with swords, some torn with wild horses, some drowned in the water, and some burnt in the fire. They were hated of all men for the name of Christ; they were despised as the filth of the world, and dung of the earth: yet continued they faithful and constant. They armed their hearts with the comfort of God's word; thereby were they able to resist in the evil day. They were faithful until death; therefore God gave them a crown of glory.

When they were called before kings, and princes, and others of authority, and commanded to forsake the truth they had learned, and the comfort which they took in the truth, they answered in this manner: "O my gracious lord, I would fain do your commandment: I am your subject: I have done faithful service with my body, and with my goods; but I cannot serve you against God: he is King of kings, and Lord of lords: he is my Lord, before whom I stand: I have put my life in his hands. He hath forbidden me to do this thing which you command: I cannot therefore do it. Judge uprightly, whether it be meet to obey you rather than God. My living, my wife, my children, and my life, are dear unto me: I am a man like others, and have mine affections. Yet neither living, nor wife, nor children, nor my life, is so dear unto me as the glory of God. I am but a poor worm, yet am I the work of his hands. God hath put his word in my mouth: I may not deny it. I may not bear false witness against the Lord. My life is not dear unto me in respect of the truth. I know, if I should deny him to save my life, I should lose it; and, if I lose my life for his sake, I shall find it. That which your authority shall lay upon me is not done without his will. All the hairs of my head are numbered. I owe you obedience; I will not resist your power; for, if I should resist, I should resist the ordinance of God. I am subject to you for conscience' sake. I will forsake my country, my goods, my children, and myself, at your commandment. I will say to mine own flesh, I know thee not: only I cannot forsake my Lord God. Dear sir, you fight not against me. Alas! what am I? What can I do? You fight against God, against the most Holy, against him which can command your life to go out of your body: it is a hard thing for you to kick against the spur. It is no hard matter for you to kill me; for so mighty a prince to kill so wretched a worm. But this I declare to[1] you, that my blood which you shed is innocent, and shall be required at your hands. It may please God to give unto you repentance, and the knowledge of the truth. If my blood may be a mean thereto, if my blood may open your eyes, if my blood may soften your heart, it could never be spent in a better cause. Blessed be the name of God, which hath made me his instrument for your so happy conversion: this is the only thing wherein I cannot yield. The Lord hath spoken unto me: I have heard his voice: my heart hath felt it: my conscience knoweth it: I cannot deny it. No sword can cut me from it: no water can drown it: no fire can burn the love I bear unto it: there is no creature in heaven or earth that can carry me from that blessed hope I have conceived by his word[2]."

So constant is he that hath learned the word of God, and hath set his delight upon it, and is through it assured of the will of God. Heaven shall shake: the

[1] Unto, 1582, C.]

[2] The story to which reference is here made is that of the Theban legion. See Becon's Works, Vol. II. p. 91. Park. Soc.]

earth shall tremble; but the man of God shall stand upright. His foot shall not fail: his heart shall not faint: he shall not be moved. Such a ground, such a foundation, such a rock is the word of God.

Blessed is the man whose hope is in the name of the Lord. He shall build upon a sure place: he layeth his foundation upon the corner-stone. He needeth no army to make him strong: he needeth no friends to comfort him in adversity. His strength is within: the gates of hell shall not prevail against him. His comfort is inwardly, within his heart. He speaketh to God, and God unto him. His eyes behold the kingdom, and power, and glory of God.

The authority of the fathers.

But what say we of the fathers, Augustine, Ambrose, Hierome, Cyprian, &c.? What shall we think of them, or what account may we make of them? They be interpreters of the word of God. They were learned men, and learned fathers; the instruments of the mercy of God, and vessels full of grace. We despise them not, we read them, we reverence them, and give thanks unto God for them. They were witnesses unto the truth, they were worthy pillars and ornaments in the church of God. Yet may they not be compared with the word of God. We may not build upon them: we may not make them the foundation and warrant of our conscience: we may not put our trust in them. Our trust is in the name of the Lord.

And thus are we taught to esteem of the learned fathers of the church by their own judgment; by that which they have written, either for the credit of their own doings, or of the authority which they have thought due to the writings of others. St Augustine said of the doctors and fathers in his time: *Neque... quorumlibet disputationes, quamvis catholicorum et laudatorum hominum, velut scripturas canonicas habere debèmus; ut nobis non liceat, salva honorificentia quæ illis debetur,... aliquid in eorum scriptis improbare aut respuere; si forte invenerimus, quod aliter senserint quam veritas habet.... Talis sum ego in scriptis aliorum, tales esse volo intellectores meorum*[3]: "Neither weigh we the writings of all men, be they never so worthy and catholic, as we weigh the canonical scriptures; but that, saving the reverence that is due unto them, we may mislike and refuse somewhat in their writings, if we find that they have thought otherwise than the truth may bear. Such am I in the writings of others, and such would I wish others to be in mine." Some things I believe, and some things which they write I cannot believe. I weigh them not as the holy and canonical scriptures. Cyprian was a doctor of the church, yet he was deceived: Hierome was a doctor of the church, yet he was deceived: Augustine was a doctor of the church, yet he wrote a book of Retractations; he acknowledged that he was deceived. God did therefore give to[4] his church many doctors, and many learned men, which all should search the truth, and one reform another, wherein they thought him deceived. St Augustine saith: *Auferantur de medio chartæ nostræ: procedat in medium codex Dei: audi Christum dicentem, audi veritatem loquentem*[5]: "Take away from amongst us any our own books: let the book of God come amongst us: hear what Christ saith: hearken what the truth speaketh." He is the wisdom of his Father, he cannot deceive us. Again he saith: *Audi, Dicit Dominus; non, Dicit Donatus, aut Rogatus, aut Vincentius, aut Hilarius, aut Ambrosius, aut Augustinus*[6]: "Hear this, The Lord saith: hear not this, Donatus saith, or Rogatus, or Vincentius, or Hilarius, or Ambrose, or Augustine saith." All these were learned: most of them were holy; yet saith Augustine, we may not yield to that which is said by learned men; but we must yield our full consent and belief to the word of God. Origen saith: *Necesse nobis est in testimonium vocare sanctas scripturas. Sensus quippe &c.*[7]: "We must needs call to witness the holy scriptures; for our judgments and expositions, without those witnesses, carry no credit." Mark well: our words and expositions and constructions, unless

August. ad Fortunat. Epist. cxi.

August. in Psal. lvii.

August. Epist. 48.

Orig. in Hier. cap. i.

[3 August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. Ad Fortunat. Common. seu Epist. cxlviii. cap. iv. 15. Tom. II. col. 502; where *atque respuere, ego sum,* and *volo esse.*]

[4 Unto, 1582, C.]

[5 Id. Enarr. in Psalm. lvii. 6. Tom. IV. col. 545.]

[6 Id. ad Vincent. Rogat. Epist. xciii. cap. vi. 20. Tom. II. col. 239.]

[7 ... μάρτυρας δεῖ λαβεῖν τὰς γραφάς. ἀμάρτυροι γὰρ αἱ ἐπιβολαὶ ἡμῶν καὶ αἱ ἐξηγήσεις ἄπιστοί εἰσιν.—Orig. Op. Par. 1733-59. In Jer. Hom. i. 7. Tom. III. p. 129.]

they be warranted by the scriptures, are not enough, they carry not credit. Augustine saith: *Nos... nullam Cypriano facimus injuriam, cum ejus quaslibet literas, &c.*[1]: "We offer no wrong to St Cyprian, when we sever any his letters or writings from the canonical authority of the holy scriptures." Thus speaketh Augustine, a doctor of the church, of Cyprian, another doctor also of the church. Cyprian was a bishop, a learned father, a holy man, and a martyr of Christ; yet saith Augustine, his word is not the gospel: his word is not the word of God: there is no wrong done to him, though his writings carry not like credit as the holy scripture.

August. contr. Cresc. Gram. Lib. II. cap. xxix.

I could shew many the like speeches of the ancient fathers, wherein they reverence the holy scriptures; as to which only they give consent without gainsaying; which can neither deceive nor be deceived. In this sort did Origen, and Augustine, and other doctors of the church, speak of themselves and of theirs, and the writings of others, that we should so read them, and credit them, as they agreed with the word of God. *Hoc genus literarum non cum credendi necessitate, sed cum judicandi libertate, legendum est*[2]: "This kind of writings is to be read, not with a necessity of believing them, but with a liberty to judge of them."

August. contr. Faust. Lib. xii. cap. v.

Gal. i. St Paul saith: "Though that we, or an angel from heaven, preach unto you otherwise than that which we have preached unto you, let him be accursed." Out of which place St Augustine speaketh thus: *Sive de Christo, sive de ejus ecclesia, sive de re quacunque alia, quæ pertinet ad fidem vitamque nostram, non dicam,... si nos, sed... si angelus de cœlo nobis annuntiaverit præterquam quod in scripturis legalibus et evangelicis accepistis, anathema sit*[3]: "Whether it be of Christ, or of his church, or of anything else whatsoever, pertaining either to our life, or to our faith; I will not say, if I myself, but if an angel from heaven shall teach us otherwise than ye have received in the books of the law and in the gospels, hold him accursed."

August. Lib. iii. cap. vi. contr. Litt. Petil.

August. Lib. ii. cap. ii. contr. Cresc. Now to conclude this matter, the same father saith: *Ecclesiastici... judices, ut homines, plerunque falluntur*[4]: "The judges or doctors of the church, as men, are often deceived." They are learned: they have preeminence in the church: they are judges: they have the gifts of wisdom and understanding; yet they are often deceived. They are our fathers, but not fathers unto God; they are stars, fair, and beautiful, and bright; yet they are not the sun: they bear witness of the light, they are not the light. Christ is the Sun of righteousness, Christ is the Light which lighteneth every man that cometh into this world. His word is the word of truth. He is the day-spring which hath visited us from an high: he came down from the bosom of his Father: he shall guide our feet into the way of peace.

Matt. iii. Of him God the Father spake: "This is my well-beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased: hear him." He is the Lamb without spot: out of his mouth goeth a two-edged sword. This is he in whom all the ends of the world shall be blessed: hear him, give heed to his saying, embrace his gospel, believe his word. Thus much touching the credit and authority which is to be given to the writings of ancient fathers.

2 Tim. iii. St Paul, speaking of the word of God, saith: "The whole scripture is given by inspiration of God, and is profitable to teach, to improve, to correct, and to instruct in righteousness:" to teach the truth, to improve falsehood, to correct all

Rom. i. vice, to instruct in all virtue. Again: "I am not ashamed of the gospel of Christ; for it is the power of God unto salvation to every one that believeth."

Basil. Præf. in Psal. St Basil saith: "The scripture of God is like an apothecary's shop, full of medicines of sundry sorts, that every man may there choose a convenient medicine for his disease[5]." There are salves and ointments to cure all maladies. Whosoever cannot be cured by the word of God, his disease is grown desperate, and past cure.

[1 Nos &c. litteras, a canonica divinarum scripturarum auctoritate distinguimus.—August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. Contr. Crescon. Donat. Lib. II. cap. xxx. 39. Tom. IX. col. 430.]

[2 Id. contr. Faust. Lib. XI. cap. v. Tom. VIII. col. 221; where *quod genus.*]

[3 Id. contr. Litt. Petil. Lib. III. cap. vi. 7. Tom. IX. col. 301; where *de quacumque alia re, vitamque vestram,* and *cœlo vobis.*]

[4 Id. contr. Cresc. Donat. Lib. II. cap. xxi. 26. Tom. IX. cols. 422, 3; where *sicut* and *fallantur.*]

[5 Πᾶσα γραφὴ θεόπνευστος.....ἵν', ὥσπερ ἐν κοινῷ τῶν ψυχῶν ἰατρείῳ, πάντες ἄνθρωποι τὸ ἴαμα τοῦ οἰκείου πάθους ἕκαστος ἐκλεγώμεθα.—Basil. Op. Par. 1721-30. Hom. in Psalm. i. Tom. I. p. 90.]

Many think the apostle's speech is hardly true of the whole scripture, that all and every part of the scripture is profitable. Much is spoken of genealogies, and pedigrees, of lepers, of sacrificing goats and oxen, &c.: these seem to have little profit in them, but to be vain and idle. If they shew vain in thine eyes, yet hath not the Lord set them down in vain. "The words of the Lord are pure words, as the silver tried in a furnace of earth fined[6] seven times." There is no sentence, no clause, no word, no syllable, no letter, but it is written for thy instruction: there is not one jot but it is sealed and signed with the blood of the Lamb. Our imaginations are idle, our thoughts are vain: there is no idleness, no vanity in the word of God. Those oxen and goats which were sacrificed teach thee to kill and sacrifice the uncleanness and filthiness of thy heart: they teach thee that thou art guilty of death, when thy life must be redeemed by the death of some beast: they lead thee to believe the forgiveness of sins by a more perfect sacrifice; because it was not possible that the blood of bulls and goats should take away sins. That leprosy teacheth thee to know the uncleanness and leprosy of thy soul. Those genealogies and pedigrees lead us to the birth of our Saviour Christ. So that the whole word of God is pure and holy: no word, no letter, no syllable, no point or prick thereof, but is written and preserved for thy sake.

Psal. xii.

Heb. x.

Art thou a king? Read the scriptures; thou shalt find who hath stablished thine estate, and what duty thou owest to God. God there telleth thee: "By me kings rule, and princes decree justice." I have given thee authority: thou carriest my sword: I have put a crown upon thy head: thou art my servant: walk before me, let thy heart be perfect in my sight.

Prov. viii.

Art thou a subject? Read the scriptures; they will teach thee to know thy duty. There Paul biddeth thee, "Give tribute to whom tribute, custom to whom custom, fear to whom fear, honour to whom honour is due." "Ye must be subject, not because of wrath only, but for conscience' sake." "For he beareth not the sword for nought: for he is the minister of God to take vengeance on him[7] that doth evil."

Rom. xiii.

Art thou a minister? Read the scriptures; they will teach thee thy duty. The prophet saith to[8] thee: "Cry aloud, spare not: lift up thy voice like a trumpet, and shew my people their transgressions." The apostle saith unto thee: "Preach the word, be instant in season and out of season." "Watch in all things, do the work of an evangelist, make thy ministry fully known." Thou shalt give an account for the souls of the people: their blood shall be required at thy hands.

Isai. lviii.

2 Tim. iv.

Art thou a father? Hast thou children? Read the scriptures; they will teach thee, "If thou hast[9] sons, instruct them." Again: "He that teacheth his son[10] grieveth the enemy, and before his friends he shall rejoice of him." "Give him no liberty in his youth, and wink not at his folly." "Chastise thy child, and be diligent therein, lest his shame grieve thee." Eli the prophet, by sparing his wanton children, cast away himself and his children. They were slain: the ark of God was taken; and old Eli fell down and brake his neck.

Ecclus. vii. Ecclus. xxx.

1 Sam. ii.

Art thou a child? Hast thou a father? Read the scriptures; they will teach thee, "Children, obey your parents in the Lord; for this is right. Honour thy father and mother, which is the first commandment with promise, that it may be well with thee, and that thou mayest live long on earth." And again: "Children, obey your parents in all things; for it is well-pleasing unto the Lord." The wise man warneth thee: "The eye that mocketh his father, and despiseth the instruction of his mother, let the ravens of the valley pluck it out, and the young eagles eat it."

Eph. vi.

Col. iii.

Prov. xxx.

Hath God blessed thee in wealth? Art thou rich? Read the scriptures; they will teach thee, "Be not high-minded, and trust not in uncertain riches, but in the living God, which giveth us abundantly all things to enjoy." Again: "Trust not in oppression and robbery: be not vain: if riches increase, set not your heart thereon." Thou shalt depart, and leave them behind thee: they

1 Tim. vi.

Psal. lxii.

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[6] *Fined* is not in 1582, C.]
[7] One them, 1611.]
[8] Unto, 1582, C.]
[9] Have, 1582, 1609.]
[10] Sons, 1582, C.]

shall forsake thee. Thou shalt die, thou knowest not how soon. Salomon
Prov. xi. sheweth thee, "Riches avail not in the day of wrath; but righteousness delivereth from death."

Art thou poor, and sufferest scarcity in this world? Read the scriptures;
Job i. they will teach thee. Say with Job: "Naked came I out of my mother's womb,
Prov. xvi. and naked shall I return again." Learn of Salomon: "Better is little with right-
Prov. xxviii. eousness, than great revenues without equity." And again: "Better is the poor that walketh in his uprightness, than he that perverteth his ways, though he be
1 Tim. vi. rich." St Paul saith: "Godliness is great gain, if a man be content with that he hath; for we brought nothing into the world, and it is certain that we carry[1] nothing out." And again: "Let him that is poor labour, and work with his hands the thing which is good, that he may have to give to him that needeth."

Art thou a merchant? Usest thou to buy and sell? Read the scriptures;
1 Thess. iv. they will teach thee, "This is the will of God,... that no man oppress or defraud
Prov. xx. his brother in any matter." Thou shalt learn that "divers weights and divers measures are abomination unto the Lord; and deceitful balances are not good."

Art thou an usurer? Thy case is hard: yet hear the scriptures; they will
Exod. xxii. teach thee. God commandeth thee thus: "If thou lend money to my people, to the poor with thee, thou shalt not be as an usurer unto him: ye shall not oppress
Lev. xxv. him with usury." Again: "If thy brother be impoverished, and fallen in decay with thee, thou shalt relieve him:... thou shalt take no usury of him, nor vantage: thou shalt not lend him thy victuals for increase; but thou shalt fear thy
Matt. vii. God, that thy brother may live with thee." And, "Whatsoever ye would that
Psal. xv. men should do unto you, even so do ye to them." And, "He that giveth his money unto usury shall not enter into the kingdom of heaven."

Art thou a fornicator and livest in adultery? Read the scriptures; they will
1 Cor. vi. teach thee: "He that committeth fornication," saith St Paul, "sinneth against his own body. Know you not that your body is the temple of the Holy Ghost?" "Know you not that your bodies are the members of Christ? Shall I then take the members of Christ, and make them the members of an harlot? God forbid."
1 Pet. i. "As he which hath called you is holy, so be ye holy in all manner of conversa-
1 Thess. iv. tion," saith St Peter. The reason is set down by St Paul: "For this is the will of God, even your holiness, and that you should abstain from fornication," that
Heb. xiii. you may "be holy both in body and in spirit." And, "Whoremongers and adulterers God will judge." They "shall have no inheritance in the kingdom of Christ and of God."

Col. iii. Art thou a servant? Read the scriptures; they will teach thee, "Servants, be obedient unto them that are your masters according to the flesh in all things, not with eye-service as men-pleasers, but in singleness of heart, fearing God. And, whatsoever ye do, do it heartily, as unto the Lord, and not unto men."
Tit. ii. Again: "Please your masters, not answering again: be no pickers, but shew all good faithfulness, that ye[2] may adorn the doctrine of God our Saviour in all things."

Rom. xi. Art thou proud? Read the scriptures; they will teach thee, "Be not high-
1 Cor. iv. minded, but fear." "What hast thou that thou hast not received? If thou hast received it, why rejoicest thou as though thou hadst not received it?" And,
Matt. xi. "Learn of me that I am meek and humble in heart." And, "God resisteth the
James iv. proud, but giveth grace to the humble."

Psal. xxxiv. Art thou in adversity? Read the scriptures: "Great are the troubles of the
Psal. xci. righteous; but the Lord will deliver him out of them all." And, "He shall call upon me; and I will hear him: I will be with him in trouble. I will deliver him,
1 Pet. iii. and glorify him." And St Peter telleth thee: "The eyes of the Lord are over
1 Cor. x. the righteous, and his ears are open to their prayers." "God is faithful, which will not suffer you to be tempted above that you be able, but will give the issue
Psal. cxlv. with the temptation, that ye may be able to bear it." "The Lord is near unto all them that call upon him, yea, to all that call upon him in truth."

Art thou a sinner? Hast thou offended God? Read the scriptures; they will
Amos v. Psal. xxxvii. teach thee, "Hate the evil, and love the good." And again: "Fly from evil, and

[1] We can carry, 1582, C.] [2] You, 1582, 1609.]

do good, and dwell for ever." Rise up and go to thy Father, and say unto him, "Father, I have sinned against heaven, and against thee, and am no more worthy to be called thy son." Luke xv.

Dost thou despair of the mercy of God? Read the scriptures; they will teach thee. Christ telleth thee: "I came not to call the righteous, but sinners to repentance." Matt. ix. Again: "Come unto me, all ye that are weary and laden; and I will ease you." Matt. xi. "At what hour soever a sinner doth repent him of his sin from the bottom of his heart, I will put all his wickedness out of my remembrance, saith the Lord." Ezek. xviii. Again: "I desire not the death of the wicked, but that the wicked turn from his way, and live." Ezek. xxxiii. And, "The Lord is good to all; and his mercies are over all his works." Psal. cxlv.

Art thou going out of this life? Read the scriptures; they will teach thee. Christ saith unto thee[3]: "I am the resurrection and the life: he that believeth in me, though he were dead, yet shall he live; and whosoever liveth and believeth in me shall never die." John xi. Say with St Paul: "Christ is to me both in life and in death advantage... I desire to be loosed, and to be with Christ." Phil. i.

What should I say more of the scriptures, how profitable and comfortable they be in all cases and parts of our life? in adversity, in prosperity, in life, and in death, they are our especial comfort. If we must fight, they are a sword; if we hunger, they are meat; if we thirst, they are drink; if we have no dwelling-place, they are a house; if we be naked, they are a garment; if we be in darkness, they be light unto our going.

They are comfortable to kings, to subjects, to old men, to young men, to man and to wife, to father and to child, to master and to servant[4], to captain and soldier, to preacher and people, to the learned, to the unlearned, to the wise, and to the simple.

They are comfortable in peace, in war, in heaviness, in joy, in health, and sickness, in abundance, in poverty, in the day-time, in the night-season, in the town, in the wilderness, in company, and when thou art alone. For they teach faith, hope, patience, charity, sobriety, humility, righteousness, and all godliness. They teach us to live, and they teach us to die.

Therefore hath Paul said well: "The whole scripture is profitable." It is full of great comfort. It maketh the man of God absolute, and perfect unto all good works; perfect in faith, perfect in hope, perfect in the love of God and of his neighbour, perfect in his life, and perfect in his death. So great, so large and ample, and heavenly, is the profit which we do reap by the word of God.

Now it followeth that[5] we consider how necessary and needful it is for us to be guided by the word of God in the whole trade of our life. The word of God is that unto our souls which our soul is unto our body. As the body dieth when the soul departeth, so the soul of man dieth when it hath not the knowledge of God. "Man liveth not by bread only, but by every word that proceedeth out of the mouth of God." Deut. viii. "Behold," saith God, "I will send a famine in the land; not a famine of bread, nor a thirst of water, but of hearing the word of the Lord." Amos viii. Their tongue shall wither, their heart shall starve, they shall die for hunger: "they shall wander from sea to sea, and from the north unto the east shall they run to and fro to seek the word of the Lord, and shall not find it." "They shall stumble at noon-days[6], as at the twilight: they shall grope for the wall like the blind; and truth shall fall in their streets." Isai. lix. For how shall they be saved unless they call on the name of the Lord? "How shall they call on him in whom they have not believed? How shall they believe in him of whom they have not heard? and how shall they hear without a preacher? and how shall they preach except they be sent?" Rom. x. Chrysostom therefore saith: "Neither can it be, I say, it cannot be, that any man shall attain to salvation, except he be always occupied in spiritual reading[8]." Hom. 3. De Lazaro[7]. The wise man saith: "Where there is no prophecy, the people decay." Prov. xxix. When[9] the scriptures are not opened, when

The necessity of the scriptures.

[3] These four words are inserted from 1582, C.]
[4] And servant, 1582, 1609.]
[5] *That* is not in 1582.]
[6] At the noon-days, 1582, C.]
[7] This reference is inserted from 1582, C.]
[8] Οὐ γάρ ἐστιν, οὐκ ἔστι τινὰ σωθῆναι μὴ συνεχῶς ἀναγνώσεως ἀπολαύοντα πνευματικῆς.—Chrysost. Op. Par. 1718-38. De Laz. Conc. iii. Tom. I. p. 738.]
[9] Where, 1582.]

there is none that can edify, and exhort, and comfort the people by the word of God, they must needs perish: for they know not the way in which they should walk; they know not whom to honour, nor upon whose name they should call; they know neither what to believe, nor what to do. Hell hath enlarged itself, and hath opened his mouth without measure; and they that are wilful and ignorant, and the[1] children of darkness, go down into it. They become thrall, and captives unto Satan. Their heart is bound up, they understand nothing; their eyes are shut up, they can see nothing; their ears are stopped up, they can hear nothing. They are carried away as a prey into hell, because they have not the knowledge of God.

Matt. xxii. So doth Christ tell the Sadducees: "Ye are deceived, because you know not the scriptures, nor the power of God." Thus he teacheth, that error is the child of ignorance. The cause why you are so deceived is because you know not the scriptures: you have hated the light, and loved darkness: you have neither known the Father nor me. He, that knoweth not the truth of God, knoweth not God. Herein, in this case, there is no plea of ignorance: ignorance shall not excuse us.

Hom. 17. ad Heb. Chrysostom saith: *Dices, Non legi: non est hæc excusatio, sed crimen*[2]: "Thou wilt say, I have not read the scriptures: this is no excuse, but a sin."

Hom. 2. in Matt. Again he saith: "This is the working of the devil's inspiration: he would not suffer us to see the treasure, lest we should get the riches. Therefore he counselleth us, that it utterly availeth us nothing to hear the laws of God; lest that upon the hearing he may see our doing follow[3]."

Gregor. in Past. Lib. i. cap. i. Gregory saith: *Qui ea quæ sunt Domini nesciunt, a Domino nesciuntur*[4]: "Whoso know not the things that pertain unto the Lord be not known of the Lord."

Hom. 27. in Num. Origen also giveth reason of this practice of Satan: "Unto the devils it is a torment above all kinds of torments, and a pain above all pains, if they see any man reading the word of God, and with fervent study searching the knowledge of God's law, and the mysteries and secrets of the scriptures. Herein standeth all the flame of the devils: in this fire they are tormented; for they are seized and possessed of all them that remain in ignorance[5]."

Carneades, a philosopher, was wont to say of his master and reader Chrysippus, "If it had not been for Chrysippus, I never had been any body. He was my master and teacher: he made me learned: whatsoever I have, I have it of him." How much better may we use the like words of the scripture, and say, Unless it were for the word of God, our wisdom were nothing, and our knowledge were nothing! Whatsoever we have, we have it by the word. Without it, our prayer were no prayer: without it, our sacraments were no sacraments, our faith were no faith, our conscience were no conscience, our church were no church. Take away the light of the sun; and what remaineth but darkness? Heaven and earth are darkened: no man can see his way, or discern the things about him. Even so, if the word of God be taken away, what remaineth but miserable confusion and deadly ignorance?

When the Philistines had shorn the hairs of Samson, they fell upon him, took him, bound him, and plucked out his eyes: they danced about him, and made scorn and games of him. We are Samson; the strength of our hairs is the knowledge of the will of God: it is laid up in our heads, in the highest and principal part of us: if that be shorn off, if we be kept from hearing, reading, and understanding of the word of God, then will error, superstition, and all wickedness, get the upper hand, and fall upon us, and bind us, and pluck out our eyes, and make scorn of us, and utterly destroy us.

[1 The and, 1611.]

[2 Chrysost. Op. Par. 1718-38. In Epist. ad Hebr. cap. x. Hom. xvii. Tom. XII. p. 170.]

[3 ...σατανικῆς γὰρ ταῦτα διανοίας, οὐκ ἀφιείσης τὸν θησαυρὸν ἰδεῖν, ἵνα μὴ τὸν πλοῦτον κερδάνωμεν. διὰ τοῦτο οὐδὲν εἶναί φησι τὴν ἀκρόασιν τῶν θείων νόμων, ἵνα μὴ τὴν πρᾶξιν ἀπὸ τῆς ἀκροάσεως ἴδῃ προσγενομένην ἡμῖν.—Id. in Matt. Hom. ii. Tom. VII. p. 32.]

[4 Gregor. Magni Papæ I. Op. Par. 1705. Reg. Past. Pars I. cap. i. Tom. II. col. 3.]

[5 Super omnia vero eis est tormentorum genera, et super omnes pœnas, si quem videant [dæmones] verbo Dei operam dare, scientiam divinæ legis et mysteria scripturarum intentis studiis perquirentem: in hoc eorum omnis flamma est, in isto uruntur incendio... Possident enim cunctos qui in ignorantia vivunt.—Orig. Op. Par. 1733-59. In Numer. Hom. xxvii. 8. Tom. II. p. 378.]

When the people of Jerusalem were besieged and wanted food to eat, they fed on rats and mice, and many unwholesome and filthy things. A woman was driven, for want of meat, to do a cruel part upon her own child: she took her own babe, which was the fruit of her own body, killed it, cut it in pieces, dressed it, and fed upon it[6]—a loathsome meat, especially for a mother to eat her own child. But she was driven to it by extremity and hunger: it was so cruel a thing to lack wherewith life might be preserved.

Even so fared it with us, and our fathers, after it pleased God to take away his gospel, and to send a famine of hearing the word of the Lord. We were driven to eat those things which were loathsome and horrible to behold; we were driven to feed upon our own children, even the phantasies and vanities of our own heart: there was no substance in them, they could not feed us.

In this case were the children of Israel, when they grew weary of the word of God, and left the ordinances set down unto them. God had no pleasure in them; their prayers and sacrifice were not accepted. "I cannot suffer, saith the Lord, your new moons, nor sabbaths, nor solemn days.... Who hath required this of your hands?" Isai. i.

In such case were the scribes and Pharisees, when they forsook to be guided by the word of God, and took away the key of knowledge; they fed upon their own devices, they neglected the commandments and will of God, and followed their own traditions. Therefore Christ reproved[7] them: "O hypocrites, Esaias prophesied well of you, saying, This people draweth near unto me with their mouth, and honoureth me with their lips; but their heart is far off from me. But in vain they worship me, teaching for doctrines[8] men's precepts." Matt. xv.

Therefore, if we seek to know the sacraments of the church, what they are; if we would be instructed in the sacrament of baptism, or in the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ; if we would learn to know our Creator, and to put the difference between the Creator[9] and a creature; if we desire to know what this present life is, and what is that life which is to come; if we would believe in God, and call upon the name of God, and do worship unto God; if we would be settled in perfect zeal and true knowledge; if we would have an upright conscience towards God; if we would know which is the true church of God; it is very needful that we hear the word of God. There is no other word that teacheth us unto salvation.

Joy and pleasure by reading the scriptures.

Now it remaineth we speak of the delectation and pleasure which the word of God giveth. The word of God is full of sad and grave counsel, full of the knowledge of God, of examples of virtues, and of correction of vices, of the end of this life, and of the life to come. These are the contents of the word of God. These things (say you) are great and weighty of themselves: there is no vanity or pleasure in them.

They are great and weighty, I grant; and, because they are so weighty, they be the more worthy that we hear them. But we must take a delight and settle our fancy, that it may like of the weight and greatness. They were unto the prophet David "more sweet than honey and the honey-comb." If we taste them with such an affection as he did, we shall feel and see the great and weighty and heavenly pleasure which is in them.

Many are delighted in the stories of Julius Cæsar, of Alexander the great, of mighty and victorious princes. They have pleasure to read of their wars, of their victories, and of their triumphs. And many take their pleasure in travel to far countries, to see the divers fashions and behaviour of men.

If it were possible we might stand upon such a hill from which we might at once see all parts of the world, the cities and towns, and mountains, and forests, and castles, and gorgeous buildings, and all the kings and princes of the world in their princely estate; if we might see the variety of the whole world, how some live quietly in peace, others are turmoiled in war; some live in wealth, others in poverty and misery; some rise, others fall—to see and behold so great variety of things, it cannot be but it would delight us.

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[6] Joseph. Op. Oxon. 1720. De Bell. Jud. Lib. VI. (*al.* VII.) cap. iii. 4. Pars II. pp. 1274, 5.]

[7] Reproveth, 1582, C.]

[8] Teaching doctrines, 1582, 1609.]

[9] Between Creator, 1582, C.]

Such a hill, from whence we may take view of so great variety, such a story, in which we may read of noble princes, of their wars and victories, is the word of God. Upon this hill you may at once behold all the works of his hands, how he made heaven and earth, the sun and the moon[1], the sea and floods[2], the fishes in the water, the fowls in the air, and the beasts in[3] the field. Upon this hill you may stand and see his angels, and his archangels[4], and blessed spirits, how some of them fell, and some continued in glory; how God hath sent them in message; how they have come down from heaven to serve the sons of men.

Here you may read of the wars of the God of Hosts, how he hath pitched his tents in the midst of his people, and hath gone before them, and fought for them; how the Amorrheans and Canaanites were rooted out; how the Amalekites were overthrown by the lifting up of Moses' hands in prayer; how the wall of Jericho fell down flat at the sound of a trumpet, and the shouting of the people; and how 185 thousand Assyrians were slain in one night by the hand of one angel, when God raught out his hand from heaven to give victory to his people.

Here may you see how God plagued and overcame his enemies; how he drowned Pharao in the Red sea, and his horses, and men, and chariots, all together. Here may you see Nabuchodonosor, a mighty prince, so bereft of his wits, that he forsook his palaces, and the company and order of men, and lived in the fields after the manner of beasts. Here may you see how God struck[5] king Antiochus and king Herod with filthy diseases[6], and caused lice to eat their flesh; how he sent down fire and brimstone from heaven, and destroyed Sodom and Gomorra for their sins; how he made the earth open and swallow up Dathan and Abiram; how king Ozias was stricken with leprosy, and carried from the temple, and cut off from his kingdom. What stories of any princes or people in any age can report unto us so strange battles, so mighty conquests, so wonderful deliverance in extremities, so dreadful subduing of the enemies, as the hand of God hath wrought, and the story of the scriptures declareth unto us?

This word also sheweth the goodness and mercy of God towards the people which put their trust in him; how he made them terrible to their enemies; how he made their enemies their foot-stool; how he led them safe through the Red sea; how he sent his angel to go before them, and guide them; how he gave them water out of a rock, and rained down bread from heaven; how he brought them into a land that flowed with milk and honey, and sware unto them that he would be their God, and they should be his people.

In this word are to be seen wonderful and strange works of God, such as are
Josh. x. beyond the course of nature, and pass the reason of man: that the sea parted, and stood on both sides as a high wall; that at the word of Josua the sun stood
2 Kings xx. still, and went not on his course; Ezechias spake the word and required it, and the sun went back ten degrees. At the word of Elias fire came down from heaven to consume his sacrifice. Here may you see an ass open his mouth and speak, and reprove his master; three servants of God walk in a hot burning furnace without hurt; Daniel in the den among lions, and not devoured; Peter in the raging sea, and not drowned; lepers cleansed; the lame to go; the dumb to speak; the deaf to hear; the blind to see; the dead to rise out of their graves and live; simple and unlearned men to speak in strange tongues; the devil to go out of the possessed, and to say, "I know thou art Christ, the Son of God."

Here may you see twelve poor silly men, without spear, or sword, or force, make conquest and win the whole world. No power could repress them, no might could withstand them. It is reckoned a great matter for a king or a nation to yield submission unto another king or nation. It must therefore be a matter of great wonder to see all kings throw down their maces, and all people to yield before so few, so simple, so unarmed; and to acknowledge they embraced lies, and lived in ignorance, and that these twelve are the servants of the Highest; and to see how "God hath chosen the foolish things of this world to

[1] And moon, 1582.]
[2] And the floods, 1582, C.]
[3] Of, 1582, C.]
[4] And archangels, 1582, C.]
[5] Stroke, 1582.]
[6] Disease, 1582, C.]

overthrow the wise, and the weak things of this world to confound the mighty things." Such force did God give to their words. He made them the sons of thunder: they shook the foundations of the world: they threw down whatsoever stood against them.

Here may you see the fight of God's elect children; how they patiently suffered afflictions in their bodies, rather than they would deny the truth of God: they gave their backs to the scourge, their necks to the sword, their bodies to the fire. No tyrant, no menacings, no rack, no torment, no sword, no death, could remove them from the love of the gospel which they had received. The more of them were cut down, the more did spring up: the more were killed, the more were left alive. Augustine saith: *Ligabantur, includebantur, . . . torquebantur, urebantur, . . . et multiplicabantur*[7]: "They were bound, and shut up, and racked, and burnt, and yet were increased." This is the victory that hath overcome the world. For the Lord answered St Paul: "My power is made perfect through weakness." It liveth in death, it is made whole and sound by wounds and stripes: it is increased by those means whereby men destroy it. Jacob saw a ladder stand upon the earth, and the top of it reach up into heaven, and the angels of God go up and down by it. This was but a dream and vision in his sleep; yet when he awoke, he took pleasure and comfort of this vision. De Civ. Dei. Lib. xxii. cap. vi. 2 Cor. xii.

We have not only the delight of this with Jacob, but we have other far greater visions. We see Esay beholding the Lord as he sat upon an high throne: we see Paul taken up into the third heavens: we see the glory of God appear, and hear the voice which came out of the cloud, saying, "This is my well-beloved Son, in whom I am well-pleased: hear him." We see Jesus Christ, the Son of God, born of a virgin, and how "he made himself of no reputation, and took on him the form of a servant, and was made like unto man[8], and was found in shape as a man; that he humbled himself, and became obedient unto the death, even the death of the cross." We hear him cry with a loud voice, "My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me?" We hear him say, "Father, forgive them; for they know not what they[9] do;" and, "Father, into thine hands I commend my spirit." Matt. xvii. Phil. ii. Matt. xxvii. Luke xxiii.

Here we may see the sun to be darkened, that the moon giveth no light; the earth to shake, the rocks to cleave[10] asunder, the vail to rent[11], the graves to open, and Christ rise from the dead, and go up into heaven, and sit at the right hand of his Father.

Here may we see the overthrow of Babylon, "which made all nations to drink of the wine of the wrath of her fornication;" how she is destroyed with the breath of God's mouth. Here we behold the resurrection of the dead; and four and twenty elders sit before God on their seats, and the Ancient of days sit upon his throne, and the judgment-seat, and the books opened, and all flesh appear before him, and how some are taken into everlasting life, and some are sent into everlasting death. Rev. xiv.

What tongue is able to express these pleasures and delights which are laid open to us in the word of God? We buy images, and pictures, and maps, of men, and of divers things and countries: but what map or picture can shew us the like variety and change of things?

We purchase lands, and have a liking so to do. Here we are taught how we may come to that land which shall stand with us, and in which we shall continue for ever.

To see any one of these it were great pleasure, either the creation of heaven and earth, or the angels and archangels, and blessed spirits; or the battles of the God of Sabaoth; or Amalek dashed in pieces like a potter's vessel; or the walls of Jericho blown down with the sound of a trumpet; or Pharao drowned in the sea; or Nabuchodonosor eating grass among the beasts; or Antiochus smitten from heaven; or Sodom and Gomorra burnt with fire and brimstone; or the earth to open and swallow up the wicked; or the sea to stand like a wall; or

[7 August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. De Civ. Dei, Lib. XXII. cap. vi. 1. Tom. VII. col. 661.]

[8 Men, 1582, 1609.]

[9 Thy, 1611.]

[10 Rocks cleave, 1582.]

[11 Vail rent, 1582.]

water to come out of a stone; or bread to come from heaven; or the sun to stand still, or to change his course; or an ass to speak and teach his master; or fire to be extreme hot, yet not burning; or lions hungry, yet not eating their meat; or the sea tempestuous, yet not drowning; or blind to see, deaf to hear, dumb to speak, dead to rise; or ignorant men to speak in languages they never learned; or the devil to roar, and confess Christ; or God sitting in his majesty, and Christ at his right hand; or Babylon thrown down, and become a tabernacle of foul spirits, and a den for the devil; or Christ to sit in judgment, and give sentence upon the quick and the dead—to see any one of all these wondrous works of God, it were great pleasure.

How can it be then but that we rejoice and take delight to see so many, so great, so marvellous, so heavenly, and so glorious wonders in one heap altogether? How far would we ride, or go, to see the triumph of a mortal king! Here is to be seen the triumph of God, the Lord of lords, and the King of kings; how he hath made the name of his Son triumph over principalities and powers, and over the whole world. Here is a paradise full of delights: no tongue is able to speak them, they are so many; no heart is able to conceive them, they be so great.

Here is a shop, wherein is set out the wisdom, and knowledge, the power, the judgments, and mercies of God. Which way soever we look, we see the works of his hands; his works of creation, and preservation of all things; his works of severe justice upon the wicked, and of gracious redemption to the believer. If we desire pleasant music, or excellent harmony, it speaketh unto us the words of the Father, and the consent of the Son; the excellent reports of the prophets, apostles, angels, and saints of God, who have been all taught by the Holy Ghost. If we would learn, it is a school; it giveth understanding to the simple. In it there is that may content the heart, the ear, the eye, the
Psal. xxxiv. taste, and the smelling. "It is a savour of life unto life." "O taste ye and see how gracious the Lord is," saith the prophet David. So manifold and marvellous are the pleasures which are given us in the word of God. God hath made them, and wrought them all for the sons of men.

Thus have I performed promise, and simply and homely opened those four things which I took in hand. I have declared what weight and majesty the word beareth; what huge harvest of profit we may reap by it; how needful it is for us travelling through the wilderness of this life; and what repast and pleasure we may find in it.

But, all this notwithstanding, some take exception, and say the scriptures are dark and doubtful, the matters are deep, the words are hard, few can understand them. One taketh them in this sense; another in a sense clean contrary. The best-learned cannot agree about them: they are occasion of many great
Rev. v. quarrels: John seeth this book sealed with seven seals, and an angel preaching with a loud voice, "Who is worthy to open the book, and to loose the seals
2 Pet. iii. thereof?" No man can open it, no man can read it. St Peter saith: "Among the epistles of Paul some things are hard to be understood[1], which they that are unlearned and unstable pervert, as they do all other scriptures, unto their
1 Tim. vi. own destruction." And St Paul saith: "God dwelleth in the light that none can attain unto; whom never man saw, neither can see."

Therefore, although the majesty be never so weighty, the profit, the necessity, and the pleasure never so great, yet it is not good for the people to read them. Pearls must not be cast before swine, nor the bread of the children unto dogs. Thus they say. Indeed the word of God is pearls; but the people are not swine. They may not read them, say some; they are not able to wield them; the scriptures are not for the people. Hereof I will say something, and a word or two of the reverence and fear with which we ought to come[2] to the hearing of them.

They say, the scriptures are hard, and above the reach of the people. So
August. Lib. v. cap. i. contr. Julian. said the Pelagian heretic Julian, whom St Augustine therefore reproveth: *Exaggeras quam sit difficilis paucisque conveniens eruditis sanctarum cognitio litera-*

[1 Understand, 1582.] [2 Ought come, 1582, C.]

rum[3]: "Ye enlarge and lay out with many words how hard a matter the knowledge of the scripture is, and meet only for a few learned men." You say the scriptures are hard, who may open them? There is no evidence or trial to be taken by them: they are fit only for a few learned men, they are in no wise fit for the people. Thus said Julian, an heretic.

But God himself, and the ancient fathers of the church, said otherwise. God saith in Deuteronomy: "This commandment, which I command thee this day, is not hid from thee, neither is it far off. It is not in heaven, that thou shouldest say, Who shall go up for us to heaven and bring it us, and cause us to hear it, that we may do it? Neither is it beyond the sea, that thou shouldest say, Who shall go over the sea for us, and bring it us, and cause us to hear it, that we may do it? But the word is very near unto thee; even in thy mouth, and in thy heart, for to do it." Thou needest not run hither and thither, nor wander over the sea, nor beat thy brains in searching what thou shouldest do, or by what means thou mayest live uprightly: the word and commandment of God will teach thee sufficiently. The prophet David saith: "The commandment of the Lord is pure, and giveth light unto the eyes." And, "Thy word is a lantern unto my feet, and a light unto my paths." Thy word is not dark; it is a light unto my path, it giveth light unto the eyes. What is clear if the light be dark? Or what can he see which cannot see the light? Deut. xxx. Psal. xix. Psal. cxix.

Human knowledge is dark and uncertain. Philosophy is dark: astrology is dark; and geometry is dark. The professors thereof oftentimes run a masket: they leese themselves, and wander they know not whither. They seek the depth and bottom of natural causes; the change of the elements; the impressions in the air; the causes of the rainbow, of blazing stars, of thunder and lightning, of the trembling and shaking of the earth; the motions of the planets; the proportions and the influence of the celestial bodies. They measure the compass of heaven, and count the number of the stars: they go down and search the mines in the bowels of the earth: they rip up the secrets of the sea. The knowledge of these things is hard, it is uncertain: few are able to reach it: it is not fit for every man to understand it.

But the Holy Spirit of God, like a good teacher, applieth himself to the dulness of our wits. He leadeth not us by the unknown places of the earth, nor by the air, nor by the clouds: he astonieth not our spirits with natural vanities. He writeth his law in our hearts: he teacheth us to know him, and his Christ: he teacheth us that we should "deny ungodliness and worldly lusts," and that "we should live soberly, and righteously, and godly in this present world:" he teacheth us to look for "the blessed hope and appearing of the glory of the mighty God, and of our Saviour Jesus Christ." This matter is good, and it is plain: the words are plain, and the utterance is plain. Chrysostom saith: *Propterea Spiritus gratia dispensavit illa temperavitque, quo publicani, piscatores, &c.*[4]: "Therefore hath the grace of the Holy Spirit disposed and tempered them so, that publicans, and fishers, and tent-makers, shepherds, and the apostles, and simple men, and unlearned, might be saved by these books; that none of the simpler sort might make excuse by the hardness of them; and that such things as are spoken might be easy for all men to look on; that the labouring man, and the servant, the widow woman, and whosoever is most unlearned, may take some good, when they are read. For they, whom God ever from the beginning endued with the grace of his Spirit, have not gathered all these things for vain-glory, as the heathen writers use, but for the salvation of the hearers." Tit. ii. Hom. 3. de Lazar.

Some things in the scriptures are hard, I deny it not. It is very expedient that somewhat should be covered, to make us more diligent in reading, more de-

[3 August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. Contr. Julian. Lib. v. cap. i. 2. Tom. X. col. 627.]

[4 ...διὰ γὰρ τοῦτο ἡ τοῦ Πνεύματος ᾠκονόμησε χάρις τελώνας καὶ ἁλιέας καὶ σκηνοποιοὺς καὶ ποιμένας καὶ αἰπόλους καὶ ἰδιώτας καὶ ἀγραμμάτους ταῦτα συνθεῖναι τὰ βιβλία, ἵνα μηδεὶς τῶν ἰδιωτῶν εἰς ταύτην ἔχῃ καταφεύγειν τὴν πρόφασιν, ἵνα πᾶσιν εὐσύνοπτα ᾖ τὰ λεγόμενα· ἵνα καὶ ὁ χειροτέχνης, καὶ οἰκέτης, καὶ ἡ χήρα γυνὴ, καὶ ὁ πάντων ἀνθρώπων ἀμαθέστατος, κερδάνῃ τε καὶ ὠφεληθῇ παρὰ τῆς ἀκροάσεως. οὐ γὰρ πρὸς κενοδοξίαν, καθάπερ οἱ ἔξωθεν, ἀλλὰ πρὸς τὴν σωτηρίαν τῶν ἀκουόντων ταῦτα πάντα συνέθηκαν οἱ παρὰ τὴν ἀρχὴν καταξιωθέντες τῆς τοῦ Πνεύματος χάριτος.—Chrysost. Op. 1718-38. De Laz. Conc. iii. Tom. I. p. 739.]

sirous to understand, more fervent in prayer, more willing to ask the judgment of others, and to presume the less of our own judgment. Gregory saith: *Magnæ... utilitatis est ipsa obscuritas eloquiorum Dei. Facit enim, &c.*[1]: "The hardness which is in the word of God is very profitable; for it causeth a man to take that profit by pains, which he could not take with negligence. If the understanding were open and manifest, it would be little set by." Cyrillus saith: *Omnia plana et recta sunt illis, qui cognitionem invenerunt; fatuis vero etiam facillima obscura videntur*[2]: "All things are plain and straight to them that have found knowledge; but to such as are fools the most easy[3] places seem hard." And again: *Ea, quæ perspicua sunt, difficilia sunt hæreticis. Quomodo enim in malevolam animam intrabit sapientia*[4]*?* "Those things which are plain are hard unto heretics. For how can wisdom enter into a wicked heart?" It is true which St Peter hath said, "some things are hard to be understood[5]." But it is also true, that they which pervert them unto their own destruction are unlearned and unstable; that is, they to whom they are hard, have not their eyes opened, that they may see the light of the word; or they be wicked, and turn the truth of God into lies, and abuse the scriptures to their own damnation. The howlet seeth not by the brightness of the sun, not because the sun-beams are dark, but for that his eyes are weak, and cannot abide so clear light. It is therefore but a pretence and colour[6] for their ignorance, and a means to deceive the people more boldly with their errors, when they charge the word of God with darkness and hardness.

In Ezech. Hom. 6. Lib. i.

Lib. iv. cap. xiii. in Johan.

Cyril. in Johan. xiv.

For how many hundred places are there which be as clear as noon-day! God saith: "I am the Lord thy God, ... Thou shalt have none other gods before me. Thou shalt make thee no graven image, neither any similitude of things that are in heaven above, neither that are in the earth beneath, nor that are in the waters under the earth; thou shalt neither bow down to them, neither serve them." Again he saith: "That is cursed that is made with hands, both it, and he that made it: he, because he made it; and it, because it was called God, being a corruptible thing." And again: "Cursed be all they that worship carved images, and delight in vain gods." This is the word of God. What darkness is in any of these sayings?

Exod. xx.

Wisd. xiv.

Psal. xcvii.

God saith: "If thou lend money to my people, to the poor with thee, thou shalt not be as an usurer unto him: ye shall not oppress him with usury." Again: "If a man hath not given forth upon usury, neither hath taken any increase, &c., he shall surely live;... but he that hath given forth upon usury, or hath taken increase, shall he live? He shall not live." And, "The wages of sin is death." And, "The soul that sinneth, it shall die." And again: "This ye know, that no whoremongers, neither unclean person, nor covetous person, which is an idolater, hath any inheritance in the kingdom of Christ and of God. Let no man deceive you with vain words; for for such things cometh the wrath of God upon the children of disobedience." These are the words of God; and what darkness is in them?

Exod. xxii.

Ezek. xviii.

Rom. vi.

Ezek. xviii.

Eph. v.

St Paul saith: "If it be possible, as much as in you lieth, have peace with all men.... Abhor that which is evil, and cleave to that which is good:... avenge not yourselves, but give place unto wrath." Again: "Let every soul be subject to the higher powers: there is no power but of God.... He is the minister of God for thy wealth: but, if thou do evil, fear; for he beareth not the sword for nought." These be the words of God: what darkness is in them? St John saith: "Christ is the Lamb of God, which taketh away the sins of the world." And, "The blood of Jesus Christ his Son cleanseth us from all sins." St Peter saith: "His own self bare our sins in his body on the tree, that we, being delivered from sin, should live in righteousness." Christ saith: "Ask, and it shall be given you: seek, and ye shall find: knock, and it shall be opened unto you." And again: "Come unto

Rom. xii.

Rom. xiii.

John i.

1 John i.

1 Pet. ii.

Luke xi.

Matt. xi.

[1 Magnæ &c. Dei, quia exercet sensum ut fatigatione dilatetur, et exercitatus capiat, quod capere non posset otiosus. Habet quoque adhuc aliud majus, quia scripturæ sacræ intelligentia, quæ si in cunctis esset aperta, vilesceret,...dulcedine inventa reficit, &c.—Gregor. Magni Papæ I. Op. Par. 1705. In Ezech. Lib. I. Hom. vi. 1. Tom. I. col. 1213.]

[2 Cyril. Alex. Op. Par. 1638. Comm. in Joan. Evang. Lib. IV. cap. ii. Tom. IV. p. 357.]

[3 Easiest, 1582.]

[4 Id. ibid. cap. iii. p. 380. See Vol. II. page 683, note 9.]

[5 Understand, 1582.]

[6 And a colour, 1582.]

me, all ye that are weary[7] and laden; and I will ease you." The prophet saith: "Whosoever call[8] on the[9] name of the Lord shall be saved." These be the words of God. What darkness is in them? What eye so simple but he may see them? Joel ii.

The ways of the Lord are straight, and his words plain, even unto the simple. Chrysostom saith: *Omnia clara et plana sunt in scripturis divinis: quæcunque necessaria sunt manifesta sunt*[10]: "All things are clear and plain in the holy scriptures: whatsoever things there are necessary for us are[11] also manifest." Some things are covered; as men cover precious stones and precious garments. They are covered; and yet we see them. We see them; and yet they are covered. Yet all things that are necessary are plain and open. Clemens saith: *Nullis celatum*[12] *est verbum: lux est communis, omnibus illucescit hominibus, nullus est in verbo Cymmerius*[13]: "The word of God is hid from no man: it is a light common unto all men: there is no darkness in God's word." Mark, it is a common light, and shineth to all men. It is as bright and beautiful as the sun; there is no dungeon or darkness in it. So saith Irenæus: *Scripturæ... in aperto* [*sunt*], *et sine*[14] *ambiguitate; et similiter ab omnibus audiri possunt*[15]: "The scriptures are plain, and without doubtfulness, and may be heard indifferently of all men." All men may hear them, even all sorts of men without exception. Hom. 3. in 2 ad Thess. Clement. Alex. in Orat. ad Gent. Lib. i. cap. xxxi.

Where be they then which say it is not lawful for the people to have the word of God, and that the scriptures are not meet for their reading? They are bread; they are drink; they nourish unto everlasting life; great cruelty it is to starve God's people to death. Are they unfit to have the scriptures, because they be poor? Christ saith: "The poor receive the glad tidings of the gospel." And, "Blessed are the poor in spirit; for theirs is the kingdom of heaven." They want riches, and worldly glory; but God giveth his fear and grace to them, as well as to the rich. Are they unfit to read the scriptures, because they are not bred up in other learning? St Paul saith: "I esteemed not to know anything among you but Jesus Christ, and him crucified." The prophet David saith: "Blessed is the man, O Lord, whom thou teachest in thy law." And Christ saith: "Thou hast hid these things from the wise and men of understanding, and hast opened them unto babes." The apostles were sent into all the world to preach the gospel unto every creature, to learned and unlearned, to poor and rich. There is no man too poor, none too rich, none too young, none too old. Whosoever hath ears to hear, he hath learning enough to be a hearer[16]. Matt. xi. Matt. v. 1 Cor. ii. Psal. xciv. Matt. xi.

As for the wisest and learned men in matters of this world, they have not always proved the readiest and most willing to set forth the glory of God. They have not been the meetest scholars for this school. Who were they that resisted Moses and Aaron, the servants of God? Not the people; but the wisest and best-learned in Egypt. Who were they that stood against Elias? Not the people; but the learned and wise men, and the prophets and priests of Baal. Who were they that stoned and killed the prophets? Not the people; but the chiefest and wisest in Israel. Who were they that resisted Christ, and his gospel, and sought to deface the glory of God? Not the people; but the scribes, and Pharisees, and high priests, and all the troop of their clergy. They called Christ "a deceiver," and "Beelzebub," "a companion of publicans and harlots." They laid[17] in wait every where to entrap him: they sued him to death.

St Paul saith for conclusion in this matter: "It is written, I will destroy the wisdom of the wise, and will cast away the understanding of the prudent. Where is the wise? Where is the scribe? Where is the disputer of this world? Hath not God made the wisdom of this world foolishness? For, seeing the world by wisdom knew not God, in the wisdom of God it pleased God by the foolishness of preaching to save them that believed[18]." "Brethren, you see your calling, how that 1 Cor. i.

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[7] Weak, 1582, 1609.]
[8] Whosoever shall call, 1582, 1609.]
[9] 1611 repeats *the*.]
[10] Chrysost. Op. Par. 1718-38. In II. Epist. ad Thess. cap. ii. Hom. iii. Tom. XI. p. 528.]
[11] Thing there is necessary for us is, 1582, C; things there is necessary for us is, 1582, B.M.]
[12] Cœlatum, 1582.]
[13] Clement. Alex. Op. Oxon. 1715. Cohort. ad Gent. 9. Tom. I. p. 72.]
[14] *Fine*, 1611.]
[15] Iren. Op. Par. 1710. Contr. Hær. Lib. II. cap. xxvii. 2. p. 155.]
[16] These four words are not in 1582.]
[17] Lay, 1582.]
[18] Believe, 1582, C.]

not many wise men after the flesh, not many mighty, not many noble, are called: but God hath chosen the foolish things of the world, to confound the wise; and God hath chosen the weak things of the world, to confound the mighty things, and vile things of the world, and things which are despised, hath God chosen." Mark, saith he, how mercifully God hath dealt with you. Few of the learned sort, few such as are counted wise, embrace the gospel with you, or join with you in faith, or keep you company. God hath let them be deceived in their wisdom. They take themselves to be wise, and yet are become fools. And, contrary to worldly judgment, God hath made you, which were weak and simple, and of no reputation, wise, and righteous, and sanctified, and redeemed in Christ Jesus.

Matt. xviii. And Christ saith: "Except ye be converted, and become as little children, ye shall not enter into the kingdom of heaven."

Therefore the godly father Chrysostom calleth upon the people to read and

Hom. ix. in Epist. ad Col. hear the scriptures. *Audite, seculares omnes: comparate vobis biblia, animæ pharmaca. Si nihil aliud vultis, vel novum testamentum acquirite, apostolum, evangelia, acta, continuos et sedulos doctores*[1]: "Hear me, ye men of the world: get ye the bible, that most wholesome remedy for the soul; if ye will nothing else, yet at the least get the new testament, St Paul's Epistles, the Gospels, and the Acts,

Chrysost. Hom. 2. in Johan. that they may be your continual and earnest teachers." And again: *Neque in hoc tantum consessu, sed domi quoque, vir cum uxore, pater cum filio, invicem de his frequenter loquantur, et ultro citroque suam et ferant et inquirant sententiam, velintque hanc probatissimam inducere consuetudinem*[2]: "Hearken not hereto only here in the church, but also at home; let the husband with the wife, let the father with the child, talk together of these matters, and both to and fro let them both inquire and give their judgments; and would God they would begin this good custom."

Origen. in Isai. Hom. 2. In like sort saith Origen: "*Utinam... omnes faceremus illud quod scriptum est, Scrutamini scripturas*[3]: "Would God we would all do accordingly as it is written, Search the scriptures." It were a token that we do love Christ. Then would the Father love us; and Christ would love us, and shew himself unto us; and he and his Father would come unto us, and dwell in us. Chrysostom saith:

Hom. 9. ad Col. Hom. 3. de Lazar. *Hoc omnium malorum causa est, quod scripturæ ignorantur*[4]: "This is the cause of all ill, that the scriptures are not known." "To know nothing of God's laws," saith he in another place, "is the loss of salvation: ignorance hath brought in heresies and vicious life: ignorance hath turned all things upside down[5]."

Hieron. in 3 cap. Epist. ad Col. St Hierome, expounding those words of the apostle, "Let the word of Christ dwell in you plenteously," saith: *Hic ostenditur verbum Christi non sufficienter sed abundanter etiam laicos habere debere, et docere se invicem, vel monere*[6]: "Here we are taught that the lay people ought to have the word of God, not only sufficiently, but also with abundance, and to teach and counsel one another."

And now to conclude what the learned fathers and ancient doctors have said

Lib. v. de Cur. Græc. Affect. in this matter. Theodoretus saith: *Passim videas hæc nostratia dogmata non ab iis solum teneri, qui sunt ecclesiæ magistri populorumque præceptores, sed ab ipsis quoque sutoribus, fabrisque ferrariis, lanificibus, &c.*[7]: "Ye may commonly see that our doctrine is known, not only of them that are the doctors of the church, and the masters of the people; but also even of the tailors, and smiths, and weavers, and of all artificers; yea, and further also of women; and that not only of them that be learned, but also of labouring women, and sewsters, and servants, and handmaids; neither only the citizens, but also the country folks do very well understand the same. Ye may find, yea, even the very ditchers and

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[1 Chrysost. Op. Par. 1718-38. In Epist. ad Coloss. cap. iii. Hom. ix. Tom. XI. p. 391; where the Greek text is *τὴν γοῦν καινὴν κτήσασθε, τῶν ἀποστόλων τὰς πράξεις, τὰ εὐαγγέλια, διδασκάλους διηνεκεῖς.*]

[2 Id. in Joan. Hom. iii. Tom. VIII. p. 16.]

[3 Orig. Op. Par. 1733-59. In Isai. Hom. ii. 2. Tom. III. p. 109.]

[4 Chrysost. Op. In Epist. ad Coloss. cap. iii. Hom. ix. Tom. XI. p. 391.]

[5 ...*μεγάλη προδοσία σωτηρίας, τὸ μηδὲν ἀπὸ τῶν θείων εἰδέναι νόμων. τοῦτο καὶ αἱρέσεις ἔτεκε, τοῦτο καὶ βίον διεφθαρμένον εἰσήγαγε, τοῦτο τὰ ἄνω κάτω πεποίηκεν.*—Id. de Laz. Conc. iii. Tom. I. p. 740.]

[6 Hieron. Op. Par. 1693-1706. Comm. in Epist. ad Col. cap. iii. Tom. V. col. 1074.]

[7 Theodor. Op. Par. 1642-84. Græc. Affect. Cur. Serm. v. De Nat. Hom. Tom. IV. p. 556. See Vol. II. page 696, note 6.]

delvers, and cowherds, and gardeners, disputing of the holy Trinity and of the creation of all things." Thus we see there was a time, before ignorance crept into the church, and got the upper hand, when the word of God was not counted hard, and dark, and doubtful; when children, and women, and servants, and men of the country, had the knowledge of God, and were able to reason of the works of God. Then went it well with them: they could not easily be deceived, because they had that word which bewrayeth the thief: they carried with them, like good exchangers, the weights and touch-stone, and were able to try coins, whether they were true or false. Such were the people, such was the state of God's church in those days.

Gold, and silver, and lands, and possessions, are the portions but of few: they are not common to all alike. The wise man saith: "House and riches come by inheritance of the fathers." But the word of God, the law, and the prophets, the apostles, the evangelists, the gift of the Spirit, and the knowledge of God, are given unto all men: they are made common for all men. If the word were ordained but for a few, then Christ was given into the world but for a few; the heaven was made but for a few; the mercy and love of God was but for a few. But the mercy of God is over all, and upon all, and for all. All have right to hear the word of God, all have need to know the word of God. "All have sinned, and are deprived of the glory of God." Therefore Christ calleth all, *Venite ad me, omnes, &c.*: "Come unto me, all ye that be weary and laden." Young men and old men, men and women, rich and poor, come to me. "God is no accepter of persons." "It is not the will of your Father which is in heaven," saith Christ, "that one of these little ones should perish." "Who will that all men shall be saved, and come to the knowledge of the truth[8]." "God will look to him that is poor and of a contrite spirit, and trembleth at his words." God will regard such a one, and make him a fit vessel to receive his truth. Upon him that is such a one shall the Spirit of wisdom and understanding, the Spirit of knowledge and of the fear of God, rest: not only upon the rich, the wise, and the learned; but upon him that is poor, and of a contrite heart, and trembleth at his words; upon him that humbleth himself under the mighty hand of God. He is the temple and the tabernacle of the Holy Ghost. He that is humble in heart shall be saved. "God resisteth the proud, but giveth grace to the lowly."

Prov. xix. Rom. iii. Matt. xi. Acts x. Matt. xviii. 1 Tim. ii. Isai. lxvi.

Therefore Christ said: "I give thee thanks, O Father, Lord of heaven and earth; because thou hast hid these things from the wise and men of understanding, and hast opened them unto babes;" even to such as have no learning, which rejoice in nothing but in thee. The wise and learned of the world cannot hear them, cannot see them; but they to whom it pleased[9] thee to give understanding. It is thy mercy. Flesh and blood cannot reach the knowledge of thy will: the Spirit of the Father hath revealed it. Christ saith: "My sheep hear my voice; and I know them; and they follow me." "They will not follow a stranger." My people are simple as sheep: they are rude, and know not what they do: yet they know my voice, and follow me; they know their shepherd from a thief; they follow not the call and voice [10]of a stranger. So we see that God chaseth no man away from hearing his word: he loatheth not the poor because of his poverty, he refuseth him not; for he is the God of the poor: they be his creatures. St Augustine saith: *Deus in scripturis quasi amicus familiaris loquitur ad cor doctorum et indoctorum*[11]: "Almighty God in the scriptures speaketh as a familiar friend without dissimulation unto the hearts both of the learned and of the unlearned." He abaseth himself, and speaketh to their capacity; for his will is, that all should come to the knowledge of the truth, and be saved.

Matt. xi. John x. August. Epist. 3. ad Volus.

Now let us consider with what fear and reverence we ought to come to the hearing or reading of the word of God: "The angel of the Lord appeared unto Moses in a flame of fire out of the midst of a bush." When Moses turned aside

Exod. iii.

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[8] Of truth, 1582.]
[9] It hath pleased, 1582, C.]
[10] And the voice, 1582, C.]
[11] Ea quæ aperta continet [sancta scriptura], quasi &c. sine fuco ad cor loquitur indoctorum atque doctorum.—August. Op. Par. 1679–1700. Ad Volus. Epist. cxxxvii. cap. v. 18. Tom. II. col. 409.]

to see, God said unto him, "Come not hither: put thy shoes off thy feet; for the place whereon thou standest is holy ground." Again, when God had appointed to
Exod. xix. speak unto the people from mount Sinai[1], he said to[2] Moses: "Go unto the people, and sanctify them to-day, and to-morrow, and let them wash their clothes, and let them be ready on the third day; for the third day the Lord will come down in the sight of all the people upon mount Sinai."

The word of the Lord is the bush, out of which issueth a flame of fire. The scriptures of God are the mount, from which the Lord of Hosts doth shew himself. In them God speaketh to us: in them we hear the words of everlasting life. We must be sanctified, and wash our garments, and be ready to hear the Lord. We must strip off all our affections: we must fall down before him with fear: we must know who it is that speaketh, even God, the Maker of heaven and earth; God, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ; God, which shall judge the quick and the dead, before whom all flesh shall appear.

His word is holy: let us take heed into what hearts we bestow it. Whosoever abuseth it shall be found guilty of high trespass against the Lord. We may not receive it, to blow up our hearts, and wax proud with our knowledge: we may not use it to maintain debate and contention: we may not use it to vaunt ourselves, or to make shew of our cunning.

The word of God teacheth lowliness of mind: it teacheth us to know ourselves. If we learn not humility, we learn nothing. Although we seem to know somewhat, yet know we not in such sort as we ought to know. The scriptures are the mysteries of God: let us not be curious; let us not seek to know more than God hath revealed by them. They are the sea of God: let us take heed we be not drowned in them. They are the fire of God: let us take comfort by their heat, and warily take heed they burn us not. They that gaze over hardly upon the sun take blemish in their eye-sight.

When the people of Israel saw the manna in the desert, they said, *Man Hu?* "What is this?" So they reasoned of it, when they took it up in their hands, and beheld it: they asked one another, what good it would do. The scriptures are manna, given to us from heaven, to feed us in the desert of this world. Let us take them and behold them, and reason of them, and learn one of another what profit may come to us by them: let us know that they are written for our sake, and for our learning, that through patience and comfort of the scripture[3] we may have hope. They are given us to instruct us in faith, to strengthen us in hope, to open our eyes, and to direct our going.

If we withhold the truth in unrighteousness, if we know our Master's will, and do it not, if the name of God be ill spoken of through us, the word of God shall be taken away from us, and given to a nation which shall bring forth the fruits thereof: God shall send us strong delusion, that we shall believe lies: our own heart shall condemn us; and we shall be beaten with many stripes.

Therefore we ought diligently to give heed to those things which we hear:
Lev. xi. we must consider of them, we must chew the cud. "Every beast that cheweth not the cud is unclean," and not fit for sacrifice. Let us be poor in spirit, and meek in heart: let us be gentle, as becometh the lambs of Christ; and, as his sheep, let us hear his voice, and follow him. Let us be of a contrite spirit, and tremble at the words of God: let us, when we know God, glorify him as God. So shall God look upon us; so shall the Spirit of wisdom and understanding, and of counsel, and of knowledge, and of the fear of God, rest upon us; so shall we be made perfect to all good works; so shall we rejoice in his salvation, and with one mouth glorify God even the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ[4].

[1 Sion, 1582, B. M., 1609, 1611.]
[2 Unto, 1582, C.]
[3 Scriptures, 1582.]
[4 "Finis" is subjoined in 1582.]

LETTERS

OF

BISHOP JEWEL,

LATIN AND ENGLISH.

LETTERS OF BISHOP JEWEL.

I. JUELLUS AD PARKHURSTUM[1].

(MS. Ee. 2. 34. University Library, Cambridge; and Strype, Annals, Vol. II. Book I. chap. xi. also Append. No. XI.)

Parkhurste mi, mi Parkhurste, quid ego te nunc putem agere? morine[2] an vivere? in fletune esse an in Fleto? Certe quæ tua semper fuit æquitas animi, nihil dubito te hæc omnia, quæcunque sint[3], boni consulere. Ego tamen nunquam intermitto tibi omnia secundissima precari. Sed Clevæ illi tuæ jamdudum succenseo. Eam enim sola (?) hoc tibi negotium . . Nova apud nos nulla sunt: plus enim satis est veteris. Halam judicem exauctoratum esse audimus (?)[4]: de Harleio[5] quid factum sit, quo in loco res tuæ[6] sint, quid speres, quid timeas, nisi molestum est, quæso rescribe. Saluta Vrianum, Robinum, Hallingum, et omnes tuos. Vale. Oxon. 15 Octob. [1553][7].

Jo. Ju. tuus.

[TRANSLATION.]

O my Parkhurst, my Parkhurst, what may I think you are now doing? that you are dead, or alive? that you are weeping, or in the Fleet prison? Such certainly has ever been the composure of your mind, that I doubt not you take all these things, whatever they may be, in good part. But I never cease to pray for all things most prosperous for you. I have been, however, much annoyed at your Cleeve: for it alone [has brought] this trouble upon you. News with us there is none; we have more than enough of what is old. We hear that judge Hales has been deprived. Pray write me word, if it be not troublesome to you, what has been done as to Harley, in what condition your own affairs are, what are your hopes, what your fears. Salute Urian, Robin, Halling, and all of yours. Farewell.

Oxford, 15 Octob. Your JOHN JEWEL.

II. JUELLUS AD PARKHURSTUM.

(MS. Ee. 2. 34. University Library, Cambridge; and Strype, Annals, Vol. II. Book I. chap. xi. also Append. No. XI.)

Quid ego nunc ad te, Parkhurste, scribam, vel quid potius taceam? Quid agas, quid egeris, quo loco sis, jamdudum audire cupio. Etsi Clæva tibi erepta est, et alia mutata sunt omnia, animum tamen illum tibi tuum nec eripi nec mutari posse spero. Hæc . sunt, quam olim sedentem pinxit, quod stare nunquam didicisset. Jobus, cum multo plura perdidisset, et a longe altiore gradu dejectus esset, fiduciam tamen erga Deum et pietatem retinuit. *Etiam*, inquit, *si me occiderit, sperabo in eum.* Sed quid ego hæc ad

[1] The editor has endeavoured to place the letters of bishop Jewel as well as he could in chronological order; but he must confess that he has not always satisfied himself that he is right. Parts of Nos. I. and II., and the whole of Nos. III. V. VI. are printed for the first time from a MS. mentioned by bishop Tanner, as preserved at Norwich, and now in the University Library, Cambridge. The MS. is ill-written, in some parts not easy to decypher, and occasionally exhibits a hiatus. Strype, who gives portions of Nos. I. and II., cites them from "MSS. R. Joh. Ep. Eliensis."]

[2] Morire, MS.]

[3] Sunt, Strype.]

[4] Sir James Hales. See Fox, Acts and Mon. Lond. 1684. Vol. III. pp. 16, 79, 152, &c. Gardiner, as chancellor, refused to swear in judge Hales, Oct. 6, 1553, and he was soon after committed to prison.]

[5] Harley, bishop of Hereford, appeared in queen Mary's first parliament, Oct. 1553, but was soon deprived.]

[6] Tuæ res, Strype.]

[7] Strype assigns the erroneous date of 1559.]

te, cui Christum habere unum satis est, qui nobis instar omnium esse debet? Vale, et vel rescribe, vel, si id non licet, renuncia. Saluta meo nomine Vrianum.

Oxon. 22° Octob. [1553?].

Jo. Ju. tuus.

[TRANSLATION.]

What shall I now, Parkhurst, write to you? or rather, what shall I not write? I have long been wishing to hear what you are doing, what you have done, in what circumstances you are. Although Cleeve has been taken from you, and all other things changed, yet I hope and trust that mind of yours can be neither taken away from you nor changed. [*The next sentence is too imperfect in the MS. to encourage any attempt at translation.*] Job, when he had lost much more, and was cast down from a much higher position, still retained his trust in God and pious temper. "Though," says he, "he slay me, yet will I trust in him." But why should I say all this to you, to whom it is enough to have Christ alone, who ought to be instead of everything to us? Farewell, and reply either in writing, or, if that be impossible, by a message. Salute Urian in my name.

Oxford, 22 October. Your John Jewel.

III. JUELLUS AD PARKHURSTUM.

(MS. Ee. 2. 34. University Library, Cambridge.)

Nuntiavit mihi nudiustertius Canfildus (?) te valere, et vel me ipsum vel a me literas primo quoque tempore exspectare. Quod mihi non tam jucundum fuit, quam molestum est quod nescio nec quid nec quo scribam: nam ut nunc quidem est, nec ubi sis, nec quid agas, scire possum. Nuper enim, cum te Clevæ quæsissem domi tuæ, non eras apud te: ut enim alii dicebant, cesseras temporibus; ut alii, plane fugeras uxorem vesperi solam, conclusam domi, septam non ita magno famulorum grege, de se securam, de te misere sollicitam. Quid addam præterea? O Deum immortalem! Nihil occurrit quod ausim literis committere. Miror hercle nunc deesse quod scribam, cui, cum una sumus, nunquam deesse solet quod garriam. Utinam liceret ista coram conqueri! Nunc autem non committam ut aliquando dicendum sit, Non putaram. Ubi autem , ubi sis, scribam ad te et pluribus verbis et frequentius. Vale.

E. Latis Portis[8], ubi exul æstatem ago, et Randolphus[9] mecum una, misere uterque, sed melius fortasse quam illi volebant quibus hoc ipsum molestum est, quod vivimus. Saluta, quæso, meo nomine dominum Harleium, vel episcopum, quod non puto, vel, quod non dubito, intrepidum Christi satellitem, et virum Domini (?). Faber[10] fortiter incudem tundit: periculum est ne perdat brachia. Saluta uxorem tuam, Guidonem[11], alios. Vale. Pridie Pauli. Raptim. [1554].

Juel. tuus.

[TRANSLATION.]

Camfield told me the day before yesterday that you were well, and that you were expecting either myself or a letter from me by the very first opportunity. This was not so agreeable to me, as it is vexing not to know what or whither to write: for, as matters now are, I cannot find out either where you are, or what you are doing. For a while ago when I tried to find you at Cleeve, at your own house, you were not at home; and, as some told me, you had yielded to the times; as others said, you had altogether one evening left your wife alone, shut up at home, attended by but a small body of servants, unconcerned about herself, but wretchedly anxious about you. What else can I say? O immortal God! Nothing is going on which I dare commit to

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[8 Broadgate Hall, now Pembroke College, to which Jewel retired on his expulsion from his own college, Corpus.]

[9 Thomas Randal or Randolph, afterwards mentioned under the name of Pamphilus. Conf. Vol. II. page 1099, note 1.]

[10 Probably Dr Richard Smith, professor of divinity, Oxford, is meant.]

[11 Guy or Guido Eton, archdeacon of Gloucester.]

writing. It is indeed strange that I have nothing to write to one, to whom when we are together I never find any lack of matter to prattle about. I wish I could in person complain to you of these things. But now I will give no cause for its being hereafter said, Who would have thought it? When, however, I [know] where you are, I will write to you at greater length and oftener. Farewell.

From Broadgate, where I am living in exile, and Randolph with me, both of us miserably enough, but better perhaps than they like who are vexed that we still live at all. Pray salute in my name M. Harley, either bishop, which I don't imagine, or, which I do not doubt, the fearless follower of Christ and servant of the Lord. Smith is thumping the anvil vigorously: there is some danger of his breaking his arms. Salute your wife, Guido, and the rest. Farewell.

Paul's Eve. Haste. Your JEWEL.

IV. JUELLUS AD WHITTINGHAMUM ET GOODMANNUM[1].

(From a MS. transcribed by Anthony Wood, entitled, "The Life and Death of Mr. Will. Whittingham, Dean of Durham[2]." Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, No. 8560. 98. E. 4.)

Salutem plurimum[-am] in Christo.

Si quis [quid] communem nostram inter nos conjunctionem aut obfuscavit aut imminuit inauspicatissima illa causa et contentio Francofordiana, id spero jamdudum vel pietate extinctum esse, vel certe tempore ac diuturnitate consopitum; quod ego de vobis quidem duobus nihil dubito, de me autem possum etiam polliceri. Quoniam tamen taciturnitas tegere potius solet animorum dissidia quam extinguere; Christianæ pietatis esse duxi, scripto aliquo veterem nostram amicitiam excitare; ut si quæ adhuc extarent superioris doloris vestigia, ea prorsus ex omni memoria delerentur. Id hactenus distuli, non animi tumore, quem jampridem prorsus abjeceram, aut fraternæ caritatis contemptu aut superbia, sed quod sperarem aliquando de ea re vobiscum acturum coram: nunc autem, cum communis hic noster amicus et frater esset ad vos rediturus, non potui deesse occasioni. Quare, fratres mei, si in illa causa, quam ego ne adhuc quidem possum condemnare, aut utrumque aut alterum vestrum unquam læserim, aut evectus studio et contentione dicto vos aliquo insolentius attigerim; oro obsecroque vos, ut eam mihi injuriam condonetis, eamque amnestia perpetua sepeliatis, ut *ne verbo tantum et lingua sed opere et veritate inter nos diligamus, et uno animo unoque ore glorificemus Deum et Patrem Domini nostri Jesu Christi.* Eram seorsim scripturus de hac re ad dominum Williamum et dominum Woodum; verum id nunc capitis gravedo non sinit: quare orate quæso illos, quod ad vos duos scriptum est, id ad se quoque scriptum arbitrentur. Valete, fratres, et Deum pro me orate. Tiguri ex ædibus D. P. Martyris Calendis Junii. [1557 ?[3]].

Vester in Christo,

JO. JUELLUS.

Carissimis in Christo fratribus Domino Whittinghamo et Domino Goodmanno. Genevæ.

[1 This letter is now printed for the first time.]

[2 In alluding to the Frankford Controversy, the author adds: "And yet with all I have thought good to acquaint the read with ā epistle writt to Mr Whittingham & Mr Goodman, being at Geneva, from that worthy, famous, & learned writer, Bishop Jewell, wherin some mention is made of ye Controversy at Frankford. ye letter is thus stiled:

'Charissimis in Xto fratribus Dño Whittinghamo et Dño Goodmanno. Genevæ.'

Out of wch Inscriptions this is referred to ye reads judgment yt seeing amongst graduat schollers not distinguished by præferment, Antiquity gives ye precedency, yet Mr Jewell knowing yt Mr Goodman was Mr Whittingham's antient in Oxon by much, & had bin ye divinity lecturer in Oxon in K. Ed. 6 raigne, yet doth he in his directions give to Mr Whittingham ye preheminence, ye read I say may judge as he please whether he will ascribe it to negligence, or if Mr Jewell had a greater respect to ye difference of their gifts & sufficiencies: but ye lre followeth."]

[3 For a letter of Goodman to Martyr on the subject of the Frankfort controvery, see Orig. Letters, Park. Soc. Lett. cccIxiii. pp. 768, &c. In it he sends a salutation to Jewel. It is dated, Aug. 20, 1558.

[TRANSLATION.]

To my dearest brothers in Christ, M. Whittingham and M. Goodman, at Geneva, much health in Christ.

If that most unhappy circumstance of the Frankfort contention has at all clouded or diminished our mutual friendship and union, all this, I trust, has long since been either extinguished by christian principle, or at least laid to rest by lapse of time. As to both of you indeed I have no doubt of it; but for myself I may even promise it. But, since silence often rather conceals than extinguishes disagreements, I have thought it the part of christian piety to stir up our ancient kindliness by writing; that, should there still remain any traces of former vexation, they might be altogether blotted out of recollection. I have hitherto deferred this, not through any swelling of temper, which long ago I had quite done with, or disregard of brotherly love, or pride, but because I was in hopes sometime or other to talk over the matter with you personally: but now, when our common friend and brother was returning to you, I was unwilling to let the opportunity slip. Wherefore, brethren, if in that matter, which I cannot even now condemn, I have at all injured both or either of you, or, carried away with zeal and the heat of contention, have applied to you any unbecoming word, I beg and beseech you to forgive me this wrong, and to bury it in everlasting oblivion; that "not in word only and in tongue, but in deed and in truth, we may love one another, and may with one mind and one mouth glorify God, even the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ." I was going to write severally to M. Williams and M. Wood on this subject; but a head-ache does not now allow me to do this: I pray you therefore to request them to consider what is written to you two as written also to them. Farewell, my brethren, and pray God for me.

Zurich, from the house of M. Peter Martyr, June 1.

Yours in Christ,

Jo. Jewel.

V. JUELLUS AD PARKHURSTUM.

(MS. Ee. 2. 34. University Library, Cambridge.)

Nunquam putabam fore ut tu me prius scriptis tuis opprimeres, quam meæ tibi literæ redderentur. Sic enim statuebam, quemvis potius oportere quam a præceptore discipulum ad scribendum excitari. Id autem quod non est hactenus a me factum, non meæ negligentiæ, quæ tamen fateor in hac re nonnulla extitit, sed tuæ obscuritati ascribes; qui quas in tenebras te abdidisses, nunquam ex quoquam audire potui. Sed postquam Smithus noster salutem mihi tuis verbis dixisset, et quanta in luce atque hominum admiratione versarere docuisset; magna me sane, uti par erat, affecit voluptate, sed dubitationem tamen nonnullam injecit mihi, pudorisne magis mei an officii memorem esse oporteret. Nam et impudens videri possem, si hominem in excelso positum et occupatum perturbarem; et valde ingratus si præceptorem, cum liceret, ne animi quidem grati significatione [im]pertirem. Quamobrem in eam me potius partem dedi, doctissime Parkhurste, ut scribendo impudens quam tacendo ingratus videri mallem[4]. Sed quid imprecer his tabellariis? quorum socordia efficit et nequitia, ut ego meo videri possim officio defuisse. Namque et ex puero intelligo, et ex literis tuis, literas non esse perlatas (?) ad te meas. Sed mitto tabellarios, quorum nota est projecta et perdita perfidia.

Habe nunc ad literas tuas, e quibus quantam ceperim voluptatem, quam eas suaviter amplexus et exosculatus sim, animo facilius complecti possum quam

Earlier in that year Goodman had published his tract, "How Superior Persons are to be obeyed of their Subjects, &c.;" to which there was a commendatory preface by Whittingham, dated Jan. 1558. (See Strype, Annals, Vol. I. chap. ix.) Jewel thoroughly disapproved of this publication, (see below, pages 1207, 8), and therefore it seems likely that the present letter was written prior to its appearance.]

[4 Malem, MS.]

verbis consequi. Ita mihi voluptate fit tuum illud, 'Jestimini,' qua tu voce nonnunquam mihi perfusus gaudio solebas uti, ut ego me, ubi Parkhursti manum agnovi et nomen, præ lætitia vix continebam[-rem?]. Hoc solum in suavissimis literis mihi displicebat, quod cum tradis puerum, me abs te orari, neque vero orari solum, sed etiam pretio conduci video. Qua quidem hercle in re insignem ego mihi fieri injuriam arbitror. Nam et tu hoc, quidquid est, officii jam olim es promeritus, ut nulla tibi videatur posse a me par referri gratia; et puer ipse talis est, ut facile possit quemvis ad se admirandum ornandumque inducere: siquidem ingenio excellenti est, lingua facili et expedita, animo ad literas paratissimo. Quid quæris? Quidvis mihi videor de illo posse puero polliceri: collegium solum nostrum non polliceor; namque in mea potestate situm non est. Verum dabo operam ut ne frustra meæ fidei commendatus fuisse videatur. Utcunque cadet, certe præsentia conspectusque pueri causam nostram vehementer promovebit: versabitur enim in oculis hominum, ut eum, ni omnino cæci velint esse, prorsus non possint ignorare. Ego, quod ad me attinet, haud sane quod effectum dare non possum, polliceor[1] effecturum; sed, quod unum mihi videor prolixe posse[2] (?) promittere, nec animum in hac re nec studium mihi defuturum. Pueri enim tui negotium sic agam ut si res ageretur mea: namque omnem operam, curam, industriam, diligentiam, sollicitudinem, gratiam, laborem, cogitationem, mentem denique omnem meam, in hanc causam conjiciam. Sed hæc satis multa, vel plura potius quam necesse fuit, præsertim apud te, qui prolixum genus literarum nunquam, ni male memini, probavisti. Verum et aliquando finiam: me quicunque sim totum esse tibi persuade tuum.

Sed quid ais, obsecro, Haddonem[3] nomen meum celebrare, Juellum prædicare, et nescio quem florem et lumen esse dicere? Equidem Haddonem me ineptientem audisse memini: sed quid ille tantopere laudare possit, meminisse qui possum, quum ipse mihi nunquam æque displicuerit? Verum sive me Haddonus eum apud te fecit, qui [quem?] ego me futurum ne sperare quidem possim, nihil videtur ab illo candore suo fecisse alienum: sin tu ea confingis, eo facis ut doceas non qui sim (absum enim ab hac laude ut qui longissime), sed qui esse debeam. Vale, Parkhurste doctissime[4].

JUELLUS.

[TRANSLATION.]

I never imagined it would happen that you would load me with your letters before mine reached you. For it has been my principle, that no one should less want pressing to write than a pupil to his tutor. But that in my practice I have not kept up to my principle you will put down, not to my carelessness, though I acknowledge there has been something of this in the matter, but to your own keeping out of sight; since I could not hear from any body in what dark corner you had buried yourself. When, however, our friend Smith had brought me a salutation expressly from you, and informed me in how great esteem and admiration of men you were living; certainly, as was to be expected, I was greatly rejoiced, but nevertheless I had some kind of doubt whether I ought to consult most my modesty or my duty. For I might appear bold, if I intruded upon one set in a lofty place and fully occupied; and on the other hand very ungrateful, if, when it was in my power, I did not convey to my tutor any intimation even of my gratitude. I came then at last, most learned Parkhurst, to the conclusion, that I would rather appear impudent by writing than ungrateful by keeping silence. But what mischief must I not wish these letter-carriers, whose rascally carelessness has made me appear capable of thus failing in my duty? For I learn from the lad, and also from your letter, that mine never reached you. But I have done with letter-carriers, whose abominable perfidy is notorious.

[1 Pollicio, MS.]

[2 Possit, MS.]

[3 James Haddon, dean of Exeter. See Strype, Eccl. Mem. Vol. II. Book II. chap. xxxii.]

[4 There are no grounds for fixing the precise date of this letter. But, as Parkhurst was for the most part at Zurich during his exile, it seems likely that it was written before Jewel removed thither from Strasburgh with Peter Martyr, about the middle of July 1556. Humfrey, in his Life of Jewel, p. 87, speaks, it may be observed, of the *literatissimum collegium* of the exiles at Strasburgh; which it is probable is the college here alluded to.]

'Now to your letter. How much delight I experienced from it, how lovingly I hugged and kissed it, my mind can more easily conceive than words express. So delightful to me is that expression of yours, *Jestimini*, which sometimes, when overjoyed, you used to address to me, that, when I saw the hand and name of Parkhurst, I could scarcely contain myself for joy. This only in your most delightful letter displeased me, that, in commending the lad to me, I find you entreating my service, and not only entreating, but even hiring it with a price. Now in this matter I consider myself greatly wronged; for you have long ago laid me under such obligation, that you ought never to think any thing I can do an adequate return: and besides, the boy himself is such as may easily induce any body to admire and honour him. For he has excellent talents, a ready and fluent tongue, and a disposition most inclined to literature. What will you have? I feel as if I could promise for him any thing whatever: but admission into our college I cannot promise; for it is not in my power. But I will do my endeavour, that he may not seem to have been commended to my protection in vain. However the matter shall fall out, certainly the presence and appearance of the lad will very much further our cause: for he will be living in the sight of men; so that they cannot, unless they choose to be entirely blind, keep in ignorance of him. As far as concerns myself I promise to do, not indeed what I cannot accomplish, but, what only I think I may freely promise, that I will be wanting in this matter neither in zeal nor good-will. I will push the business of your youth, as if it were quite my own affair: for all my labour, care, industry, diligence, earnestness, influence, pains, thought, in a word my whole mind, will I give to the matter. But quite enough of this, or rather more than enough, especially to you, who, if my memory does not fail me, never liked a tedious kind of letter. I will end by saying that, whatever I am, I am altogether at your disposal.

But what, I pray, do you mean, that Haddon is extolling my name, talking of Jewel, and saying that I am I know not what flower and luminary? Haddon, I remember, has heard me babbling; but what it is he can be so highly praising, how can I remember, since he never did me the same displeasure? But, if either Haddon has described me to you as such a man as I never can even hope to be, he seems to act agreeably to his usual friendliness: or, if it is your own invention, you are aiming to teach me not what I am (for I am the farthest possible from deserving this praise), but what I ought to be. Farewell, most learned Parkhurst.

'JEWEL.

VI. JUELLUS AD PARKHURSTUM.

(MS. Ee. 2. 34. University Library, Cambridge.)

O me (?) iterum, tertium, millesimum hominem truncum et fatuum! Quis enim, cui vel uncia[5] esset, non dico sanæ mentis, sed omnino mentis, potuisset oblivisci toties ejusdem rei? Ego vero jam video illud pharmacum non, ut sperabam, purgasse mihi caput, sed, quod nihil opus erat, prorsus exhausisse cerebrum. Sed nunc allegavi nebulonem fugitivum, ut ne posthac me possit iterum fallere. Nisi isti venissent in tempore, ego postridie decreveram ad te. Sed O me miserum! Quem in diem me conjecissem (?)!

Habes hic literas a Sando. Habes puerum unicum ex Anglia. Ægre[6] cupit apud te educari, a me doceri. Ego de me respondi, quod res erat; de te quod videbatur: tu respondebis ipse prolixius. Tamen ne nescias, ita ad illum de te scribo: 'De D. Parkhursto nihil habeo certi quod respondeam: est enim jam Badenæ in thermis cum uxore. Tamen quantum ego possum judicare, etsi ille tibi cupiat, et omnia tua causa velit, tamen efficere vix potest, vel minus etiam quam vix potest, quod postulas: primum quia habet cubiculum satis angustum, idque in alienis ædibus; deinde quia uxorem, non dico sæpe, sed fere perpetuo ægrotam habet: postremo quia solet una cum uxore sæpissime mutare foras; ut tuus Sandulus satis frigide sit habiturus, si cogatur solus convivari domi, &c. (?)'

[5 Unca, MS.]

[6 This is written over what appears in MS. to be *egem*.]

Chamberus[1] ait Harulæum[2] episcopum mortuum esse in Anglia. Idem scribitur etiam de pio tuo. Colus recta reversus est Genevam: non deflexit ad nos. Utique (?) quid novi afferat nescio. Bene vale. Tiguri, 15 Junii 1558. Saluta uxorem tuam meo nomine.

Tuus J. Ju.

[TRANSLATION.]

O what a blockish and stupid fellow I am, twice, thrice, a thousand times over! For who that had a single ounce, I will not say of sound mind, but of any mind at all, could ever have forgotten the same thing so often? Now I see indeed that that physic did not, as I expected, clear my head, but, what I am sure was needless, cleared out my brain. But I have now fetched back the knavish runaway, so that it cannot escape me again. Unless they had come just in time, I had resolved the day after to-morrow to go to you. But alas! on what a day should I have chanced!

Here you have a letter from Sandys. You have also a choice lad from England. He is very much wanting to be educated by you and taught by me. For myself I have answered as the case required; for you as I thought it might be: you will yourself answer more at length; yet that you may not be unaware of it, I write thus to him of you: 'I cannot give you a certain answer about Parkhurst; for he is now at Baden at the baths, with his wife; but, as far as I can conjecture, though I am sure he has much regard for you and would do any thing he could for your sake, he can scarcely, or rather not at all, do what you ask. For, first, he has a very small apartment, and that in another person's house; next his wife is, I do not say often, but almost always ill; and then he very often with his wife goes out: so that your young Sandys must have cold entertainment, if he is to mess at home alone.' Chambers says that bishop Harley is dead in England. The same is written also of your pious friend. Cole went back straight to Geneva without turning aside to us: so what news he brings, I cannot tell. Farewell. Zurich, June 15, 1558. Salute your wife in my name.

Yours, Jo. Jewel.

VII. JOHANNES JUELLUS AD PETRUM MARTYREM[3].

(Zur. Coll. and Burnet, Vol. III. Book vi. No. 44.)

S. D. De prima illa nostra profectione, et de novis omnibus, quæ tum ferebantur Basileæ, scripsi ad te per D. Simlerum nostrum. Quinto postridie[4] vix pervenimus Argentinam; tantopere[5] miseri coacti sumus hærere in luto. Hic omnes nostros invenimus incolumes et cupidissimos tui. Quid Sandus, Hornus, aliique nostri fecerint in Anglia, nihil adhuc audivimus[6]. Neque id sane mirum: profecti enim Argentina ad vicesimum primum Decembris, vix vicesimo post die potuerunt pervenire Antverpiam, quod Rhenus constrictus glacie illorum navigationem impediret. Hoc tantum audimus, reditum illorum reginæ esse gratissimum; idque illam non obscure præ se ferre.

Si episcopi pergant porro ut cœperunt, erit brevi magna vilitas episcopatuum. Certum enim est, Christophersonum, rabulam illum Cicestrensem, esse mortuum; quod idem de Vatsono quoque Lincolniensi nunciatur: quod si ita est, vacant hoc tempore episcopatus quatuordecim. Whitus[7] tuus in funere Mariæ, quemadmodum ad te scripsi cum essem Basileæ, habuit ad populum insanam et turbulentissimam concionem; omnia potius tentanda esse, quam ut quicquam de

[1] Chambers was a liberal promoter of learning. He allowed Jewel £6 a year to purchase theological books at Oxford, and also assisted him in exile. See Strype. Eccl. Mem. Vol. III. chapp. xvii. xviii.]

[2] So the MS. apparently, but it is not clear.]

[3] This with other letters are from the Zurich collection, as published by the Parker Society. As in that collection most of the particulars which required explanation are largely illustrated, it does not seem necessary here to add more than a very few brief notes. The translation is with slight difference that given in the volume referred to. The variations in these letters of the recent Oxford edition of Jewel's works are marked where they occur.]

[4] Nostrum Simlerum. Quinto post die, Oxf.]

[5] Tantisper, Oxf.]

[6] Audimus, Oxf.]

[7] White was bishop of Winchester. He had written against P. Martyr. See Vol. III. page 590.]

religione immutaretur; bonum factum, si quis exules reduces interfecerit[8]. Accusatus est seditionis a marchione Vintoniensi thesaurario, et Hetho archiepiscopo Eboracensi. Londinensis[9] jussus est reddere hæredibus D. Ridlæi quæcunque illis per vim et injuriam eripuerat. Vocabitur brevi ad causæ dictionem; interim jubetur se domi continere, tanquam in carcere. Regina edixit, ne quis habeat concionem ad populum, neve papista neve minister evangelii. Id alii factum putant, quod cum unus tantum esset minister verbi tum temporis Londini, Benthamus[10], tantus esset numerus papistarum; alii, quod, audita una tantum Benthami publica concione, populus inter se cœperit litigare de ceremoniis; et alii Genevenses esse vellent, alii Francofordiani. Quicquid est, utinam ne nostri homines nimium prudenter et politice versari velint in causa Dei!

Multi putant D. Coquum fore magnum cancellarium; hominem bonum quidem et pium, uti nosti, sed illi muneri, meo judicio, non aptissimum. Eliensis[11] hæret adhuc apud Philippum, dum aliquid de ista præclara pace, si Deo placet, transigatur[12]; quæ qualis, aut quam firma et diuturna futura sit, *θεῶν ἐν γούνασι κεῖται.* D. Isabella, spero, vocabitur in Angliam: video enim alios quoque nostros homines de ea re serio cogitare. D. Zanchius etiam scribet ad reginam: erat scripturus ad totum parliamentum, nisi ego dissuasissem; id enim mihi videbatur alienum. Cranmerus puer[13] relictus est Argentinæ apud Abelum, ut meæ fidei committeretur: ego ab Abelo mutuo sumpsi octo[14] coronatos pueri nomine. Oro Julium, ut sarcinam et pecuniam, quam reliquimus numeratam apud te, ad illum mittat Argentinam. Ille tibi curabit cautionem, eamque vel deponet apud D. Zanchium, vel, si mavis, ad te mittet. Bene vale, mi dulcissime pater, et plus quam animi dimidium mei. Nolo ad te omnia; oportuit enim me etiam ad D. Bullingerum aliqua[15] scribere: cui ego viro pro summa ejus erga me humanitate debeo omnia. Sed ea, quæcunque sunt, non dubito tibi cum illo fore communia.

D. Hetonus, D. Abelus, D. Springhamus, D. Parkhurstus, te plurimum salutant, et cum tibi cupiant omnia, nihil tamen magis cupiunt hoc tempore quam Angliam. Saluta D. Muraltum, Hermannum, Julium, Juliam, et omnes tuos meosque, meo nomine. D. Fr. Beti et D. Acontius sunt nunc Argentinæ: uterque te plurimum salutant. Ego D. Beti reddidi literas D. Isabellæ: id obsecro ut illi significes. Argentinæ, 26 Januar.

JOHANNES JUELLUS,
ex animo et semper tuus.

INSCRIPTIO.

Ornatissimo viro, D. Petro Martyri, in ecclesia Tigurina professori S. Theologiæ, domino suo colendissimo.

[TRANSLATION.]

Respecting my first setting out, and all the news which was then circulated at Basle, I wrote to you by our friend Simler. So wretchedly were we delayed by the badness of the roads, that it was with some difficulty that, on the fifth day after, we arrived at Strasburgh. Here we found all our friends in good health, and very anxious for your company. We have not yet heard what Sandys, Horn, and our other friends, have been doing in England. Nor indeed is it to be wondered at; for, having left Strasburgh on the 21st of December, they would hardly be able to reach Antwerp in twenty days after, because the Rhine being frozen over would prevent their travelling by water. All we hear is, that their return was very acceptable to the queen, and that she has openly declared her satisfaction.

If the bishops go on as they have begun, bishopricks will shortly become very cheap. For Christopherson, that brawling bishop of Chichester, is certainly dead; the same is also reported of Watson, bishop of Lincoln; and if this be true, there are at this time no

[8] Interficeret, Oxf.]
[9] Bonner.]
[10] Afterwards bishop of Lichfield and Coventry.]
[11] Thirlby, previously bishop of Westminster.]
[12] Transfigatur, Burn.]
[13] Perhaps Thomas Cranmer, son of the archbishop.]
[14] *Octo* is inserted from Oxf.]
[15] Aliquæ, Burn.]

fewer than fourteen sees vacant. Your friend White, as I wrote to you when I was at Basle, delivered a most furious and turbulent discourse at the funeral of Mary, in which he declared that everything ought to be attempted, rather than that any alteration should be made in religion; and that it would be a worthy deed for any one to kill the exiles on their return. He was charged with sedition by the marquis of Winchester, lord treasurer, and Heath, archbishop of York.

The bishop of London has been ordered to restore to Ridley's executors the property which he had forcibly and injuriously taken possession of. He will shortly be called upon for his defence; and is in the mean time ordered to confine himself to his own house as a prisoner.

The queen has forbidden any person, whether papist or gospeller, to preach to the people. Some think the reason of this to be, that there was at that time only one minister of the word in London, namely, Bentham, whereas the number of papists was very considerable; others, that it was because the people, having heard only one public discourse of Bentham's, began to dispute among themselves about ceremonies, some declaring for Geneva, and some for Frankfort. Whatever it be, I only wish that our party may not act with too much worldly prudence and policy in the cause of God.

Many persons are of opinion that [sir Anthony] Cook will be the lord chancellor: he is, as you know, a worthy and pious man, but I think not the person best qualified for that office. The bishop of Ely is still remaining with Philip, while some arrangement is making, if it please God, about this famous peace; which, of what nature, or how firm or lasting it may be, God only can determine.

The lady Isabella will, I hope, be invited into England: for I perceive others also of our party are seriously thinking upon that matter. Zanchius too will write to the queen: he was on the point of writing to the whole parliament, if I had not dissuaded him; for it seemed to me quite out of place. The boy Cranmer was left with Abel at Strasburgh, to be delivered into my care. I borrowed from Abel eight crowns in the youth's name. I wish Julius would forward to him at Strasburgh the portmanteau, and the money which I left in your keeping. He will give you a receipt for it, which he will either deposit with Zanchius, or, if you choose, send onwards to yourself. Farewell, my most beloved father, and my soul's better half. I will not write *all* the news to you; for I had occasion to write somewhat to master Bullinger, a man to whom I owe everything for his exceeding kindness to me. But this, whatever it was, he will, I doubt not, communicate to you.

Masters Heton, Abel, Springham, and Parkhurst, salute you very much; and, though they desire for you all possible good, they desire for you at present nothing more than England. Salute in my name Muralt, Herman, Julius, his wife, and all our mutual friends. Master Fr. Beti and Acontius are now at Strasburgh. They both salute you much. I have returned to Beti the letter of the lady Isabella. I pray you let her know this.

Yours from my heart, and for ever,

Strasburgh, 26 January. JOHN JEWEL.

VIII. JOHANNES JUELLUS AD PETRUM MARTYREM.

(Zur. Coll. and Burnet, Vol. III. Book VI. No. 47.)

[1] Tandem tamen aliquando, quinquagesimo videlicet septimo post die quam solvissemus Tiguro, pervenimus[2] in Angliam. Quid enim necesse est multa προοιμιάζειν, apud te præsertim, qui rem potius ipsam quæras, et longos istos logos non magni facias? Interea vero, Deum immortalem! quæ illa vita fuit, cum et aqua, et terra, et cœlum ipsum nobis indignaretur, et omnibus[3] modis reditum nostrum impediret! Quid quæris? Omnia nobis toto illo tempore odiosissima et adversissima ceciderunt. Verum hæc antea ad te et ad D. Bullingerum fusius, cum adhuc hærerem Antwerpiæ. Nunc accipe cetera. Quanquam hic, ut vere dicam, arte opus est et myrothecio[4]; non tam quidem, quod mihi nunc ornanda et

[1 Burn. and Oxf. prefix S. P.] [2 Pervenimusque, Burn.] [3 Omnibusque, Burn.] [4 Myrotheciis, Oxf.]

polienda sint nova, quæ nescio an ulla sint hoc tempore (scio tamen a te plurima exspectari), quam quod recantanda sint vetera. Illa enim fere omnia, quæ ego ad te jam antea scripsi ex itinere, multo tum erant alia, et longe auditu jucundiora, quam quæ postea re ipsa inveni domi. Nondum enim ejectus erat Romanus pontifex; nondum pars ulla religionis restituta: eadem erat ubique missarum proluvies; eadem pompa atque insolentia episcoporum. Ista tamen omnia nunc tandem nutare incipiunt, et pene ruere.

Magno nobis impedimento sunt episcopi[5]: qui cum sint, ut scis, in superiori conclavi inter primores et proceres, et nemo ibi sit nostrorum hominum, qui illorum fucos et mendacia possit coram dicendo refutare, inter homines literarum et rerum imperitos soli regnant, et paterculos nostros facile vel numero vel opinione doctrinæ circumscribunt. Regina interea, etsi aperte faveat nostræ causæ, tamen partim a suis, quorum consilio omnia geruntur[6], partim a legato Philippi comite *Ferio*[7], homine Hispano, ne quid patiatur innovari mirifice deterretur. Illa tamen, quamvis lentius aliquanto quam nos velimus, tamen et prudenter et fortiter et pie persequitur institutum. Et quamvis hactenus principia paulo visa sunt duriora, tamen spes est aliquando recte fore. Interea, ne episcopi[5] nostri queri possint se potentia tantum et lege[8] esse victos, res revocata est ad disputationem; ut novem ex nostris, Scoræus, Coxus, Withedus, Sandus, Grindallus, Hornus, Elmerus, Ghestus quidam Cantabrigiensis, et ego, cum quinque episcopis, abbate Westmonasteriensi, Colo, Cheadsæo, Harpesfeldo, de his rebus coram senatu colloquamur. Prima nostra assertio est, in publicis precibus[9] et administratione sacramentorum alia uti lingua, quam quæ a populo intelligatur, alienum esse a[10] verbo Dei et a consuetudine primitivæ[11] ecclesiæ. Altera est, quamvis ecclesiam provincialem, etiam injussu generalis concilii, posse vel instituere, vel mutare, vel abrogare ceremonias et ritus ecclesiasticos, sicubi id videatur facere ad ædificationem. Tertia, sacrificium illud propitiatorium, quod papistæ[12] fingunt esse in missa, non posse probari ex sacris literis. Pridie calendarum Aprilis instituetur[13] prima conflictatio. Episcopi interim, quasi parta victoria, jamdudum magnifice triumphant. Ubi Froschoverus ad nos venerit[14], scribam de his rebus omnia disertius. Regina te gerit in oculis. Literas tuas tanti fecit, ut eas iterum tertioque cupidissime relegerit. Librum tuum, ubi advenerit, non dubito multo fore[15] gratiorem.

Oxonii a tuo discessu duæ præclaræ virtutes incredibiliter auctæ sunt, inscitia et contumacia: religio et spes omnis literarum atque ingeniorum funditus periit. Brochus episcopus Glocestriensis, bestia impurissimæ vitæ et[16] multo impurioris conscientiæ, paulo antequam moreretur, miserabilem in modum exclamavit, sese jam se ipso judice esse damnatum. Faber tuus, præclarus scilicet patronus castitatis, deprehensus est in adulterio: et[16] ea causa, quod alioqui vix solet fieri, cum Maria adhuc viveret, novo more, nullo exemplo jussus est cedere lectione theologica. Bruernus[17] simili, sed longe flagitiosiori de scelere coactus est relinquere professionem linguæ Hebraicæ. De Martiali nihil scribo, ne chartas contaminem[18]. De Westono audisti antea. Sed quid istos, inquies, commemoras[19]? Ut intelligas, quibus judicibus oportuerit D. Cranmerum, D. Ridlæum, D. Latimerum[20] condemnari. De Scotis, de pace, de bello nihil. Ternas ad te dedi literas ex itinere; quæ utrum[21] ad te pervenerint, nescio. Sed quoniam longe absumus, longius, O Deum immortalem! et diutius multo quam vellem, literæ nostræ interdum ventis et fortunæ committendæ sunt.

Vale, mi pater, et domine in Christo colendissime. Saluta D. Bullingerum, D. Gualterum, D. Simlerum, D. Gesnerum, D. Lavaterum, Julium, Juliam, Martyrillum, D. Hermannum, et convictores tuos Trevicenses[22]. Omnes nostri te salutant. Londini, 20 Martii, 1559.

Jo. Juellus, tuus.

[5 Aposcopi, Oxf. If this be the true reading, it is a play upon words, and intends those who were looking back from the true course.]

[6 (Ag)geruntur, Oxf.]

[7 The duke of Feria. See Strype, Annals, Vol. I. chap. xxxvi.]

[8 Legibus, Oxf.] [9 Precibusq. Burn.]

[10 Esse et a, Oxf.] [11 Primitiva, Burn.]

[12 Papista, Burn.] [13 Instituitur, Burn.]

[14 Venit, Burn.] [15 Fore multo, Burn.]

[16 Ex, Burn.]

[17 Bruern had been regius professor of Hebrew at Oxford, and provost of Eton.]

[18 Contaminarem, Burn.]

[19 Commemores, Burn.]

[20 B. Cranmerum, P. Ridlæum, P. Latimerum, Burn.]

[21 Utrumq. Burn.] [22 Trevirences, Oxf.]

P. S. Istæ sunt primæ[1], quas ad te scribo, ex quo redii in Angliam. Ita posthac subscribam omnes, ut scire possis, si quæ forte interciderint.

INSCRIPTIO.

Doctissimo viro D. Petro Martyri Vermilio, professori sacræ theologiæ in ecclesia Tigurina, domino suo colendissimo. Tiguri[2].

[TRANSLATION.]

Much health! We have at length arrived in England, that is to say, on the fifty-seventh day after our leaving Zurich. But why should I enter into a long preamble, to you especially, who rather wish for facts, and set but little value upon these tedious narrations? It was, however, a wearisome life, when both water, and earth, and the very heavens themselves, seemed angry with us, and in every possible way opposed our progress. What else? Every thing turned out most disagreeable and adverse to us throughout the whole time. But I informed both you and Bullinger of these things more fully in a former letter, while I was delayed at Antwerp. You shall now hear the sequel; although, to say the truth, there is need of some art and flowers of rhetoric; not so much for adorning and embellishing any new intelligence (of which I know not whether I have at present any to communicate, though I know you look for much), as for the purpose of retouching my old narrative over again. For almost every thing that I wrote to you about when on my journey was at that time very different, and far more pleasant in the hearing, than I afterwards found it to be in reality on my return home. For the Roman pontiff was not yet cast out; no part of religion was yet restored; there was everywhere the same abomination of the mass; the pomp and insolence of the bishops was unabated. All these things, however, are at length beginning to shake, and almost to fall.

The bishops are a great hinderance to us; for being, as you know, among the nobility and leading men in the upper house, and having none there on our side to expose their artifices and falsehoods by word of mouth, they reign as sole monarchs in the midst of ignorant and simple men, and easily overreach our weak senators, either by their numbers, or their reputation for learning. The queen, meanwhile, though she openly favours our cause, yet is wonderfully afraid of allowing any innovations: this is owing partly to her own friends, by whose advice every thing is carried on, and partly to the influence of count Feria, a Spaniard, and Philip's ambassador. She is, however, prudently, and firmly, and piously following up her purpose, though somewhat more slowly than we could wish. And though the beginnings have hitherto seemed somewhat unfavourable, there is nevertheless reason to hope that all will be well at last. In the meantime, that our bishops may have no ground of complaint that they are put down only by power and authority of law, a disputation is determined upon, wherein nine on our side, namely, Scory, Cox, Whitehead, Sandys, Grindal, Horn, Aylmer, a Cambridge man of the name of Gheast, and myself, are to confer about these matters before the council with five bishops, the abbot of Westminster, Cole, Chedsey, and Harpsfield. Our first proposition is, that it is contrary to the word of God, and the practice of the primitive church, to use in the public prayers and administration of the sacraments any other language than what is understood by the people. The second is, that every provincial church, even without the bidding of a general council, has power either to establish, or change, or abrogate ceremonies and ecclesiastical rites, wherever it may seem to make for edification. The third is, that the propitiatory sacrifice, which the papists pretend to be in the mass, cannot be proved by the holy scriptures.

The first discussion is to take place on the 31st of March. The bishops in the meantime have been long mightily exulting, as though the victory were already achieved. When Froschover comes over to this country, I will write you a more particular account of these matters. The queen regards you most highly: she made so much of your letter, that she read it over with the greatest eagerness a second and third time. I doubt not but that your book, when it arrives, will be yet more acceptable.

[1 Primæ sunt, Oxf.] [2 Oxf. omits *Tiguri.*]

Two famous virtues, namely, ignorance and obstinacy, have wonderfully increased at Oxford since you left it: religion, and all hope of good learning and talent, have altogether vanished. Brooks, bishop of Gloucester, a beast of most impure life and yet more impure conscience, a short time before his death, exclaimed in a most woeful manner, that he was now condemned by his own judgment. Your friend Smith, the renowned patron of chastity, has been taken in adultery, and on that account,—a most unusual thing in any other case,—while Mary was yet living, by a new and unprecedented method of proceeding was ordered to retire from the theological chair. Bruerne, too, has been compelled for a similar offence, only far more flagitious, to relinquish his professorship of Hebrew. I write nothing about Marshal for fear of defiling my paper. You have before heard respecting Weston. But why, say you, do you make mention of such persons? Simply, that you may learn by what kind of judges it was befitting that Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer should be condemned!

I have no news to tell respecting the Scotch, whether about peace or war. I wrote you three letters during my journey, but know not whether they have reached you. But since we are so far distant, much farther indeed, and for a much longer time than I could wish, our letters must sometimes be committed to the winds and to fortune.

Farewell, my father, and most esteemed master in Christ. Salute masters Bullinger, Gualter, Simler, Gesner, Lavater, Julius, his wife, your little Martyr, Herman, and your associates of Treves. All our friends salute you. London, 20 March, 1559.

Yours,

JOHN JEWEL.

This is the *first* letter I have written to you since my return to England. I will thus number all of them in future, that you may know whether any have been lost.

IX. JOHANNES JUELLUS AD PETRUM MARTYREM.

(Zur. Coll. and Burnet. Vol. III. Book VI. No. 49.)

S. P. De illis disputationibus inter nos et episcopos, quas proximis literis scripsi indictas fuisse[3] in ante calendas Aprilis, quid factum sit, paucis accipe; sic enim visum est continuare orationem sine procemio[4]. Primum ergo, ut omnis causa jurgiorum et otiosæ contentionis tolleretur, senatus decrevit, ut omnia utrinque de scripto legerentur, et ita describerentur tempora, ut primo die assertiones tantum utrinque nudæ proponerentur; proximo autem conventu ut nos illis responderemus, et illi vicissim nobis. Pridie ergo cal. April. cum magna exspectatione, majori credo frequentia, convenissemus Westmonasterii[5], episcopi, pro sua fide, nec scripti nec picti quicquam attulerunt, quod dicerent se non satis temporis habuisse ad res tantas cogitandas; cum tamen habuissent plus minus decem dies, et interea copias auxiliares Oxonio et Cantabrigia et undique ex omnibus angulis contraxissent. Tamen ne tot viri viderentur frustra convenisse, D. Colus subornatus ab aliis venit in medium, qui de prima quæstione, hoc est, de peregrina lingua, unus omnium nomine peroraret. Ille vero, cum omnibus nos contumeliis et convitiis indignissime excepisset[6], et omnium seditionum auctores et faces appellasset, et supplosione pedum, projectione brachiorum, inflexione laterum, crepitu digitorum, modo dejectione modo sublatione superciliorum (nosti enim hominis vultum et modestiam), sese omnes in partes et formas convertisset, huc postremo evasit, ut diceret, Angliam ante mille trecentos annos recepisse evangelium. Et quibus, inquit, literis, quibus annalibus, quibus monumentis constare potest, preces tum publicas in Anglia habitas fuisse Anglice? Postea cum in illo circulo sese satis jamdiu jactavisset, adjecit serio et vero vultu, atque etiam admonuit, ut omnes hoc tanquam quiddam de dictis melioribus diligenter attenderent atque annotarent, apostolos ab initio ita inter sese distribuisse operas, ut alii orientis ecclesias instituerent, alii occidentis: itaque Petrum et Paulum in Romana ecclesia, quæ totam prope Europam contineret, omnia Romano sermone, hoc est, Latine docuisse; reliquos apostolos in oriente nullo unquam alio sermone

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[3 Fuisses, Burn.]
[4 Procemiis, Burn.]
[5 See Strype, Annals, Vol. I. chap. v.]
[6 Accepisset, Oxf.]

usos fuisse nisi Græco. Tu fortasse ista rides: atqui ego neminem audivi unquam, qui solennius et magistratius insaniret. Si adfuisset Julius noster, centies exclamasset, *Poh*[1]*! horson knave.* Verum ille inter alia nihil veritus est mysteria ipsa et penetralia atque adyta prodere religionis suæ. Non enim dubitavit graviter et serio monere, etiamsi alia omnia maxime convenirent[2], tamen non expedire, ut populus, quid in sacris agatur[3], intelligat: ignorantia enim, inquit, mater est veræ pietatis, quam ille appellavit devotionem. O mystica sacra atque opertanea bonæ deæ! Quid tu me putas interim[4] de Cotta pontifice cogitasse? Hoc videlicet illud est *in spiritu et veritate adorare!* Mitto alia. Cum ille jam calumniando, conviciando, mentiendo magnam partem illius temporis, quod nobis ad disputandum datum erat, exemisset; nos postremo nostra pronunciavimus de scripto ita modeste, ut rem tantum ipsam diceremus, nihil autem deideremus adversarium: postremo ita dimissa est disputatio, ut vix quisquam esset in toto illo conventu, ne comes quidem Salopiensis, quin victoriam illius diei adjudicaret nobis. Postea inita est ratio, ut proximo die lunæ de secunda quæstione eodem modo diceremus; utque die Mercurii nos illorum primi dici argumentis responderemus, et illi vicissim nostris.

Die lunæ, cum frequens multitudo ex omni nobilitate cupidissima audiendi convenisset, episcopi, nescio pudoreve[5] superioris diei an desperatione victoriæ, primum tergiversari, habere se quod dicerent de prima quæstione, nec oportere rem sic abire. Responsum est a senatu, si quid haberent, id tertio post die, prout ab initio convenerat, audiri posse; nunc hoc potius agerent, neve turbarent ordinem. Dejecti de hoc gradu tamen huc evaserunt, si dicendum omnino sit, nolle se priores dicere; se enim in possessione constitisse; nos, si quid vellemus, priori loco experiremur: magnam enim se facturos injuriam causæ suæ, si paterentur nos posteriores discedere cum applausu populi, et aculeos orationis nostræ recentes in auditorum animis relinquere. Senatus contra, hanc ab initio institutam fuisse rationem, ut illi, quod dignitate priores essent, priori etiam loco dicerent; neq eam nunc mutari posse: mirari vero se, quid hoc sit mysterii, cum omnino necesse sit alterutros priores dicere; alioqui enim nihil posse dici: et præsertim, cum Colus in primis disputationibus, etiam injussus, ultro prior ad dicendum prosiluerit. Postremo, cum altercationibus magna pars temporis extracta esset, nec episcopi ullo pacto concedere vellent de secundo loco, ad extremum sine disputatione discessum est. Ea vero res incredibile dictu est quantum imminuerit opinionem populi de episcopis: omnes enim cœperunt jam suspicari, quod nihil dicere voluissent, ne potuisse quidem illos quicquam dicere. Postero die Vitus Vintoniensis, amicus tuus, et Vatsonus Lincolniensis, de tam aperto contemptu et contumacia damnati sunt ad turrim: ibi nunc castrametantur, et ex infirmis præmissis concludunt[6] fortiter. Reliqui jubentur quotidie præsto esse in aula, et exspectare quid de illis[7] senatus velit decernere. Habes ἔντευξιν ἀτελῆ et pene ἀνέντευκτον[8]: quam tamen, quo melius rem omnem intelligeres, descripsi pluribus fortasse quam oportuit.

Bene vale, mi pater, decus meum, atque etiam animi dimidium mei. Si quid est apud vos[9] novarum rerum hoc tempore, id malo esse proximarum literarum argumentum. Saluta plurimum meo nomine venerandum illum virum, et mihi in Christo dominum colendissimum, D. Bullingerum, D. Gualterum, D. Simlerum, D. Lavaterum, D. Volphium, D. Gesnerum, D. Hallerum, D. Frisium, D. Hermannum, et Julium tuum meumque. Nostri omnes te salutant, et tibi omnia cupiunt. Londini, 6 April. 1559.

Post-script.'[10] Jo. Juellus, tuus.

Istæ sunt secundæ, quas ad te scribo, ex quo redii in Angliam.

INSCRIPTIO.

D. Petro Martyri, professori sacræ theologiæ in ecclesia Tigurina, viro doctissimo, et domino suo in Christo colendissimo. Tiguri[10].

[1 Poz, Oxf.]
[2 Conveniunt, Burn.]
[3 Ageretur, Burn.]
[4 Interim putas, Oxf.]
[5 Pudorene, Oxf.]
[6 Præmissis jam concludunt, Oxf.]
[7 Ipsis, Oxf.]
[8 Ἀνεύτευκτον, Burn.]
[9 Nos, Oxf.]
[10 Oxf. omits these two words.]

[TRANSLATION.]

Much health! Accept a brief account of the disputation between us and the bishops, which I informed you in my last letter was appointed for the 31st of March: for it seems best thus to continue my narrative without any further preamble.

In the first place, then, to remove all ground of contention and idle debate, the council ordained that everything, on either side, should be read from written papers, and that the time should be so marked out, that on the first day nothing should be proposed by either party beyond bare affirmations; and that at the next meeting we were to answer them, and they, in their turn, to reply to us. Accordingly, we assembled at Westminster on the 31st of March. Great were the expectations of the people, and the crowd, I believe, still greater. The bishops (such was their good faith) produced not a single line either in writing or print, alleging that they had not had sufficient time for the consideration of matters of such importance; notwithstanding that they had been allowed ten days, more or less, and had in the meantime assembled their auxiliary troops both from Oxford and Cambridge, and all corners. However, that so great a number might not seem to have come together to no purpose, Dr Cole, being instructed by the others, stepped forth in the midst, to harangue, in the name of them all, respecting the first point of discussion, namely, the use of a foreign language. After having assailed us most unworthily with all manner of contumely and invective, and stigmatized us as the authors and firebrands of every kind of sedition; and having turned himself towards all quarters, and into every possible attitude, stamping with his feet, throwing about his arms, bending his sides, snapping his fingers, alternately elevating and depressing his eyebrows (you know the look and modesty of the man), he came at last to this, that England had now for thirteen hundred years received the gospel. And by what literary remains, he asked, by what annals, what monuments can it be made to appear, that the public prayers then in use in England were in the English tongue? When he had sufficiently careered within that circle, he added seriously, and with a solemn countenance and admonitory tone, that all should especially attend to and mark this, as a most precious saying, that the apostles from the beginning so divided their labours among themselves, that some of them established the eastern, and others the western churches; and that therefore Peter and Paul in the church of Rome, which at that time comprehended nearly all Europe, gave all their instructions in the language of Rome, that is, in Latin; and that the rest of the apostles in the east never employed any other language but the Greek. You will perhaps laugh at this; yet I never heard any one rave after a more solemn and dictatorial manner. Had my friend Julius been present, he would have exclaimed a hundred times over, Poh! whoreson knave! The speaker, however, made no scruple of betraying, among other things, the very mysteries, and secrets, and inmost recesses of his own religion. For he did not hesitate gravely and solemnly to affirm that, even were all other things to agree, it would nevertheless be inexpedient for the people to know what was going on in religious worship: for ignorance, said he, is the mother of true piety, which he called devotion. O sacred mysteries, and secret rites of the Bona Dea! What do you imagine I thought all the while about the pontiff Cotta? This truly it is to worship in spirit and in truth! But to proceed. When he had thus taken up a great part of the time allotted to us for disputation, in calumny, abuse, and falsehood, we at last recited our arguments from written papers, with so much moderation as only to treat upon the matter in dispute, without wounding our opponents. The debate was at length concluded in such a manner, that there was hardly any one in the whole assembly, not even the earl of Shrewsbury, who did not adjudge that day's victory to be on our side. It was afterwards arranged, that we should speak in the same manner respecting the second question on the Monday following, and that on the Wednesday we should reply to their first day's arguments, and they in turn to ours. On the Monday, when a vast multitude of the nobility had assembled, exceedingly desirous of hearing the debate, the bishops, I know not whether from shame at the preceding day, or from despair of victory, first began to shuffle, that they had yet much to say upon

the first question, and that the matter must not go off in that way. The council replied that, if they had any thing further to say, they might be heard on the third day following, as it had been originally agreed upon; but that they were now to confine themselves to the question before them, and not disturb the order of the disputation. Being driven from this position, they nevertheless still evaded the question by saying that, if they must needs speak at all, they would not speak first, that they were in possession of the ground, and that we, if we wished it, might try our strength in the first place; for that they would be doing great injury to their cause, if they should allow us to depart last, with the applause of the people, and leave the stings of our discourse fresh in the minds of the audience. The council replied on the other hand, that it was originally settled that they, as being first in dignity, should be first to speak; and that this arrangement could not now be altered: they were surprised, however, at there being all this mystery, since one party must of necessity begin the discussion, or else nothing could be said by either; and it was the more extraordinary, because on the first day's disputation Cole sprung forth to speak first, even without being called upon. At last, when a great part of the time had been taken up in altercation, and the bishops would on no account consent to yield the second place, the assembly broke up without any disputation at all. It is altogether incredible how much this conduct has lessened the opinion that the people entertained of the bishops; for they all begin to suspect that they refused to say anything, only because they had not anything to say.

On the day after your friend White, bishop of Winchester, and Watson, bishop of Lincoln, were committed to the Tower for open contempt and contumacy. There they are now employed in *castrametation*, and from weak premises draw bold conclusions. The rest are bound in recognisances to appear in court from day to day, and await the determination of the council respecting them.

Thus you have the account of an useless conference, and one which indeed can hardly be considered as such. I have, however, described it more copiously than there was any occasion for, that you might better understand the whole proceeding.

Farewell, my father, my pride, and even the half of my soul. Should there be at this time any farther news, I would rather it should be the subject of my next letter. Salute much, in my name, that reverend person, and my much-esteemed master in Christ, master Bullinger, masters Gualter, Simler, Lavater, Wolfius, Gesner, Haller, Frisius, Herman, and Julius, yours and mine. All our friends salute you, and wish you every happiness. London, April 6, 1559.

Your JOHN JEWEL.

This is the *second* letter I have written to you since my return to England.

X. JOHANNES JUELLUS AD PETRUM MARTYREM.

(Zur. Coll.)

S. P. Magnam mihi fecit injuriam Sandus noster, qui, cum ego jam ad te scripsissem, et cum[1] magnopere, ne id faceret, oravissem, tamen literas suas sine meis literis ad te miserit: quanquam, nisi quod scio officium a te jamdudum requiri meum, nihil hactenus factum est quod te tantopere auditu juvare possit. O Maria et Mariana tempora! Quanto nunc mollius et remissius veritas propugnatur, quam pridem defendebantur mendacia! Adversarii nostri omnia præcipites, sine exemplo, sine jure illo, sine lege; nos nihil nisi circumspecte, prudenter, considerate, callide; quasi sine nostris edictis et cautionibus Deus ipse vix possit auctoritatem suam retinere: ut multi nunc otiose ac scurriliter jocentur, "Christum, antea ejectum ab hostibus, nunc excludi ab amicis." Ista mora nonnihil nostrorum hominum animos emollivit; adversariorum autem furores et insanias incredibiliter confirmavit. Vix enim credas, quanto illi nunc sese confidentius gerant quam unquam antea: populus tamen ubique, et in primis omnis

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[1 Eum, Oxf.]

passim nobilitas, et illorum odit triumphos et insolentiam, et mirifice sitit evangelium. Itaque factum est, ut multis jam in locis missæ etiam invitis edictis sua sponte ceciderint. Quod si regina ipsa eam abigeret e suo larario, res omnis facillime posset confici[2]. Tanti sunt apud nos exempla principum: quod enim regis exemplo fit, id vulgus, ut scis, non dubitat recte fieri. Quanquam illa ita missam illam suam, quam adhuc temporis tantum causa retinet, temperavit, ut, quamvis in ea multa gerantur quæ ferri vix possint, tamen non ita magno cum periculo audiri possint. Verum optima et veræ pietatis cupientissima femina, etsi omnia primo quoque tempore mutata cupiat, tamen induci non potest, ut quicquam[3] velit immutare sine lege; ne res non tam sanorum hominum judicio quam furentis impetu multitudinis administrari videantur. Interim in senatu multa de religione mutata sunt, etiam invitis et reclamantibus atque omnia turbantibus episcopis. Sed ea, quoniam adhuc in vulgus ignota sunt, et sæpe sub incudem redeunt, nolo scribere.

Sandus, Grindallus, Sampson, Scoræus (et quid istos dico?) omnes adhuc sumus Londini, integra omnes valetudine, eadem conditione, eodem loco, eadem gratia. Multi de te, ubi sis, quid vivas, quid doceas, an velis redire in Angliam, si revoceris, honorificentissime percontantur. Sidallus[4] statim scripsit ad me, ne quid iniquis de se rumoribus velim credere. Memini te, cum Argentinæ doceres de potestate quam habent principes in episcopos, hoc etiam addidisse, Justinianum imperatorem movisse loco Sylverium et Vigilium. Si quando huc scribes, quæso te, ut locum, ubi illa historia scripta sit, paucis indices[5]. De reginæ nuptiis, quas nos omnes maxime cupimus, hactenus nihil. Bene vale, mi pater, et domine in Christo colendissime. Londini, 14 Aprilis, 1559.

Jo. Juellus,
Tuus tuus.

P. S. Istæ sunt tertiæ. Adscribo numerum ut scire possis, an aliquæ, ut fit[6], perierint in itinere.

INSCRIPTIO.

D. Petro Martyri Vermilio, professorī sacræ theologiæ in ecclesia Tigurina, viro longe doctissimo et domino suo in Christo colendissimo. Tiguri[7].

[TRANSLATION.]

Much health! Our friend Sandys has done me much wrong; for, notwithstanding I had already written to you, though I earnestly besought him not to do so, he sent you his own letter unaccompanied by mine. However, except that I feel this duty of mine has long been owing to you, nothing has hitherto occurred which it would give you much pleasure to hear. O Mary and the Marian times! With how much greater tenderness and moderation is truth now contended for, than falsehood was defended some time since! Our adversaries acted always with precipitancy, without precedent, without authority, without law; while we manage everything with so much deliberation, and prudence, and wariness, and circumspection, as if God himself could scarce retain his authority without our ordinances and precautions; so that it is idly and scurrilously said, by way of joke, that, as heretofore Christ was *cast out* by his enemies, so he is now *kept out* by his friends. This dilatoriness has grievously damped the spirits of our brethren, while it has wonderfully encouraged the rage and fury of our opponents. Indeed, you would hardly believe with how much greater boldness they now conduct themselves than they ever did before: yet the people everywhere, and especially the whole of the nobility, are both disgusted with their insolent exultation, and exceedingly thirsting for the gospel. Hence it has happened that the mass in many places has of itself fallen to the ground, without any laws for its discontinuance. If the queen herself would but banish it from her private chapel, the whole thing might easily be got

[2] Possit conficit, Oxf.]
[3] Quicquid, Oxf.]
[4] Henry Sidall. In Edward VI.'s reign he had acted with the reformers. He was one of the witnesses to Cranmer's recantation. See Strype, Cranmer, Book III. chap. xxi.]
[5] See before, pages 1030, 3, 4.]
[6] Sit, MS.] [7] Oxf. omits this inscription.]

rid of. Of such importance among us are the examples of princes. For whatever is done after the example of the sovereign, the people, as you well know, suppose to be done rightly. She has, however, so regulated this mass of hers (which she has hitherto retained only from the circumstances of the times), that, although many things are done therein which are scarcely to be endured, it may yet be heard without any great danger. But this woman, excellent as she is, and earnest in the cause of true religion, notwithstanding she desires a thorough change as early as possible, cannot however be induced to effect such change without the sanction of law; lest the matter should seem to have been accomplished, not so much by the judgment of discreet men, as in compliance with the impulse of a furious multitude. Meanwhile, many alterations in religion are effected in parliament, in spite of the opposition and gainsaying and disturbance of the bishops. These however I will not mention, as they are not yet publicly known, and are often brought on the anvil to be hammered over again.

Sandys, Grindal, Sampson, Scory, (and why should I particularise these?) all of us remain still in London, all in good health, in the same condition, the same circumstances, the same favour. Many persons make most honourable inquiry after you, where you are, how you live, what you are teaching, and whether, in case you should be recalled, you would feel disposed to return to England. Sidall lately desired me by letter not to give credit to any injurious reports respecting him.

I remember, when you were lecturing at Strasburgh respecting the power that sovereigns have over bishops, you stated that Sylverius and Vigilius were removed from their office by the emperor Justinian. When you next write, I will thank you briefly to point out the place where this circumstance is recorded.

We have as yet heard nothing respecting the queen's marriage, an event which we all desire most earnestly. Farewell, my father, and much-esteemed master in Christ. London, April 14, 1559.

Yours wholly,

JOHN JEWEL.

This is my *third* letter. I mention the number, that you may know whether, as may possibly be the case, any of them have been lost on the road.

XI. JOHANNES JUELLUS AD PETRUM MARTYREM.

(Zur. Coll. and Burnet, Vol. III. Book VI. No. 50.)

S. P. Accepi ternas a te literas, omnes eodem ferme tempore: quæ cum multis de causis mihi essent, ut certe esse[1] debebant, jucundissimæ, vel quod essent a te, vel quod rerum tuarum statum significarent et amorem erga me tuum; tamen nulla alia causa mihi[2] visæ sunt jucundiores, quam quod officium meum requirerent, meque vel oblivionis vel tarditatis blande ac tacite accusarent; quorum alterum magnitudo tuorum erga me meritorum, alterum negotia mea non sinunt. Scripsi quidem ego ad te ternas literas, ex quo redii in Angliam; quas tamen video, cum tu illas tuas scriberes, nondum ad te pervenisse. Et fieri potest, ut sæpe fit[3], ut aut hæreant uspiam, et ignavæ atque otiosæ imitentur religionem nostram, aut etiam perierint in itinere. Sed quicquid est, nulla potest in ea re magna jactura fieri: erant enim pene inanes, quod non multum adhuc esset, quod aut tu audire libenter velles, aut ego scribere. Nunc agitur causa pontificis, et agitur utrinque fortiter. Episcopi enim sudant, ne quid errasse videantur; atque ea causa moratur et impedit religionem. Difficile est enim cursum[4] incitare, ut inquit ille, *βραδυπόδων ἵππων ἐνόντων*[5]. Fecnamus, abbas Westmonasteriensis, opinor ut auctoritatem adderet[6] professioni suæ, cum peroraret in senatu, Nazaræos, prophetas, Christum ipsum, et apostolos conjecit in numerum monachorum[7]. Nemo[8] causam nostram acrius oppugnat quam Eliensis. Is et locum suum in senatu, et ingenium retinet. Episcoporum prædia redacta sunt in fiscum: illis ex

[1] This word is introduced from Oxf.]
[2] Nulla mihi alia causa, Oxf.]
[3] Sit, MS. and Burn.]
[4] Currum, Oxf.]
[5] Burn. omits the words from *incitare*.]
[6] Addent, Burn.]
[7] See before, page 784, notes 3, 4.]
[8] Neque, Oxf.]

permutatione dabuntur sacerdotia, quæ antea erant attributa[9] monasteriis. Interim de scholis et cura literarum magnum ubique silentium. Hoc scilicet est δαίμονας ἐξελαύνειν ἄλλον ἄλλῳ, ὡς φασι, δαίμονι[10].

Regina de te honorifice et loquitur et sentit. Dixit nuper D. Russelio, se velle te accersere in Angliam; id enim ille aliique urgent, quantum possunt. Sed nisi et serio, et cupide, et honorifice petaris, nunquam ero auctor ut venias. Nihil equidem magis aut miserius cupio, quam te videre, et dulcissimis illis sermonibus tuis frui, sive (quod O utinam aliquando contingat!) in Anglia, sive etiam Tiguri. Verum quantum video obstabit desiderio nostro inauspicata illa et[11] saxis ac Saxonibus damnata παρουσία[12]. Nostra enim nunc cogitat fœdus Smalcaldicum. Scribit autem ad illam quidam e Germania, illud fœdus non posse ullo pacto coire, si tu ad nos venias. Illum autem quendam si addo aliquando fuisse episcopum, si nunc esse exulem, si hominem Italum[13], si veteratorem, si aulicum, si Petrum, si Paulum, magis eum fortasse noris, quam ego[14]. Sed quicquid est, nos articulos omnes religionis et doctrinæ nostræ exhibuimus reginæ, et ne minimo quidem apice discessimus a confessione Tigurina: quanquam Ἀρχιμάγειρος[15] amicus tuus inventum illum, nescio quod, suum tuetur mordicus, et nobis omnibus mirifice succenset. Adhuc nemini nostrum ne de obolo quidem prospectum est. Itaque ego nondum abjicio insignia illa, quæ mihi finxi Tiguri, librum et crucem. Goodmannum audio esse apud nos[16]; sed ita, ut non ausit φαινοπροσωπεῖν et[17] venire in publicum[18]. Sed quanto satius fuisset sapuisse in tempore! Si velit agnoscere errorem, nihil erit periculi. Verum, ut homo est satis acer, et in eo, quod semel suscepit, nimium pertinax, non nihil vereor, ne nolit cedere.

Libri tui nondum venerunt: id ego tanto magis miror, quod tot Angli jam pridem redierint Francofordia. Munus tuum, ubi advenerit, non dubito reginæ fore gratissimum. Illud ego, quoniam tu ita jubes, quamvis alioqui[19] sit per se ornatissimum, tamen si dabitur facultas, verbis ornabo meis. De illo autem libro, quem tu seorsim ad me misisti, equidem non invenio quibus verbis tibi agam gratias. Itaque malo et huic humanitati tuæ, et superiorum tuorum erga me meritorum magnitudini, ultro[20] succumbere. Certe etsi te nunquam ex animo eram[21] dimissurus, tamen hac commonefactione et mnemosyno[22] excitatus, tanto acrius et reverentius colam, quoad vixero, nomen tuum. Alii tui libri jampridem allati sunt a bibliopolis, et emuntur cupidissime: omnes enim libenter videre cupiunt, quibus venabulis illa bestia confossa sit.

Bene vale, mi pater, et domine in Christo colendissime. Saluta D. Bullingerum, D. Bernardinum, D. Gualterum, D. Simlerum: dicerem et[23] Frenshamum, nisi illum putarem jamdudum aut in balneo esse, aut in via: hoc enim anni tempore, cum auditur cuculus, vix solet esse apud se. Londini, 28 Apr. 1559.

Tui cupidissimus,

tuoque nomini deditissimus,

P. S. Istæ sunt quartæ. JOHANNES JUELLUS.

INSCRIPTIO.

Doctissimo viro, D. Petro Martyri, professori S. theologiæ in ecclesia Tigurina[24], *domino suo colendissimo. Tiguri*[25].

[TRANSLATION.]

Much health! I have received three letters from you, and all of them nearly at the same time. Though they were, as they certainly ought to be, most gratifying

[9] Attributa erant, Burn.]
[10] Burn. omits this sentence.]
[11] Ex, Burn.] [12] Παρεσβια, Burn.]
[13] Statum, Burn.]
[14] Vergerius seems to be the person meant. See below, page 1235.]
[15] A pun on Sir Anthony Cook's name. Burn. omits the word.]
[16] Vos, Oxf.]
[17] Burn. omits these two words.]
[18] See before, page 1192, note 2.]
[19] Alioquin, Burn.]
[20] This word is not in Oxf.]
[21] Eram ex animo, Oxf.]
[22] Mnemosyne, Oxf.] [23] Etiam, Oxf.]
[24] *In ecclesia Tigurina professori S. theologiæ*, Burn.; so Oxf. omitting *S.*]
[25] Oxf. omits *Tiguri.*]

on many accounts, both as coming from you, and letting me know the state of your affairs, and your affection for myself; yet for no other reason did they seem more acceptable to me, than because they expressed a desire that I should write to you, and gently, though silently, charged me with either forgetfulness or dilatoriness; of which the former is as much forbidden by the extent of your kindness towards me, as the latter is by the magnitude of my engagements. I have indeed written to you *three* letters since my return to England; which I perceive, however, had not reached you at the time you wrote. And it may be, as is often the case, that they are either loitering somewhere or other, and are, like religion among ourselves, reposing in listless inactivity, or else have been lost on the road. But however it be, there can be no great loss in that respect; inasmuch as they were almost empty, because there was not then much that either you would like to hear, or I to write. The cause of the pope is now agitated, and with much vehemence on both sides. For the bishops are labouring that they may not seem to have been in error; and this delays and hinders the progress of religion: but it is indeed no easy matter to accelerate its course, as the poet says, with such slow-paced horses. Feckenham, the abbot of Westminster, in order, I suppose, to exalt the authority of his own profession, in a speech that he made in the House of Lords, placed the Nazarites, the prophets, nay even Christ himself and his apostles, in the monastic orders! No one more keenly opposes our cause than the bishop of Ely, who still retains his seat in parliament, and his disposition along with it. The lands of the bishops are to be made over to the exchequer; and the rectories which heretofore belonged to the monasteries will be given them in exchange. In the meantime there is everywhere a profound silence respecting schools and the encouragement of learning. This indeed is driving out one devil, as they say, by another.

The queen both speaks and thinks most honourably of you: she lately told lord Russell, that she was desirous of inviting you to England, a measure which is urged both by himself and others, as far as they are able. But, unless you should be seriously, and earnestly, and honourably recalled, I, for my part, will never advise your coming. For myself, indeed, there is nothing that I desire more, or with greater impatience, than to behold you, and enjoy your most delightful conversations, either (as I heartily wish may one day be the case) in England, or even at Zurich. But, as far as I can perceive, that inauspicious presence will present an obstacle to my wishes. For our [queen] is now thinking of the league of Smalcald; but there is one who writes to her from Germany, that this can by no means be brought about, if you should return to us. Who this person is, if I tell you that he was once a bishop, that he is now an exile, an Italian, a crafty person, a courtier, Peter, Paul, you will perhaps know him better than I do. But however this may be, we have exhibited to the queen all our articles of religion and doctrine, and have not departed in the slightest degree from the confession of Zurich; although your friend, Ἀρχιμάγειρος, defends some scheme of his own, I know not what, most obstinately, and is mightily angry with us all. As yet not the slightest provision has been made for any of us; so that I have not yet abandoned the device which I designed for myself at Zurich, a book and a cross. I hear that Goodman is in this country, but so that he dare not shew his face, and appear in public. How much better would it have been to have been wise in time! If he will but acknowledge his error, there will be no danger. But, as he is a man of irritable temper, and too pertinacious in any thing that he has once undertaken, I am rather afraid that he will not yield. Your books have not yet come, which I am the more surprised at, as so many of the English have long since returned from Frankfort. When your present arrives, it will, I doubt not, be most acceptable to the queen; and since you wish it, although it is in itself most excellent, yet, should I have an opportunity, I will set forth its value in my own words. As to the book which you sent to me individually, I know not in what words to express my thanks. I choose, therefore, to sink under the weight of your present kindness, and the magnitude of all your former good offices towards me. And, though most certainly I was never likely to have dismissed you from my remembrance, yet, excited as I am by this additional memorial, I shall entertain a more ardent and reverential affection for your name, as long as I live. Your other books have long since been brought over by the book-

sellers, and are purchased with the greatest eagerness; for every one is most anxious to see by what hunting-spears the beast has been pierced.

Farewell, my father and much-esteemed master in Christ. Salute masters Bullinger, Bernardine, Gualter, Simler: I would add Frensham, did I not suppose that he was now at the bath, or on a journey; for at this season of the year, when one hears the cuckoo, he is rarely at home. London, April 28, 1559.

Your very affectionate and most devoted,

JOHN JEWEL.

This is my *fourth* letter.

XII. JOHANNES JUELLUS AD PETRUM MARTYREM.

(Zur. Coll. and Burnet, Vol. III. Book VI. No. 52.)

S. P. Et quid tandem ego ad te scribam? Nos enim adhuc omnes peregrini sumus domi nostræ. Redi ergo, inquies, Tigurum. Utinam, utinam, mi pater, id mihi aliquando liceat! Te enim, quantum video, nulla spes est venturum unquam in Angliam. O Tigurum, Tigurum! quanto ego nunc sæpius de te cogito, quam unquam de Anglia, cum essem Tiguri! Quamvis autem, ut dixi, in patria nostra simus hospites, excipimus tamen interdum quædam *ἄφατα καὶ ἀδιήγητα*. Verum *πολλάκι . . . τὸ κακὸν κατακείμενον ἔνδον ἄμεινον*[1].

De religione transactum est (utinam bonis auspiciis!) ut esset eo loco, quo fuit ultimis tuis temporibus sub Edouardo. Sed, quantum quidem ego adhuc videre possum, non est ea alacritas in nostris hominibus, quæ nuper in papistis fuit. Ita misere comparatum est, ut mendacium armatum sit, veritas autem non tantum inermis, verum etiam sæpe odiosa. Agitur nunc[2] de sacro et scenico apparatu; quæque ego tecum aliquando ridens, ea nunc a nescio quibus (nos enim non advocamur[3] in consilium) serio et graviter cogitantur, quasi religio christiana constare non possit sine pannis. Nos quidem[4] non ita otiosi sumus ab animo, ut tanti possimus facere istas ineptias. Alii sectantur auream quandam, quæ mihi plumbea potius videtur, mediocritatem; et clamant, Dimidium plus toto.

Quidam ex nostris designati sunt episcopi, Parkerus Cantuariensis, Coxus Norvicensis, Barlovus Cicestrensis, Scoræus Herfordensis, Grindallus Londinensis (nam Bonerus jussus est cedere); qui quando adituri sint possessionem, nescio. Ego ex isto flore, quod tu de vino soles, facile divino quæ sit futura vindemia. Adversarii interim nostri *καιροφυλακτοῦσι*[5], et pollicentur sibi ista non fore perpetua. In Scotia nescio quid audimus tumultuatum de religione: nobiles ejectis monachis occupasse monasteria; et aliquot milites præsidiarios Gallos in tumultu occidisse; reginam iratam edixisse, ut Knoxus concionator inflato cornu (est enim ille in Scotia mos solennis, si quem velint[6] extorrem facere) ex omnibus finibus ejiceretur. Quid de illo factum sit, nescio.

Nunc instituitur legatio in totam Angliam de formanda religione. Sandus ibit in Lancastriam; ego in Devoniam; alii alio. Regina non vult appellari caput ecclesiæ, quod mihi certe non displicet. Interim, quid *il cavetso della Chiesa* cogitet aut murmuret, aut quas turbas daturus sit, tu, quoniam propius abes, facilius audire potes. Papistæ nostri odiosissime pugnant, neque alii ulli contumacius, quam qui a nobis discesserunt. Tanti est semel gustasse de missa!

Qui bibit inde, furit: procul hinc discedite, queis est
Mentis cura bonæ: qui bibit inde, furit.

Vident erepto[7] illo palladio omnia ventura in periculum. Pax inter nos et Gallum ita convenit, ut Caletum octo post annos redeat in potestatem Anglorum: quod ut Julius noster credat, opus est incredibili et robusta fide. Quicquid erit, tamen nos eo nomine exspectamus pignora e[8] Gallia. De nuptiis reginæ adhuc nihil.

[1 Theognis, 423.] [2 Unice, Oxf.] [6 Volint, Burn.]
[3 Vocamur, Oxf.] [4 Equidem, Oxf.] [7 Excepto, Burn.]
[5 *Καραδοκοῦσι*, Burn. and Oxf.] [8 A, Oxf.]

Tamen ambit hoc tempore Suecus, Saxo, Carolus Ferdinandi. Mitto Pikerinum, hominem Anglum. Tamen, quid malim, scio. Et ista sunt, ut scis[1], μυστικώτερα: et apud nos proverbii loco dici solet, matrimonia esse fatalia.

Bene vale, mi pater, et domine in Christo colendissime. Saluta, quæso, optimum senem D. Bernardinum, D. Muraltum, D. Volphium meo nomine. Liber tuus, quem reginæ misisti dono, redditus est a D. Cæcilio: ad meas manus, nescio quo casu, non pervenit. Ego tamen, quoties sum in aula, diligenter exquiro[2] numquid illa velit; et adhuc nihil audio. Sed quicquid erit, faciam ut intelligas. Londini.

Istæ sunt quintæ: tu vide an aliquæ perierint.

INSCRIPTIO.

Doctissimo viro D. Petro Martyri, professori sacræ theologiæ in ecclesia Tigurina, domino suo colendissimo. Tiguri.

[TRANSLATION.]

Much health! And what, after all, can I write to you? For we are all of us hitherto as strangers at home. Return then, you will say, to Zurich. Most earnestly do I wish, my father, that this may some time be possible; for, so far as I can see, there is no hope of your ever coming to England. O Zurich! Zurich! how much oftener do I now think of thee than ever I thought of England when I was at Zurich! But though, as I observed, we are yet strangers in our own country, we hear sometimes ineffable and inexplicable things. Mischief, however, is often better kept at home.

As to religion, it has been effected, I hope, under good auspices, that it shall be restored to the same state as it was during your latest residence among us, under Edward. But, as far as I can perceive at present, there is not the same alacrity among our friends, as there lately was among the papists. So miserably is it ordered, that falsehood is armed, while truth is not only unarmed, but also frequently offensive. The scenic apparatus of divine worship is now under agitation; and those very things which you and I have so often laughed at are now seriously and solemnly entertained by certain persons (for *we* are not consulted), as if the christian religion could not exist without something tawdry. Our minds indeed are not sufficiently disengaged to make these fooleries of much importance. Others are seeking after a *golden*, or, as it rather seems to me, a *leaden* mediocrity; and are crying out, that the half is better than the whole.

Some of our friends are marked out for bishops; Parker for Canterbury, Cox for Norwich, Barlow for Chichester, Scory for Hereford, and Grindal for London; for Bonner is ordered to vacate his see. When they will take possession, I know not. From this flowering I can easily guess beforehand, as you do of wine, what kind of a vintage it will be. Our enemies in the meantime are watching their opportunity, and promise themselves that these things cannot last.

In Scotland we hear that there have been some disturbances, I know not of what kind, respecting matters of religion; that the nobles have driven out the monks, and taken possession of the monasteries; that some French soldiers of the garrison have been slain in a riot; and that the queen was so incensed as to proclaim the banishment of the preacher Knox by sound of horn, according to the usual custom in Scotland, when they mean to send any one into exile. What has become of him, I know not.

A commission is now appointed for the whole of England, with a view to the establishment of religion. Sandys will go into Lancashire, I into Devonshire, others into other parts. The queen declines being styled the head of the church, at which I certainly am not much displeased. Meanwhile, what *the hangman of the church* may think, or murmur, or what trouble he may give us, you who are less distant,

[1 Scio, Burn.] [2 Inquiro, Oxf.]

can hear more easily than ourselves. Our papists oppose us most spitefully, and none more obstinately than those who have abandoned us. This it is to have once tasted of the mass! *He who drinks of it is mad. Depart from it, all ye who value a sound mind: who drinks of it is mad.* They perceive that, when that palladium is removed, every thing else will be endangered.

A peace has been concluded between us and the French, on condition that Calais shall be restored, after eight years, into the possession of the English. It will need a marvellously strong faith to make my friend Julius believe this. However it be, we are expecting sureties from France to that effect. Nothing is yet talked of about the queen's marriage; yet there are now courting her the king of Sweden, the Saxon, and Charles the son of [the emperor] Ferdinand, to say nothing of the Englishman, [Sir William] Pickering. I know, however, what I should prefer: but matters of this kind, as you are aware, are rather mysterious; and we have a common proverb that *marriages are made in heaven.*

Farewell, my father and much-esteemed master in Christ. Salute, I pray you, in my name, the excellent old man, master Bernardine, with masters Muralt and Wolfius. The book which you sent as a present to the queen was delivered to her by Cecil. By some accident or other, it never came into my hands: as often, however, as I go to court, I inquire very particularly whether she has anything to say; but as yet I hear nothing. Whatever it be, I will take care to let you know. London.

JOHN JEWEL.

' This is my *fifth* letter: you will find out whether any have been lost.

XIII. JOHANNES JUELLUS AD HENRICUM BULLINGERUM.

(Zur. Coll. and Burnet, Vol. III. Book VI. No. 48.)

S. P.[3] Gratissimæ erant mihi Parkhurstoque meo literæ tuæ, ornatissime vir, vel quod essent a te[4], cui quantum debeamus nunquam possumus oblivisci, vel quod[5] suavitatis et humanitatis erga nos tuæ, quam toto nos[6] tempore exilii nostri experti sumus maximam, altissima vestigia retinerent. Atque utinam possimus aliquando pietatis tuæ partem aliquam compensare! Quicquid erit, animus certe nobis nunquam deerit. Quod nos hortaris, ut strenue ac fortiter nos geramus, erat ille aculeus non tantum non ingratus nobis, sed etiam pene necessarius. Nobis enim in hoc[7] tempore non tantum cum adversariis, sed etiam cum amicis nostris, qui proximis istis annis a nobis defecerunt et cum hostibus conjurarunt, jamque acrius multo et contumacius resistunt quam ulli hostes; quodque molestissimum est, cum reliquiis Hispanorum, hoc est, cum teterrimis vitiis, superbia, luxu, libidine, luctandum est. Facimus quidem nos, fecimusque, quod potuimus. Deus bene fortunet, et det incrementum! Sed ita hactenus vivimus, ut vix videamur restituti[8] ab exilio. Ne dicam[9] aliud, ne suum quidem adhuc restitutum est cuiquam nostrum: quanquam, etsi molesta nobis est ista tam diuturna exspectatio, tamen non dubitamus brevi recte fore. Habemus enim reginam et prudentem et piam, et nobis faventem et propitiam. Religio restituta est in eum locum, quo sub Edvardo rege fuerat[10]: ad eam rem non dubito tuas reipublicæque vestræ literas et exhortationes multum ponderis attulisse. Regina non vult appellari aut scribi caput ecclesiæ Anglicanæ: graviter enim respondit, illam dignitatem soli attributam esse[11] Christo, nemini autem mortalium convenire; deinde illos titulos ita[12] fœde contaminatos esse ab antichristo, ut jam non possint amplius[13] satis pie a quoquam usurpari.

Academiæ nostræ ita afflictæ sunt et perditæ, ut Oxonii vix duo sint, qui

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[3] Oxf. omits S. P.]
[4] Quod a te sint, Burn.]
[5] Quo, Burn.]
[6] Illo, Oxf.]
[7] Enim hoc, Oxf.]
[8] Restitui, Oxf.]
[9] Nihil enim dicam, Oxf.]
[10] Fuit, Oxf.]
[11] Esse attributam, Burn.]
[12] Tam, Burn.]
[13] Amplius possint, Oxf.]

nobiscum sentiant, et illi ipsi ita abjecti et fracti, ut nihil possint. Ita Soto fraterculus, et alius, nescio quis, Hispanus monachus[1], omnia ea, quæ D. Petrus Martyr pulcherrime plantaverat, everterunt a radicibus, et vineam Domini redegerunt in solitudinem. Vix credas tantam vastitatem afferri potuisse tam parvo tempore. Quare etsi magnam alioqui voluptatem capturus sim, si vel canem Tigurinum videre possem[2] in Anglia, tamen non possum esse auctor hoc tempore, ut juvenes vestros aut literarum aut religionis causa ad nos mittatis, nisi eosdem remitti velitis ad vos impios et barbaros. Rogavit me nuper D. Russelius, qua maxime re posset[3] tibi aliisque tuis fratribus et symmystis gratum facere. Hoc videlicet sensit, velle se humanitatis vestræ, quam semper prædicat, et hospitii causa aliquid ad vos dono mittere. Ego vero nihil tibi tuisque fore gratius, quam si religionem Christi studiose ac fortiter propagaret, et papistarum insolentiam imminueret. Quod ille et recepit se facturum, et certe facit, quantum potest.

Venerunt hodie Londinum legati regis Galliæ, qui gratulentur[4] de pace: princeps legationis est juvenis Momorancius. De nuptiis reginæ adhuc nihil. Ambit quidem filius Johannis Frederici, et frater secundus natu Maximiliani. Vulgi tamen suspicio inclinat in Pikerinum, hominem Anglum, virum et prudentem et pium, et regia corporis dignitate præditum. Deus bene vertat, quicquid erit!

Istæ primæ sunt, quas ad te seorsim scripsi, ex quo redii in Angliam: sed quoniam, quæ scripsi ad D. Martyrem, scio illum propter summam inter vos conjunctionem tecum habuisse communia, non dubito, quæcumque ad illum scripsi, eadem ad te quoque scripta dicere. Bene vale, mi pater, et domine in Christo colendissime. Saluta optimam illam mulierem, uxorem tuam, D. Gualterum, D. Simlerum, D. Zuinglium, D. Lavaterum[5]. Si quid unquam erit, in quo possim aut tibi aut tuis esse voluptati aut usui, polliceor tibi non tantum operam, studium, diligentiam, sed etiam animum et corpus meum. Maii 22, Londini, 1559.

Tui studiosissimus,

Jo. Juellus.

INSCRIPTIO.

Viro longe doctissimo D. Henrico Bullingero, pastori ecclesiæ Tigurinæ dignissimo, et domino suo colendissimo. Tiguri.

[TRANSLATION.]

Much health! Your letter, most accomplished sir, was most gratifying to my friend Parkhurst and myself, both as coming from one to whom we can never forget how greatly we are indebted, and also as retaining the deepest traces of that courtesy and kindness of yours towards us, which we so largely experienced during the whole time of our exile. And I wish we may be able, some time or other, in some measure to requite your kindness: but, however this may be, the inclination, at least, shall not be wanting. Your exhortation that we should act with firmness and resolution was a stimulus so far from being unacceptable to us, that it was almost necessary. For we have at this time to contend not only with our adversaries, but even with those of our friends, who of late years have fallen away from us, and gone over to the opposite party; and who are now opposing us with a bitterness and obstinacy far exceeding that of any common enemy: and, what is most vexatious, we have to struggle with what has been left us by the Spaniards, that is, with the foulest vices, pride, luxury, and licentiousness. We are doing, however, and have done, all that is in our power: may God prosper our exertions, and give them a happy issue! But at present we are so living, as scarcely to seem like persons returned from exile; for, to say nothing else, not one of us has yet had even his own property restored to him. Yet, although this long waiting is very tiresome to us, we doubt not but that in a short time all will be well. For we have a wise and religious queen, and one too who is favourably and propitiously disposed towards us. Religion is again placed on the same footing on

[1 Johannes a Garcia. See Strype, Eccl. Mem. Vol. III. chap. xxxvi.]
[2 Possim, Oxf.]
[3 *Posset* is not in Burn.]
[4 Gratulantur, Burn.]
[5 Oxf. transposes these two names.]

which it stood in king Edward's time; to which event, I doubt not, but that your own letters and exhortations, and those of your republic, have powerfully contributed. The queen is unwilling to be addressed, either by word of mouth or in writing, as the head of the church of England. For she seriously maintains that this honour is due to Christ alone, and cannot belong to any human being soever: besides which, these titles have been so foully contaminated by antichrist, that they can no longer be adopted by any one without impiety.

Our universities are so depressed and ruined, that at Oxford there are scarcely two individuals who think with us; and even they are so dejected and broken in spirit, that they can do nothing. That despicable friar, Soto, and another Spanish monk, I know not who, have so torn up by the roots all that Peter Martyr had so prosperously planted, that they have reduced the vineyard of the Lord into a wilderness. You would scarcely believe so much desolation could have been effected in so short a time. So that, although it would give me the greatest pleasure, under other circumstances, to see even a dog from Zurich in England, yet I cannot at this time recommend you to send your young men to us, for either a learned or religious education, unless you would have them sent back to you wicked and barbarous.

The lord Russel lately asked me in what way he could most oblige both yourself and others, your brethren and fellow-ministers. He felt, in truth, an inclination to send you some acknowledgement of your kindness and hospitality, which he is continually commending. I told him, that nothing could be more acceptable to yourself and your friends, than for him studiously and boldly to promote the religion of Christ, and repress the insolence of the papists. This he promised that he would do, and he certainly does, as far as lies in his power.

The ambassadors of the French king arrived to-day in London, to offer their congratulations about the peace. The head of the embassy is the young duke de Montmorenci. Nothing is yet said respecting the queen's marriage. The son of John Frederick [duke of Saxony], and the second brother of Maximilian [son of the emperor Ferdinand], are her suitors. The public opinion, however, inclines towards [Sir William] Pickering, an Englishman, a wise and religious man, and highly gifted as to personal qualities. May God prosper the event, whatever it be!

This is the *first* letter that I have written separately to yourself since my return to England. But, as I know that Peter Martyr, from the great intimacy that subsists between you, has communicated to you my letters to him, so I have no hesitation in regarding what I have written to him just the same as if it had been addressed to yourself.

Farewell, my father, and much-esteemed master in Christ. Salute that excellent lady your wife, masters Gualter, Simler, Zuinglius, and Lavater. Should there be any thing in which I can conduce either to the comfort or advantage of yourself or your friends, I promise you not only my labour, zeal, and diligence, but also every effort both of mind and body. London, May 22, 1559.

Your much attached,

JOHN JEWEL.

XIV. JOHANNES JUELLUS AD PETRUM MARTYREM.

(Zur. Coll. and Burnet, Vol. III. Book VI. No. 51.)

[6]Hactenus minus frequenter ad te scripsi, mi pater, quod multa me negotia publica privataque impedirent. Nunc scribo, non quod plus nunc otii sit quam antea, sed quod minus posthac futurum sit multo quam nunc est. Alterum enim jam pedem in terra habeo, alterum pene sublatum in equum. Mox enim ingredior longinquam et difficilem legationem constituendæ religionis ergo per Redingum, Abindonam, Glocestriam, Bristolium, Thermas, Welliam, Exonium, Cornubiam, Dorcestriam, Sarisburiam. Ambitus itineris nostri erit plus minus septingentorum

[6 Here Oxf. prefixes S. P.]

milliarium; vix ut quarto demum mense putem nos esse redituros. Quare ne me interea putares esse mortuum, etsi ante duodecim dies nescio quid ad te scripserim de rebus communibus, tamen non alienum fore duxi, si nunc quoque paucis te quasi in digressu[1] salutarem. Res nostræ satis nunc sunt in proclivi; regina optime animata; populus ubique sitiens religionis. Episcopi, potius quam ut relinquant papam, quem toties jam antea abjurarunt[2], malunt cedere rebus omnibus. Nec tamen id religionis causa faciunt, quam nullam habent, sed constantiæ, quam miseri nebulones vocari jam volunt conscientiam. Sacrifici jam tandem mutata religione passim abstinent a cœtu sacro, quasi piaculum summum sit cum populo Dei quicquam habere commune. Est autem tanta illorum nebulonum rabies, ut nihil supra. Omnino sperant et prædicant (est enim, ut scis, genus hominum prædictiosissimum[3] et valde deditum futuritionibus), ista non fore diuturna. Sed quicquid futurum est, nos agimus Deo Optimo Maximo gratias, quod res nostræ eo jam tandem loco sint, quo sunt.

In Scotia fervent omnia. Knoxus, cinctus mille satellitibus, agit conventus per totum regnum. Regina vetula coacta est sese includere in præsidium. Nobilitas conjunctis animis et viribus restituit ubique religionem invitis omnibus. Monasteria passim omnia æquantur solo; vestes scenicæ[4], calices sacrilegi, idola, altaria comburuntur: ne vestigia quidem priscæ superstitionis et idololatriæ[5] relinquuntur. Quid quæris? Audisti sæpe, σκυθιστὶ πιεῖν: hoc vero est σκυθιστὶ ἐκκλησιάζειν. Rex Galliæ[6], qui nunc est, scribit se regem Scotiæ et[7] hæredem Angliæ, si quid reginæ nostræ (quod Deus avertat!) contingat humanitus. Id[8] mirari non debes si nostri homines moleste ferant; et quo res eruptura tandem sit, Θεοῦ ἐν γούνασί κεῖται. Fortasse, ut fit[9], communis hostis conciliabit nobis vicinum Scotum: quod si sit, etsi accedant etiam nuptiæ,—sed desino divinare.

D. Hetonus te salutat, idque non minus amice quam si illi pater esses. Aliquot nostrum designamur episcopi: Coxus Eliensis, Scoræus Erfordiensis, Alanus Roffensis, Grindalus Londinensis, Barlovus Chichestrensis, et ego minimus apostolorum Sarisburiensis: quod ego onus prorsus decrevi excutere. Interea in academiis mera[10] est ubique solitudo. Juvenes diffugiunt potius, quam ut velint in religionem consentire.

Sed comites jamdudum[11] exspectant, et clamant ut veniam. Vale ergo, vale, mi pater et dulcissimum decus meum. Saluta venerandum virum, et mihi mille nominibus in Christo colendissimum, D. Bullingerum, ad quem etiam seorsim scriberem, si esset otium. Saluta D. Gualterum, D. Simlerum, D. Lavaterum, D. Hallerum, D. Gesnerum, D. Frisium, D. Hermannum. Habeo quinque pistolettos aureos a D. Barth. Compagno ad venerandum senem D. Bernardinum, et ab eodem ad eum literas. Scriberem ad eum de rebus omnibus, nisi excluderer angustia temporis: quanquam hoc, quæso te, ut illi significes, præter istos aureos nihil adhuc confectum esse. Res aulicæ, quantum video, ita sunt difficiles, ut nesciam an quicquam possit exprimi. Regina jam abest procul gentium in Cantio, ut agi nihil possit. Vale, mi pater, vale. Quantum ego tibi optare possum, tantum vale. Et Julium tuum, Annamque et Martyrillum meo nomine. Londini, Calendis Augusti, 1559.

Jo. Juellus, tuus,

Tibi omnibus modis deditissimus.

INSCRIPTIO[12].

Viro longe doctissimo D. Petro Martyri Vermilio, profitenti sacram theologiam in ecclesia Tigurina. Tiguri.

[TRANSLATION.]

I have hitherto, my father, written to you less frequently, because many engagements, both of a public and private nature, have prevented my correspondence. I now write, not

[1 Degressu, Burnet.] [2 Adjuvarunt, Oxf.]
[3 Prædictiosiosum, Oxf.]
[4 Sericæ, Oxf.]
[5 Idololatriæ et superstitionis, Oxf.]
[6 Francis II. husband of Mary queen of Scots.]
[7 Oxf. omits *et*.] [8 Sed, Burn.]
[9 Sit, Burn.] [10 Mere, Burn.]
[11 Jam diu, Oxf.] [12 Subscriptio, Oxf.]

because I have more leisure than heretofore, but because I shall have much less in future than I have at present. For I have now one foot on the ground, and the other almost on my horse's back. I am on the point of setting out upon a long and troublesome commission for the establishment of religion, through Reading, Abingdon, Gloucester, Bristol, Bath, Wells, Exeter, Cornwall, Dorset, and Salisbury. The extent of my journey will be about seven hundred miles, so that I imagine we shall hardly be able to return in less than four months. Wherefore, lest you should in the meantime suppose me dead, notwithstanding I wrote to you twelve days since upon common affairs, I think it not unmeet to send you this short greeting at the very moment of my setting out. Our affairs are now in a favourable condition. The queen is exceedingly well disposed; and the people everywhere thirsting after religion. The bishops, rather than abandon the pope, whom they have so often abjured before, are willing to submit to everything. Not, however, that they do so for the sake of religion, of which they have none; but for the sake of *consistency*, which the miserable knaves now choose to call their *conscience*. Now that religion is everywhere changed, the mass-priests absent themselves altogether from public worship, as if it were the greatest impiety to have anything in common with the people of God. But the fury of these wretches is so great, that nothing can exceed it. They are altogether full of hopes and anticipations (for, as you know, they are a most *anticipative* race, and mightily addicted to *futuritions*), that these things cannot last long. But, whatever may happen in future, we render thanks to Almighty God that our affairs are as they are.

Everything is in a ferment in Scotland. Knox, surrounded by a thousand followers, is holding assemblies throughout the whole kingdom. The old queen (dowager) has been compelled to shut herself up in garrison. The nobility, with united hearts and hands, are restoring religion throughout the country, in spite of all opposition. All the monasteries are everywhere levelled with the ground: the theatrical dresses, the sacrilegious chalices, the idols, the altars, are consigned to the flames; not a vestige of the ancient superstition and idolatry is left. What do you ask? You have often heard of *drinking like a Scythian;* but this is *churching it like a Scythian.* The king of France that now is styles himself king of Scotland, and in case of anything happening to our queen (which God forefend!) heir of England. You must not be surprised if our people are indignant at this; and how the matter will at length turn out, God only can determine. A common enemy perhaps, as is sometimes the case, may be the occasion of reconciling with us our neighbour Scotland; in which event, although the [queen's] marriage should also take place,—but I will not prognosticate. Master Heton salutes you, and that not less affectionately than if you were his father. Some of us are appointed to bishopricks; Cox to Ely, Scory to Hereford, Allen to Rochester, Grindal to London, Barlow to Chichester, and I, the least of the apostles, to Salisbury. But this burden I have positively determined to shake off. In the meantime there is a dismal solitude in our universities. The young men are flying about in all directions, rather than come to an agreement in matters of religion.

But my companions are waiting for me, and calling to me to set off. Farewell, therefore, my father, and my pride. Salute that reverend man, and on so many accounts dearly-beloved in Christ, master Bullinger, to whom also, if I had time, I would send a separate letter. Salute masters Gualter, Simler, Lavater, Haller, Gesner, Frisius, Herman. I have five golden pistoles from master Bartholomew Compagni for the venerable old man master Bernardine, with a letter to him from the same. I would write to him concerning the whole business, were I not prevented by want of time. I pray you, however, to let him know, that, except this money, nothing else is settled. Court affairs, as far as I can see, are so difficult of management, that I know not whether anything can be made of it. The queen is now a long way off in Kent, so that nothing can be done.

Farewell, my father, farewell. May you be as happy as I can wish you! Salute in my name your Julius, and Anna, and little Martyr. London, Aug. 1, 1559.

Your every way most attached,

JOHN JEWEL.

XV. JOHANNES JUELLUS AD PETRUM MARTYREM.

(Zur. Coll. and Burnet, Vol. III. Book VI. No. 56.]

[1]Tandem tamen aliquando Londinum redii, confecto molestissimo itinere, confecto corpore. Tu fortasse me, quod nihil scriberem, putabas esse mortuum. Ego vero interea tres totos menses longinqua et perdifficili legatione distinebar. Cum essem Bristolii, redditæ mihi sunt literæ tuæ, quas secum Randolphus[2] noster adduxerat[3], ita amice scriptæ itaque[4] suaves, ut mihi omnem illam molestiam itinerum atque occupationum prorsus eriperent[5] ex animo: tanquam enim si præsens adfuisses, ita tum mihi videbar tecum colloqui. Randolphus, antequam ego redirem, abierat in Gallias; itaque ego miser privatus sum bona parte suavitatis tuæ, quam tu illi præsens præsenti verbis commendaveras. Literas meas in itinere intercidisse video; quas enim ego octavas dederam, eas video ad te vix quintas pervenisse.

Sed de legatione, inquies, illa vestra quid tandem factum est? Accipe ergo uno verbo, quod mihi exploratu perlongum fuit. Invenimus ubique animos multitudinis satis propensos ad religionem; ibi etiam, ubi omnia putabantur fore difficillima. Incredibile tamen dictu est, in illis tenebris Mariani temporis quanta ubique proruperit seges et sylva superstitionum. Invenimus passim votivas reliquias divorum[6], clavos, quibus fatui Christum confixum fuisse somniabant, et nescio quas portiunculas sacræ crucis. Magarum et veneficarum numerus ubique in immensum excreverat. Ecclesiæ cathedrales nihil aliud erant quam speluncæ latronum, aut si quid nequius aut fœdius dici potest. Si quid erat obstinatæ malitiæ, id totum erat in presbyteris, illis præsertim, qui aliquando stetissent a nostra sententia. Illi nunc, credo, ne parum considerate videantur mutasse voluntatem, turbant omnia. Sed turbent, quantum velint: nos tamen interim illos de gradu et de sacerdotiis exturbavimus[7].

Hardingus, homo constans, locum mutare maluit quam sententiam. Sidallus[8] subscripsit quidem, sed constanter; hoc est, perinvitus. Smithæus[9] autem tuus—quid ille? inquies. An potest a Nazareth quicquam proficisci boni? Mihi crede, ut veterem illam suam constantiam retineret, nunc tandem etiam quinto recantavit. Fatuus, cum videret religionem esse immutatam, mutata veste, statim fugam ornaverat in Scotiam; sed, cum hæreret in finibus, captus est et retractus ex itinere. Ibi statim homo gravis, et columen atque antistes religionis, accessit ad nos, reliquit omnes suos, et repente factus est adversarius infestissimus papistarum. I nunc, et nega transubstantiationem! Papistarum acies pene sua sponte ceciderunt. O nisi nobis deessent[10] operæ, non male de religione sperari posset. Difficile enim est currum agere sine jumento, præsertim adverso monte[11].

Heri, ubi primum Londinum redii, audivi ex episcopo Cantuariensi te invitari ad nos, et tibi lectionem illam tuam veterem asservari. Quid sit, nescio: hoc tantum possum affirmare, neminem adhuc delectum esse, qui Oxonii doceat sacras literas. Equidem te, mi pater, videre percupio, et præsertim in Anglia. Quid enim ni cupiam, quem toties cupio etiam nunc videre Tiguri? Sed novi tuam prudentiam: nosti genium et ingenium insularum. Ea, quæ nunc videmus esse inchoata, utinam sint bene μόνιμα[12]! Nihil est hodie illa schola desperatius. Putabis te, cum ibi esses, pene lusisse operam: ita in lætissima aliquando segete nunc *infelix lolium et steriles dominantur avenæ.*

Liber tuus de Votis, ut alia tua omnia, avidissime distrahitur. Omnes nunc exspectamus, quam mox editurus sis alias commentationes[13] in librum Judicum et in duos libros Samuelis: omnes enim nunc nostri sciunt, te illos libros habere præ manibus, et velle edere. Suecus et Carolus Ferdinandi filius mirificissime ambiunt: sed Suecus impense; ille enim, modo impetret, montes argenteos pollicetur. Sed illa fortasse thalamos propiores cogitat. Alanus noster obiit diem suum, post-

[1 Burn. and Oxf. prefix S. P.]
[2 See before, page 1191, note 9.]
[3 Advexerat, Oxf.] [4 Ita, Oxf.]
[5 Exciperent, Burn.]
[6 Reliquias superstitiosas divorum, Burn.]
[7 Conturbavimus, Oxf.]
[8 See before, page 1205, note 4.]
[9 See before, page 1191, note 10.]
[10 Deesset, Burn.]
[11 Marte, Oxf.]
[12 Sint boni principia, Burn.]
[13 Alias tuas commentationes, Oxf.]

quam designatus esset episcopus Roffensis. Ex[14] Scotia hoc tempore nihil audimus, quod tibi possit videri[15] novum. Docetur evangelium, ecclesiæ assidue colliguntur, et omnia priscæ superstitionis monumenta convelluntur. Galli tamen sperant se posse et regnum et religionem retinere. Quicquid futurum est, scribam ad te alias pluribus. Instat nunc annus sexagesimus, de quo mihi tu[16] solebas aliquando ex Torquato[17] quodam Italo[18] nescio quæ mirifica prædicare. Faxit Deus, ut verum et solidum gaudium gaudeamus, ut aliquando orbi terrarum patefiat ὁ ἄνθρωπος τῆς ἀπωλείας, et in omnium oculos incurrat veritas evangelii Jesu Christi[19].

Vale, mi pater, et uxorem tuam meis verbis resaluta, mulierem mihi quidem ignotam, sed nunc ex[20] tuis literis et Abeli nostri prædicatione notissimam[21]. Gratulor et te illi, et illam tibi.

Saluta D. Bullingerum, D. Gualterum, D. Bernardinum, D. Hermannum, Julium, Juliam, Martyrillum. Frenshamum meum longum valere jubeo; puto enim illum jam solvisse a vobis, et esse cum Christo. Omnes nostri te salutant, tibique omnia precantur. Londini, 2 Novembr. 1559.

Tuus ex animo,

Jo. Juellus.

D. Etonus instantissime rogavit, ut te suo nomine salutarem. Si posset ipse Latine scribere, non uteretur manu mea. Crede mihi, nemo de te aut sæpius aut honorificentius loquitur. Uxor etiam ejus salutem et tibi dicit et uxori tuæ.

INSCRIPTIO.

Doctissimo atque ornatissimo viro, D. Petro Martyri, profitenti sacras scripturas in ecclesia Tigurina[22].

[TRANSLATION.]

I have at last returned to London, with a body worn out by a most fatiguing journey. You have probably supposed me dead, because I did not write: meanwhile, I was kept away three whole months by this very tedious and troublesome commission. While I was at Bristol, there was delivered to me that letter from you which our friend Randolph had brought with him; written in so friendly and agreeable a manner, as altogether to remove from my mind the wearisomeness both of the journey and of my employments: for I could then fancy myself to be conversing with you just as if you had been present. Randolph had gone away into France before my return; so that poor I was deprived of a great part of those delightful communications which you had personally charged him with. Some of my letters, I perceive, were lost on the road; for that which I sent you as the *eighth*, was, I find, only the *fifth* that had reached you.

But what, you will say, has been done after all by this commission of yours? Receive then in one word what it took me a long time to investigate. We found everywhere the people sufficiently well disposed towards religion, and even in those quarters where we expected most difficulty. It is however hardly credible what a harvest, or rather what a wilderness of superstition, had sprung up in the darkness of the Marian times. We found in all places votive relics of saints, nails with which the infatuated people dreamed that Christ had been pierced, and I know not what small fragments of the sacred cross. The number of witches and sorceresses had every where become enormous. The cathedral churches were nothing else but dens of thieves, or worse, if anything worse or more foul can be mentioned. If inveterate obstinacy was found anywhere, it was altogether among the priests, those especially who had once been on our side. They are now throwing all things into confusion, in order, I suppose, that they may not seem to have changed their opinions without due consideration. But let them make what disturbance they please; we have in the mean time disturbed them from their rank and office.

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[14] De, Oxf.] [15] Videre, Burn.]
[16] Tu mihi, Oxf.]
[17] Antony Torquato, a physician and astrologer of Ferrara, in the 15th century.]
[18] Stato, Burnet.]
[19] Evangelii Jesu Christi veritas, Burn.]
[20] Et, Oxf.]
[21] P. Martyr had lately married a second wife, Catharine Merenda.]
[22] This inscription is not in Oxf.]

That consistent man, Harding, has preferred to change his condition rather than his opinions. Sidall has subscribed too, and with equal consistency, that is, sorely against his will. But your friend Smith, what has he done? you will ask. "Can any good thing come out of Nazareth?" Believe me, that he might retain his old consistency, he has now at last recanted for the fifth time! The silly man, when he saw religion change, changed his habit, and forthwith prepared to take refuge in Scotland; but, while he was loitering on the borders, he was apprehended, and brought back from his travels. And now this grave personage, this prop and support of religion, has come over to us, deserted all his party, and become all on a sudden the most inveterate enemy of the papists. Go now and deny transubstantiation, if you can.

The ranks of the papists have fallen almost of their own accord. O! if we were not wanting in our exertions, there might yet be good hopes of religion. But it is no easy matter to drag the chariot without horses, especially up hill.

Yesterday, as soon as I returned to London, I heard from the archbishop of Canterbury, that you are invited hither, and that your old lectureship is kept open for you. I know not how true this may be; I can only affirm thus much, that no professor of divinity is yet appointed at Oxford. For my own part, my father, I most exceedingly long to see you, and especially in England; and how can I do otherwise than desire this, who am so perpetually desiring to see you even at Zurich? But I know your prudence; and you know the character and disposition of us islanders. I pray that what we now see the beginning of may be lasting. Nothing can be in a more desperate condition than the [divinity] school is at present. You will think that, when you were formerly there, you employed all your exertions to no purpose:

> "Thus in the garden that was once so gay,
> The darnel and the barren weed bear sway."

Your book on Vows, like all your other works, is caught up with the greatest avidity. We are all now looking for you to publish your further commentaries on the book of Judges, and on the two books of Samuel; for all our friends are now aware that you have those books in hand, and are intending to publish them. The Swede, and Charles, the son of [the emperor] Ferdinand, are courting at a most marvellous rate. But the Swede is most in earnest, for he promises mountains of silver in case of success. The lady, however, is probably thinking of an alliance nearer home. Our friend Allen has departed this life, after having been nominated bishop of Rochester. We hear, at this time, nothing from Scotland that can be new to you. The gospel is taught, churches are diligently brought together, and all the monuments of the old superstition abolished. The French, however, are still hoping to retain both the kingdom and their religion. Whatever may happen, I will write to you fully at another time. That sixtieth year is now approaching, concerning which you were sometimes wont to relate some wonderful predictions of a certain Italian named Torquatus. God grant us the enjoyment of real and substantial joy, that the man of perdition may at length be made manifest to the whole world, and the truth of the gospel of Jesus Christ be universally exhibited!

Farewell, my father, and salute your wife in my name, a lady indeed personally unknown to me, but with whom I am nevertheless now well acquainted, both by your letter, and our friend Abel's commendation of her. I congratulate you on her account, and her on yours. Salute masters Bullinger, Gualter, Bernardine, Herman, Julius, his wife, and my little Martyr. A long farewell to my friend Frensham, who, I imagine, has now departed from you to be with Christ. All our friends salute you, and wish you every happiness. London, November 2, 1559.

Yours most heartily,

JOHN JEWEL.

Master Heton urgently entreated me to salute you in his name. Could he write Latin himself, he would not make use of my pen: believe me, there is no one who speaks of you more frequently, or with greater commendation. His wife also sends her respects both to you and yours.

XVI. JOHANNES JUELLUS AD RODOLPHUM GUALTERUM.

(Zur. Coll.)

S. P. Quod novas istas curas et molestias non tam mihi, quam ecclesiæ nostræ, de qua jam tandem te non pessime sperare scribis, tam amice gratularis, ornatissime vir, ego tibi non mea sane causa, cui tam grave onus imponi video, sed ecclesiæ nostræ nomine, de qua vídeo te tam sollicite cogitare, ago gratias. Nam quod ad me quidem attinet, tu optime nosti quanti laboris sit, homini præsertim imperito rerum, et semper in otio atque in umbra educato, repente admoveri ad gubernaculum ecclesiæ; cumque res suas tueri vix possit, suscipere curam aliorum omnium. Tamen, quoniam Dei causa est, quanto minus possumus, tanto diligentius dabimus operam: etsi enim desint alia, voluntas tamen, spero, non deerit. Vos interea, quoniam naves subduxistis in tutum, et consistitis in littore, orate Deum, ut navim nostram adhuc jactatam in fluctibus, et undique a piratis et prædonibus obsessam, educat aliquando in portum. Incredibilis enim est hoc tempore rabies nostrorum papistarum, qui, potius quam ut errasse aliqua in re videantur, impotentissime ruunt et turbant omnia. Deus, cujus nos unius nomen et gloriam spectamus, juvet conatus nostros, et hostium suorum conjurationes et nefaria consilia dissipet!

Parkhurstus abiit Clevam ad suos: ibi nunc regnat, et omnes episcopos ex alto despicit. Si quid erat apud nos novarum rerum, quod certe nec valde certum nec ita multum erat, illud omne scripsi plenius ad D. Bullingerum et ad D. Martyrem. Si quid est, in quo ego tibi aut usui aut voluptati esse possim, memineris me, quocunque loco futurus sum, et esse et semper fore tuum. Bene vale, ornatissime vir atque optime. Saluta uxorem tuam, mulierem lectissimam, D. Bullingerum, D. Simlerum, D. Lavaterum, D. Zuinglium, D. Frisium, D. Gesnerum, D. Wolphium, aliosque vestros quos ego merito habeo carissimos, meo nomine. Etsi Parkhurstus abest hinc longe gentium, tamen ego tibi ejus nomine, uxorique tuæ, totique familiæ salutem dico. Nostri omnes te salutant, tuosque omnes. Iterum vale. Londini, secunda[1] Novembr. 1559.

Tuus ex animo,

JOHANNES JUELLUS.

INSCRIPTIO.

Doctissimo viro D. Gualtero, fideli ministro evangelii, in ecclesia Tigurina, amico et fratri carissimo. Tiguri.

[TRANSLATION.]

Much health! That you so kindly congratulate, not myself so much on this accession of care and anxiety, as our church, respecting which you tell me that you no longer despair, I return you my thanks, most accomplished sir, not indeed on my own account, upon whom I feel such a heavy burden is imposed, but in the name of our church, concerning which I perceive your thoughts are so anxiously occupied. For, as it regards myself, you well know what an undertaking it is, especially for a man unskilled in business, and always brought up in inactivity and obscurity, to be raised at once to the government of the church; and, though scarcely able to manage his own affairs, to take upon himself the management of those of others. Since, however, it is the cause of God, I will endeavour to make up by diligence what is wanting in ability: for, though I am deficient in other respects, I shall not, I hope, be wanting in inclination. Do you meanwhile, since you have safely landed your vessels, and brought them ashore, pray to God that we may at length bring our vessel, hitherto tossed by the waves, and attacked on all sides by pirates and robbers, into harbour. For the rage of the papists among us at this time is scarcely credible; and, rather than seem to have been in error in any respect, they most violently precipitate and throw all things into confusion. May that God, whose honour and glory alone we look to, aid our endeavours, and confound the conspiracies and wicked designs of his enemies! Parkhurst is gone to his people at Cleeve, where he now

[1] Secundo, Oxf.]

reigns like a king, and looks down upon all bishops. Whatever news I had to communicate, which, indeed, was neither certain nor of much importance, I have written at some length, both to masters Bullinger and Martyr. If there is any thing in which I can contribute either to your advantage or your enjoyment, bear in mind that, in whatever situation I may be, I am, and always shall be at your service.

Farewell, most excellent and accomplished sir. Salute in my name the honoured lady your wife, as also masters Bullinger, Simler, Lavater, Zuinglius, Frisius, Gesner, Wolfius, and your other friends, whom I so justly value. Though Parkhurst is a long way off, yet I salute you, your wife, and all your family, in his name. All our friends salute you and all yours. Again farewell. London, Nov. 2, 1559.

Yours from my heart,

JOHN JEWEL.

XVII. JOHANNES JUELLUS AD JOSIAM SIMLERUM.

(Zur. Coll.)

[1]Gratularis tu quidem mihi pro tua humanitate, mi Josia; at egomet mihi ipsi non gratulor. Etsi enim nihil mihi adhuc aliud impositum sit quam nomen episcopi, rem autem ipsam et functionem nondum attigerim; tamen illud ipsum onus longe impar sentio esse meis viribus, et jam nunc tantum sub inani titulo incipio succumbere. Quid tu[2] futurum censes, ubi ad rem ipsam ventum erit? Literæ tamen tuæ mihi multo jucundissime[3] acciderunt. Vidi enim in illis et animum et amorem erga me tuum. Et certe quid potest a Josia, homine jucundissimo, proficisci non jucundum? Quare tibi et de literis tuis, et de illa gratulatione, etsi mihi res ipsa permolesta et ingrata videatur, quam possum gratissimas ago gratias.

Quod scribis, sperare te episcopos apud nos sine ullis superstitiosis et putidis ceremoniis inaugurari, hoc est, opinor, sine oleo, sine chrismate, sine novacula; nihil falleris. Frustra enim exhausta esset sentina, si istas reliquias pateremur in fundo residere. Unctos istos, et rasos, et personatos ventres Romam remisimus, unde illos primum accepimus. Nostros enim esse volumus pastores operosos[4], vigiles, episcopos. Quoque id commodius possit fieri, opes episcoporum imminuuntur, et ad mediocritatem quandam rediguntur; ut, semoti ab illa regia pompa et strepitu aulico, possint tranquillius et attentius vacare gregi Christi. Quod autem Julium[5] tuum meumque ita ambitiose commendas, etsi es Josias, tamen puto in ea re mihi a te injuriam fieri. Quid enim? An ego Julium meum, hospitem, amicum, fratrem meum non novi? An potest unquam ejus calvities, tanta præsertim, mihi excidere ex animo? Dii meliora! Quoties ego senem aliquem calvum, incurvum, obstipum, prementem alvum, et cacaturientem video, toties mihi in animum incurrit meus Julius. Certe quicquid erit, si vel consilio vel auxilio vel re vel etiam capistro opus erit, Julius apud Juellum semper erit Julius. Extra jocum, ubi Julius meus ad nos venerit, si quid Juello supererit, non egebit.

Bene vale, mi Josia, et uxorem tuam, optimam mulierem, et cultissimum atque humanissimum juvenem Hermannum saluta meo nomine. Parkhurstus rus abiit ad regnum suum. Oravit tamen me proficiscens, ut tibi suo nomine quam officiosissime salutem dicerem. Vale, mi Josia, vale. Utinam aliquando dicere possim tibi coram, Josia, salve! Londini, 2 Novembris, 1559.

Tuus ex animo,

JOHANNES JUELLUS.

INSCRIPTIO.

Doctissimo atque humanissimo viro D. Josiæ Simlero, amico carissimo. Tiguri[6].

[1 Oxf. prefixes *S. P.*]
[2 In, Oxf.]
[3 Jucundissimæ, Oxf.]
[4 Operarios, Oxf.; operas, MS.]
[5 Julius Santerentianus, Peter Martyr's attendant; before frequently mentioned.]
[6 Oxf. omits *Tiguri* here, and dates the letter from Zurich instead of London.]

[TRANSLATION.]

You congratulate me, my dear Josiah, with your accustomed kindness; but I cannot congratulate myself. For, though as yet nothing more has been imposed upon me than the name of bishop (for upon the office itself and its duties I have not yet entered), I feel nevertheless that even this burden is far beyond my strength, and that I am already beginning to bend under an empty title. What think you will be the case, when I come to undertake the charge itself?

Your letter, however, arrived most acceptably; for I discovered therein your affectionate regard and love to me. And what indeed that is otherwise than agreeable can proceed from Josiah, who is himself most agreeable? Wherefore, although the subject of it seems exceedingly unpleasant and annoying to me, I return you my most grateful thanks both for your letter and your congratulations.

As to your expressing your hopes that our bishops will be consecrated without any superstitious and offensive ceremonies, you mean, I suppose, without oil, without the chrism, without the tonsure. And you are not mistaken; for the sink would indeed have been emptied to no purpose, if we had suffered those dregs to settle at the bottom. Those oily, shaven, portly hypocrites, we have sent back to Rome from whence we first imported them. For we require our bishops to be pastors, labourers, and watchmen. And, that this may the more readily be brought to pass, the wealth of the bishops is now diminished and reduced to a reasonable amount, to the end that, being relieved from that royal pomp and courtly bustle, they may with greater ease and diligence employ their leisure in attending to the flock of Christ.

In that you are so earnest in your recommendation of our mutual friend Julius, although you are Josiah, yet I must think that in this matter you do me injustice. For why? am I not sufficiently acquainted with my good Julius, my host, my friend, my brother? Can his baldness, remarkable as it is, ever slip from my remembrance? No, never. As often as I behold any bald, stooping, crooked old man, clumsy and uneasy in his movements, my friend Julius is sure to come into my mind. Be assured that under whatever circumstances, whether he may need advice, or assistance, or money—or even a halter, Julius shall be always Julius, as far as Jewel is concerned. But, joking apart, whenever my friend Julius shall come to me, if Jewel has ought to spare, he shall not want.

Farewell, my Josiah, and salute in my name that most excellent lady your wife, and that most talented and accomplished young man Herman. Parkhurst is gone into the country, to his *kingdom*. He desired me, however, before he went, to salute you most dutifully in his name. Farewell, my Josiah, farewell: I wish I may some day be able face to face to say, Josiah, how do you do? London, Nov. 2, 1559.

Yours from my heart,

JOHN JEWEL.

XVIII. JOHANNES JUELLUS AD PETRUM MARTYREM.

(Zur. Coll. and Burnet, Vol. III. Book VI. No. 57.)

S. Pl.[7] Biduo postquam ex longo et perdifficili itinere rediissem, et lassus de via atque anhelans, nescio quid ad te scripsissem, redditæ mihi sunt a te literæ ternæ eodem tempore: quarum suavissima lectione ita sum exhilaratus, ut omnem illam superiorum dierum molestiam prorsus abjecerim ex animo. Etsi enim, quoties de te cogito, quod certo assidue et in singulas horas facio, et, nisi facerem, ingratus essem, ipsa cogitatione et memoria tui nominis perfundor gaudio; tamen, cum literas tuas ad me scriptas lego, videor mihi esse Tiguri, et te videre coram, et tecum amœnissime colloqui: quod equidem, mihi crede, pluris æstimo quam omnes opes episcoporum.

De religione quod scribis, et veste scenica, O utinam id impetrari potuisset! Nos quidem tam bonæ causæ non defuimus. Sed illi quibus ista tantopere placu-

[7 Burn. omits *S. Pl.*]

erunt, credo, sequuti sunt inscitiam presbyterorum; quos quoniam nihil aliud videbant esse quam stipites, sine ingenio, sine doctrina, sine moribus, veste saltem comica volebant populo commendari. Nam ut alantur bonæ literæ, et surrogetur seges aliqua doctorum hominum, nulla, O Deus bone, nulla hoc tempore cura suscipitur. Itaque quoniam vera via non possunt, istis ludicris ineptiis tenere[1] volunt oculos multitudinis. Sunt quidem istæ, ut tu optime scribis, reliquiæ Amorrhæorum. Quis enim id neget? Atque utinam aliquando ab imis radicibus auferri et[2] extirpari possint! Nostræ quidem nec vires ad eam rem nec voces deerunt.

Quod scribis esse quosdam qui nullam adhuc significationem dederint suæ erga te voluntatis, subolfacio equidem quos dicas. Sed, mihi crede, non sunt eo numero aut loco, quo tu fortasse putas, quoque omnis Israel illos sperabat fore: nam si essent—Non scripserunt hactenus ad te, non quod noluerint aut tui obliti fuerint, sed quod puduerit scribere. Nunc uterque[3] gravissime laborat[4] e quartana, sed Ἀρχιμάγειρος, quoniam est natura tristiori, multo gravius.

Ingemuisti pro tua erga communem causam pietate, cum audires nihil prospectum esse cuiquam nostrum. Nunc ergo rursus ingeme; nam ne adhuc quidem quicquam. Tantum circumferimus inanes titulos episcoporum, et a Scoto et Thoma defecimus ad Occamistas et Nominales. Sed, ut scis, magna sunt momenta regnorum. Regina ipsa et causæ favet, et nobis cupit. Quamobrem, etsi satis dura sunt ista initia, tamen non abjicimus animos, nec desinimus sperare lætiora. Facile intereunt, quæ facile maturitatem assequuntur.

De libro tuo memini me, antequam discederem Londino, ad te scripsisse pluribus. Sed illæ literæ fortasse, ut fit, periere[5] in itinere. Hoc etiam adscripsi, reginam ultro et cupide legisse epistolam et opus ipsum[6], atque in universum doctrinam atque[7] ingenium tuum mirifice prædicasse; librumque illum tuum ab omnibus bonis tanti fieri, quanti haud scio an aliud quicquam in hoc genere. Nihil autem tibi hactenus donatum esse, hei mihi, quid[8] ego dicam? pudet me, nec scio quid respondeam. Tamen regina sedulo sciscitata est nuntium, quid ageres, ubi viveres, qua valetudine, qua conditione esses, an posses per ætatem iter facere: omnino velle se omnibus modis te invitari in Angliam, ut qui tua voce coluisses academiam, eandem nunc dissipatam et misere habitam eadem voce irrigares. Postea tamen, nescio quo pacto, deliberationes Saxonicæ et legationes Segulianæ ista consilia peremerunt. Tamen quidquid est, nihil est hoc tempore celebrius, quam Petrum Martyrem invitari, et propediem venturum esse in Angliam. O utinam res nostræ aliquando stabilitatem aliquam et robur assequantur! Cupio enim, mi pater, te videre, et suavissimis sermonibus et amicissimis consiliis tuis frui. Quem ego diem si videro, vel potius, uti spero, ubi videro, quas Samarobrivas[9] aut Sarisburias non contemnam? Vale, dulce decus meum, atque animi plusquam dimidium mei. Saluta uxorem tuam, optimam mulierem, meo nomine. Deus faxit, ut feliciter pariat, et "pulchra faciat te prole parentem." Saluta D. Bullingerum, D. Gualterum, D. Lavaterum, D. Simlerum, D. Gesnerum, D. Frisium, D. Hermanum, tuum meumque Julium, Juliam, et Martyrillum[10]. Nostri omnes te salutant. Londini, 5 Novemb. 1559.

Tuus ex animo quantus quantus[11],

JO. JUELLUS.

INSCRIPTIO.

Doctissimo atque ornatissimo viro, D. Petro Martyri, profitenti sacras literas in schola Tigurina, domino suo colendissimo.

Tiguri[12].

[TRANSLATION.]

Two days after my return from a long and tiresome journey, when, wearied and exhausted with travelling, I had written to you I know not what, three letters

[1] Teneri, Burn. and Oxf.]
[2] Atque, Oxf.]
[3] Sir Thomas Wroth and Sir Anthony Cook. See below, page 1225, note 7.]
[4] Laborat gravissime, Burn.]
[5] Perierunt, Oxf.]
[6] Et apud ipsam, Burn.]
[7] Et, Oxf.]
[8] Quod, Burn.]
[9] Conf. Cic. ad Trebat. Epist. ad Div. Lib. VII. 11.]
[10] Burn. places *D. Hermannum tuum meumque* after *Martyrillum.*]
[11] Oxf. adds *est.*]
[12] Oxf. omits the inscription.]

from you reached me at the same moment; by the most delightful perusal of which I was so refreshed, as entirely to banish from my mind all the troubles of the preceding days. For though, whenever I think about you (as I certainly do every hour of my life, and should be very ungrateful if I did not), I am delighted at the very thought and remembrance of your name; yet, when I read your letters, I seem to myself to be at Zurich, and in your society, and in most delightful conversation with you; which indeed, believe me, I value more than all the wealth of bishops.

As to what you write respecting religion and the theatrical habits, I heartily wish it could be accomplished. We on our parts have not been wanting to so good a cause. But those persons, who have taken such delight in these matters, have followed, I believe, the ignorance of the priests; whom, when they found them to be no better than mere logs of wood, without talent, or learning, or morality, they were willing at least to commend to the people by that scenic dress. For in these times, alas! no care whatever is taken for the encouragement of literature and the due succession of learned men. And accordingly, since they cannot obtain influence in a proper way, they seek to occupy the eyes of the multitude with these ridiculous trifles. These are, indeed, as you very properly observe, the relics of the Amorites. For who can deny it? And I wish that sometime or other they may be taken away, and extirpated even to the lowest roots: neither my voice nor my exertions shall be wanting to effect that object.

As to your writing, that there are some persons who as yet have given no expression of their good-will to you, I rather suspect to whom you allude. But believe me, they are neither in the rank nor the position you suppose them to be, and in which all [our] Israel hoped they would be. For if they had been—They have hitherto refrained from writing to you, not from any disinclination or forgetfulness of you, but because they were really ashamed to write. Both of them are now suffering most severely under an attack of ague; but Ἀρχιμάγειρος, as being of a more melancholy temperament, is much the worse.

With your usual affection to the common cause, you were grieved at hearing that no provision had been made for any one of us. You may now resume your grief, for nothing whatever has been done up to the present moment. We only bear about the empty titles of bishops, and have deserted the ranks of [Duns] Scotus and Thomas [Aquinas] for those of the Occamists and Nominalists. But, as you know, state affairs move slowly. The queen herself both favours our cause, and is desirous to serve us. Wherefore, although these beginnings are painful enough, we do not lose our spirits, nor cease to hope for better things. That which easily comes to maturity easily decays.

I wrote to you, as I remember, at some length, respecting your book, before I left London; but my letter, as is often the case, was probably lost on the road: I added also, that the queen of her own accord eagerly perused both your letter and the book itself, and wonderfully commended both your learning and character in general; and that your book was made so much of by all good men, that I know not whether any thing of the kind was ever so valued before. But alas! what must I say, when no recompence has been as yet made to you? I am ashamed, and know not what to answer. The queen however made diligent inquiry of the messenger, as to what you were doing, where you lived, in what state of health and what circumstances you were, and whether your age would allow you to undertake a journey. She was altogether desirous that you should by all means be invited to England, that, as you formerly *tilled*, as it were, the university by your lectures, so you might again *water* it by the same, now it is in so disordered and wretched a condition. But since then, the deliberations about Saxony and the embassy from Smalcald have put an end to those counsels. Yet, whatever be the reason, nothing is at this time more talked about, than that Peter Martyr is invited, and daily expected to arrive in England. O! how I wish that our affairs may sometime acquire stability and strength! For I am most anxious, my father, to see you, and to enjoy your most delightful conversation, and most friendly counsels. If I should ever see that day, or rather, as I hope I may say, *when* I shall see it, where is the Amiens or Salisbury that I shall not look down upon? Farewell, my pride, and more than the half of my own soul. Salute in my name that excellent

lady your wife: may God grant her a happy delivery, and make you the father of a beautiful offspring! Salute masters Bullinger, Gualter, Lavater, Simler, Gesner, Frisius, Herman, your and my Julius, his wife, and my little Martyr. All our friends salute you. London, Nov. 5, 1559.

Yours most heartily,

JOHN JEWEL.

XIX. JOHANNES JUELLUS AD PETRUM MARTYREM.

(Zur. Coll. and Burnet, Vol. III. Book VI. No. 58.]

S. Pl. Etsi ante non ita multos dies ad te scripserim, et hoc tempore nihil hic sit quod tu magnopere scire velis; tamen, quoniam te ita velle non dubito, illud ipsum nihil malo scribere, quam istum nuntium, quem forte audieram velle Coloniam proficisci, inanem a me dimittere.

Religio apud nos eo loco est, quo jam antea ad te scripsi sæpius. Omnia docentur ubique purissime. In ceremoniis et larvis passim plusculum ineptitur. Crucula illa argenteola male nata, male auspicata, adhuc stat[1] in larario principis. Me miserum! res ea facile trahetur in exemplum. Spes erat aliquando tandem ereptum iri; idque ut fieret, nos omnes dedimus diligenter, et adhuc damus operam: sed jam, quantum video, conclamatum est. Ita prorsus obfirmati sunt animi. Nimis prudenter ista mihi videntur geri, nimisque mystice. Et quo tandem res nostræ casuræ sint, Deus viderit. Ἵπποι βραδύποδες morantur currum. Cæcilius nostræ causæ impense favet[2]. Episcopi adhuc designati tantum sunt: interim prædia pulchre augent fiscum. Academia utraque, et ea præsertim, quam tu non ita pridem doctissime atque optime coluisti, miserrime nunc disjecta jacet sine pietate, sine religione, sine doctore, sine spe ulla literarum. Multi de te cogitant primarii et tibi non ignoti viri, et te primo quoque tempore, vel invitis omnibus Seguleiis, accersitum cupiunt. Ego vero, qui tibi, si quis alius mortalium, ex[3] animo atque unice cupio, auctor sum ut, si voceris, quod tamen inter ista arma futurum vix puto, tamen ne quid præcipites. Novi ego prudentiam tuam; et tu vicissim, spero, observantiam erga te meam. Equidem hoc possum vere affirmare, neminem esse hominem, cui conspectus tuus jucundior futurus sit quam mihi. Tamen ut sunt res nostræ, fluxæ, incertæ, instabiles, utque uno verbo dicam, insulares, magis te salvum audire absentem cupio, quam præsentem videre cum periculo. Sed ista parum opportune: literas enim silere æquum est inter arma. Nos terra marique juvamus vicinum Scotum. Nosti enim, "tum tua res agitur, paries cum proximus ardet." Gallum adventurum aiunt cum omnibus copiis; et fortasse non minoribus excipietur[4].

Scripsit ad me nuper comes Critonis tui Pamphilus[5] e Scotia, cum aliis de rebus, tum ut de Frenshamo nostro nescio quid (neque enim id aperte scripsit) ad te scriberem. Visus tamen mihi est de testamento Frenshami scribere aliquid voluisse: de quo quid actum sit, hactenus nescio. Oro tamen te, quoniam nemo isthic est alius, cui possim satis verecunde tantum negotium imponere, ut velis rem eam tibi Julioque tuo esse curæ. Frenshamo autem nostro, si adhuc vivit, cupio bene: sin autem, quod magis puto, quodque ad nos etiam scribitur, est mortuus, spero esse bene. Audio pervenisse Londinum fasciculum quendam librorum tuorum de Votis contra Smithum; et in illis unum esse quem tu ad me miseris nominatim. Equidem librum illum adhuc non vidi: sæpe enim absum Londino, et multum distineor laboribus. Nunc ubicunque est odorabor. Tibi vero interea pro eo ac debeo, proque eo ac humanitas tua postulat, ago immortales gratias. Nolo D. Bernardinus[6] me sui oblitum putet. Fides quidem mea et industria non defuit; sed omnia quæruntur et conservantur hoc tempore alendo militi. Quinque coro-

[1] Stat adhuc, Oxf.]
[2] Causæ nostræ impense favit, Burn.]
[3] Et, Burn.]
[4] The remainder of this letter is not in Burnet.]
[5] By Crito is meant the earl of Arran, by Pamphilus, Randal or Randolph.]
[6] Bernardinus Ochinus, who accompanied Peter Martyr into England. See Strype, Eccl. Mem. Vol. II. Book I. chap. XXIV.]

natos Italicos, quos ejus nomine recepi a Barthol. Compagno, reddidi Acontio. Nunc agimus de ejus canonicatu; et bona spes est posse impetrari. Ego Julio meo, si ad nos venerit, omnia polliceor. Moneo tamen, ut exspectet aliquantisper, ne cogamur una redire Tigurum. Bene vale, mi pater et domine in Christo colendissime. Saluta optimam illam mulierem, uxorem tuam; et filiolo tuo Isaaco, quem ego hucusque vagientem audire videor, basiolum dato meo nomine. Saluta D. Bullingerum, D. Bernardinum, D. Gualterum, D. Simlerum, D. Gesnerum, D. Lavaterum, D. Vickium, D. Hallerum, D. Volphium, hominem jucundissimum et in amplissima civitate natum, D. Frisium, D. Hermannum, tuum meumque Julium, Juliam, et moratissimum nunc puerum Martyrillum. Nostri nunc omnes pene sunt in dispersione gentium. Grindallus Londinensis, Sandus Vigorniensis, Coxus Eliensis, D. Coccus, D. Vrothus quartanenses[7] te salutant. Iterum iterumque vale, mi pater. Londini, 16 Novembris, 1559.

Jo. JUELLUS,
Totus tuus.

INSCRIPTIO.

Ornatissimo et longe doctiss. viro, D. Petro Martyri, profitenti sacras scripturas in schola Tigurina, domino suo colendiss. Tiguri[8].

[TRANSLATION.]

Much health! Although I wrote to you not many days since, and there is nothing going on here at this time which you would much desire to know, I would rather write that *nothing*, than dismiss the courier, who, as I have just learned accidentally, is about to proceed to Cologne, without a letter from me.

Religion among us is in the same state which I have often described to you before. The doctrine is everywhere most pure; but, as to ceremonies and maskings, there is a little too much foolery. That little silver cross, of ill-omened origin, still maintains its place in the queen's chapel. Wretched me! this thing will soon be drawn into a precedent. There was at one time some hope of its being removed; and we all of us diligently exerted ourselves, and still continue to do, that it might be so: but, as far as I can perceive, it is now a hopeless case. Such is the obstinacy of some minds. There seems to be far too much prudence, too much mystery, in the management of these affairs; and God alone knows what will be the issue. The slow-paced horses retard the chariot. Cecil favours our cause most ardently. The bishops are as yet only marked out; and their estates are in the mean time gloriously swelling the exchequer. Both our universities, and that especially which you heretofore cultivated with so much learning and success, are now lying in a most wretched state of disorder, without piety, without religion, without a teacher, without any hope of revival. Many of our leading men, and those not unknown to you, are fixing their thoughts upon yourself, and are anxious that you should be invited at the earliest opportunity, in spite of all the German leaguers. But I, who most of all mankind anxiously and above all things desire to see you, cannot but recommend you, if you should be invited (which however I scarcely think will be the case in the existing state of affairs), to do nothing in a hurry. I know your prudence; and you also, I hope, on your part, are aware of my regard for you. I can indeed with truth affirm thus much, that there is no man to whom your presence would be more agreeable than to myself. But yet, as our affairs are so fluctuating, uncertain, unstable, and in one word, *insular*, I had rather hear of you absent and in safety, than see you present among us and in danger.

But all this is very little to the purpose; for it is but just that learning should be silent amid the din of arms. We are aiding our neighbours, the Scots, both by land and sea. For you know,

> "'Tis like to prove your own concern,
> When neighbouring walls begin to burn."

[7 See above, page 1222, note 3.]

[8 This inscription is omitted in Oxf., which adds a postscript, Istæ sunt nonæ; which is also in Burn.]

They say that the French king is coming with all his army; and he will probably be met by no inferior numbers.

Pamphilus, the companion of your friend Crito, has lately written to me from Scotland, as well about other matters, as that I should write to you something, I hardly know what (for he did not clearly express himself), respecting our friend Frensham. He seemed, however, to wish me to make some inquiry respecting Frensham's will. What has been done about it, I do not know; but I entreat you, since there is no one else in those parts, upon whom I can take the liberty of imposing so much trouble, to undertake the management of this business, together with your Julius. If Frensham is still alive, I wish him well: if he is, as I suppose, and am informed by letter, no longer living, I hope it is well. I hear that a packet of your book upon Vows, against Smith, has arrived in London, and that there is among them a copy sent by you expressly to myself. I have not yet seen it, for I am often absent from London, and am much distracted with engagements; but, wherever it may be, I will scent it out. Meanwhile, however, I offer you, as I ought to do, and as your kindness demands, my lasting thanks. I would not that master Bernardine should suppose that I have forgotten him. My influence and exertions have not been wanting; but every thing is now sought after, and retained for the support of the army. The five Italian crowns, which I received from master Barthol. Compagni in his name, I handed over to Acontius. We are now exerting ourselves about his canonry; and there is a good prospect of obtaining it.

If my kind friend Julius should come to us, I promise him every kindness: I advise him, however, to wait a little while, lest we should be obliged to return together to Zurich. Farewell, my father and much-esteemed master in Christ. Salute the excellent lady your wife, and give a kiss for me to your little son Isaac, whom I can fancy that I hear bawling even here. Salute masters Bullinger, Bernardine, Gualter, Simler, Gesner, Lavater, Wickius, Haller, Wolfius (that most agreeable man, and native of a most honourable city), Frisius, Herman, your and my Julius, his wife, and that most good-tempered boy, little Martyr. Almost all our friends are dispersed among the gentiles. Bishops Grindal of London, Sandys of Worcester, Cox of Ely, together with Cook and Wroth, who are still suffering with ague, salute you. Again and again, my father, farewell. London, Nov. 16, 1559.

Wholly yours,

JOHN JEWEL.

XX. JOHANNES JUELLUS AD PETRUM MARTYREM.

(Zur. Coll.)

[1]Allatæ sunt ad me hesterno die e Scotia literæ a Critonis nostri genio et comite Pamphilo de toto statu rerum Scoticarum ab illo usque tempore, quo primum cœptum est tumultuari: quæ omnia oravit me ut ego diligenter atque ordine ad te perscriberem. Scripsisset ipse potius, si id vel temporis vel loci ratio ferre commode potuisset. Ego vero, quoniam te scio in primis brevitate delectari, scribam breviter.

Scoti ab initio edicta quædam proposuerunt publice: primum, se publico tantum studere bono; neminem sibi quicquam privatim quærere: deinde videri sibi esse ex usu reipublicæ, ut regina desisteret munire Letham, oppidum maritimum, et Gallis, si quid opus esset, valde opportunum: id si illa facere recusaret, se facturos, quod deceret homines studiosos libertatis et amantes patriæ. Regina vero, ut est mulier ferox et sanguinis Gallici, repudiare conditiones, clamare indignum esse legem imponi sibi a suis. Nec deerant Scoti complures, qui ejus fidem et auctoritatem sequerentur. Quid quæris? Venitur ad arma. Ibi episcopus D. Andreæ, homo militaris, dignus videlicet qui inserviret mulierculæ, ante conflictum deseritur a suis omnibus. Duo tantum pueruli remanserunt, credo, ne solus atque incomitatus rediret ad dominam. Scoti habent in castris conciona-

[1 Oxf. prefixes *S. P.*]

tores Knoxum et Goodmannum; et sese vocant cœtum Christi. Postea mittunt ad reginam, ut discedat Letha; nisi vi et malo extrudi malit. Et ab hoc tempore agi cœptum est de fœdere Anglico. Regina, virili mulier animo, quamvis in singulos dies relinqueretur a suis, tamen nihil perterrefieri, tenere præsidium, excursiones in hostem facere, omnia moliri, et suis oculis lustrare omnia. Scoti viribus valent et multitudine; et, nisi imperiti essent obsidionis et artis bellicæ, jamdudum aliquid effecissent. Velitatum est leniter[2] utrinque ad sextum Novembris. Postea Scoti sese receperunt in hiberna. Statim a reginalibus rumusculi dissipati sunt, Scotos fractis animis diffugisse. Verum illi adhuc et principes una retinent, et conferunt consilia, et augent numerum, et colligunt pecuniam, et, si quid opus erit, militem habent in procinctu.

Hæc volui breviter: plura posthac dabo, ubi plura resciero; multa enim exspectantur. Nos instruimus militem, et in hostem serio cogitamus. Vale, mi pater. Saluta uxorem tuam, D. Bullingerum, D. Bernardinum[3], D. Hermannum, Julium et Juliam. Londini, primo Decembris, quo die nos primum audivimus Mariam esse mortuam, 1559.

Tuus,

JOHANNES JUELLUS.

INSCRIPTIO.

Doctiss. atque ornatiss. viro Domino Petro Martyri, profitenti sacras scripturas in ecclesia Tigurina, domino suo colendissimo. Tiguri[4].

[TRANSLATION.]

There was brought me yesterday from Scotland a letter from Pamphilus, the presiding angel and companion of our friend Crito, respecting the whole state of affairs in that kingdom from the very beginning of the disturbances; all which he entreated me to communicate to you with diligence, and in the order of events. He would rather have written to you himself, if either the circumstances of time or place had allowed him to do so. As for me, since I know that you especially delight in brevity, I will write briefly.

The Scotch at the beginning published certain declarations: first, that they only regarded the public weal, and that none of them sought any individual advantage to himself; next, that it appeared to be for the general interest, that the queen should desist from fortifying Leith, a maritime town and most convenient for the French, should there be any occasion for their services. Should she refuse to accede to this, they would then act as became men zealous for liberty, and lovers of their country. The queen however, being a haughty woman, and of French blood, rejected these terms, exclaiming that it was an indignity to her to be dictated to by her subjects. Nor were there wanting a great many Scots, who were still obedient to her authority. The result, however, was that they came to an engagement; when the bishop of St Andrews, a soldier, and worthy, forsooth, to be the slave of a weak woman, was deserted by all his own people before the battle. Only two little boys remained with him, I suppose that he might not have to return to his mistress alone and unattended.

The Scots have in their camp the preachers Knox and Goodman, and they call themselves the "Congregation of Christ." Their next step was to send to the queen to retire from Leith, if she would not be driven from thence by force and violence. And from this time they began to treat about an alliance with England. The queen, a woman of a manly courage, though she was every day deserted by some of her own party, was nevertheless nowise dismayed: she kept possession of the garrison, made sallies against the enemy, planned every thing, surveyed every thing with her own eyes. The Scots have the superiority in numbers and strength; and, had they not been unskilled in sieges and the art of war, they would have effected something long before this time. Slight

[2] Leviter, Oxf.]
[3] Here Oxf. introduces &c.]
[4] This inscription is not in Oxf., which adds as a postscript, Istæ sunt decimæ, ni male memini; vide, an numerus conveniat.]

skirmishes took place on both sides up to the sixth of November, after which the Scots retired into winter-quarters; whereupon a rumour was spread abroad by the queen's party, that the Scots had run away, with their spirits broken. But they, with their leaders, still maintain their ground, and hold councils, and increase their numbers, and levy money, and have troops in readiness, should there be any occasion for their services.

I have but briefly touched upon these matters: I will write more at length hereafter, when I shall be better informed respecting them; for great news is expected. We are raising troops, and seriously thinking about war.

Farewell, my father. Salute your wife, masters Bullinger, Bernardine, Herman, Julius and his wife. London, the first of December, on which day I first heard of the death of Mary.

Yours,

JOHN JEWEL.

XXI. JOHANNES JUELLUS AD PETRUM MARTYREM.

(Zur. Coll. and Burnet, Vol. III. Book VI. No. 60.)

S. Pl. O mi pater, quid ego ad te scribam[1]? Rei non multum est, temporis vero multo minus. Sed quoniam te scio delectari brevitate, te auctore scribam brevius. Nunc ardet lis illa crucularia. Vix credas in re fatua quantum homines, qui aliquid sapere[2] videbantur, insaniant. Ex illis, quos quidem tu noris, præter Coxum nullus est. Crastino die instituetur de ea re disputatio. Arbitri erunt ex[3] senatu selecti quidam viri. Actores inde Cantuariensis et Coxus; hinc Grindallus Londinensis episcopus et ego. Eventus ἐν κριτῶν γούνασι κεῖται. Rideo tamen, cum cogito, quibus illi et quam gravibus et[4] solidis rationibus defensuri sint suam cruculam. Sed quicquid erit, scribam posthac pluribus; nunc enim sub judice lis est: tamen, quantum auguror, non scribam posthac ad te episcopus. Eo enim jam res pervenit, ut aut cruces argenteæ et stanneæ, quas nos ubique confregimus, restituendæ sint, aut episcopatus relinquendi[5].

De Frenshamo nostro, quod illum ita humaniter tractaris, ago tibi, mi pater, quas debeo gratias. Mortuum ex tuis literis primum didici. De ejus pecunia, quam moriens reliquit Tiguri, quid scribam nescio. Neque enim ego testamentum ejus unquam vidi, et Randolphus noster, qui vidit, est nunc in Scotia. Tamen, si quid erit, ego omnibus modis consultum cupio meo Julio. Atque hoc, quæso, illi significa meo nomine, ut si quid est, quod Frenshamus non legarit nominatim, partim aliquid[6] apud se retineat, et in ea re, κατ' Ἀλκόξονον tuum, utatur judicio suo.

E Scotia varia nunciantur, et omnia satis læta. Idque satis sit hoc tempore uno verbo significasse: adhuc enim de rebus singulis explorati nihil habeo. Nos magnas copias habemus in finibus; et terra marique Scotis auxilium ferimus. Crito hospes tuus, et ejus comes Pamphilus, non stertunt totas noctes. Venit ille Athenas insolens, et placuit Glycerio[7]. Nosti? Sed quid ago? Destituor tempore, et obruor negotiis, et invitus cogor finem facere. Tamen hoc scire debes, Vitum amicum tuum summum, et popularem episcopum Vintoniensem, et Oglethorpum Carleolensem, et Bainum Lichefildensem, et Tonstallum Saturnum Dunelmensem[8], ante aliquot dies esse mortuos. Samsonus rure[9] agit longe gentium, Parkhurstus in regno suo[10]. Itaque mirum videri non debet, si ad vos scribant infrequentius.

Saluta, quæso, reverendissimum patrem, D. Bullingerum, D. Bernardinum, D. Volphium, D. Hermannum, et Julium, ad quos ego omnes libenter scriberem hoc

[1] Adscribam, Burn.]
[2] Sapere aliquid, Burn.]
[3] E, Burn.]
[4] Ac, Burn.]
[5] The sentences from this place to *nosti* are not in Burnet.]
[6] Partem aliquam, Oxf.]
[7] See before, page 1224, note 5. By Glycerium is intended queen Elizabeth. Arran was one of her suitors.]
[8] Tonstal died Nov. 18, 1559, at the age of about 85. See Strype, Annals, Vol. I. chap. xi.]
[9] Ruri, Burn. and Oxf.]
[10] At his rectory of Bishop's Cleeve.]

tempore, si esset otium. Salutæ optimam illam mulierem, uxorem tuam, et Annam, et Martyrillum tuum. Etonus, Etona, Abelus, Abela, Grindallus, Sandus, Scoræus[11], Falconerus, Elmerus te salutant; et cum tibi omnia cupiant, nihil tamen magis cupiunt quam Angliam: quanquam, ut adhuc sunt res nostræ, crede mihi, pulchrum est esse Tiguri. Bene vale, mi pater, bene vale. Londini, 4 Februarii, 1560.

Tibi deditissimus,

Jo. Juellus, tuus.

INSCRIPTIO.

Doctiss. viro, D. Petro Martyri Vermilio, profitenti sacras literas in schola Tigurina, domino suo colendissimo. Tiguri[12].

[TRANSLATION.]

Much health! O my father! what shall I write to you? My materials are not great, but my time much less. However, as I know that you delight in brevity, I will write briefly after your example.

This controversy about the crucifix is now at its height. You would scarcely believe to what a degree of insanity some persons, who once had some shew of common sense, have been carried upon so foolish a subject. There is not one of them, however, with whom you are acquainted, excepting Cox. A disputation upon this subject will take place to-morrow. The moderators will be persons selected by the council. The disputants on the one side are the archbishop of Canterbury, and Cox; and on the other, Grindal the bishop of London, and myself. The decision rests with the judges. I smile, however, when I think with what grave and solid reasons they will defend their little cross. Whatever be the result, I will write to you more at length when the disputation is over; for the controversy is as yet undecided; yet, as far as I can conjecture, I shall not again write to you as a bishop. For matters are come to that pass, that either the crosses of silver and tin, which we have every where broken in pieces, must be restored, or our bishopricks relinquished.

For your kind entertainment of my friend Frensham I return you, my father, the thanks I ought to do. Your letter first informed me of his death. I know not what to say respecting the money which he left at Zurich on his decease; for I have never seen his will myself, and my friend Randolph, who has seen it, is now in Scotland. However, should there be anything, I would by all means have provision made for my friend Julius. And I beg you to make it known to him in my name that, should there be anything which Frensham has not bequeathed to any one by name, he may keep a portion for himself, and use his own discretion in the matter.

Various reports, and all of them favourable, are announced from Scotland. And it must suffice, at present, to have told you this in one word; for I have as yet nothing certain to relate as to the particulars. We have a large body of troops on the borders, and are bringing succour to the Scots, both by land and sea. Your guest Crito, and his friend Pamphilus, are not idle. The saucy youth came to Athens, and won the good graces of Glycerium. Do you know? But what am I doing? I am in want of time, overwhelmed with business, and unwillingly obliged to conclude. You should know, however, that your great friend White, the *popular* bishop of Winchester, Oglethorpe of Carlisle, Baines of Lichfield, and Tonstal, the Saturn of Durham, all died some days since. Sampson is in the country, a long way off; Parkhurst in his kingdom. You must not therefore be surprised, if they do not often write to you.

Salute, I pray you, the most reverend father, master Bullinger, Bernardine, Wolfius, Herman, and Julius, to all of whom I would gladly write at this time, had I leisure. Salute the excellent lady your wife, and Anna, and your little Martyr. Heton, Abel, and their wives, Grindal, Sandys, Scory, Falconer, Aylmer, salute you; and, though they

[11] Scordus, Oxf.]

[12] This inscription is not in Oxf.]

wish all good things for you, they, nevertheless, desire nothing more than England. However, as matters now stand, believe me, it is as well to be at Zurich. Farewell, my father, farewell. London, February 4, 1560.

Your most devoted,

JOHN JEWEL.

XXII. JOHANNES JUELLUS AD PETRUM MARTYREM.

(Zur. Coll.)

S. Pl. in Christo. Negotia ista mea, etsi hoc efficiunt, ut ego minus ad te scribam, hoc tamen profecto non efficiunt, nec certe unquam effectura sunt, ut ego minus te diligam, aut de te minus cogitem. Qui[1] enim minus possim, præsertim quem patris loco habere debeo? Scripsi ad te non ita pridem per Burcherum nostrum, a quo etiam literas recepi tuas, sed longo post tempore; scriptæ enim sub initium Octobris, redditæ mihi sunt idibus, opinor, Januarii: tam diu ille hærere in itinere cogebatur. Idque puto in meas etiam ad te literas non raro accidere, et præsertim postquam Abelus noster discesserit Argentorato, nec Anglus ibi quisquam remanserit, qui res nostras curare possit. Si testamentum Frenshami nostri mittatur hoc tempore Francofordiam, negotium dedi Conrado, famulo Arnoldi Birkmanni, juveni probo et bonæ fidei, qui illud a Froschovero recipiat, et secum deferat, et apud se habeat. Ego enim, ubi ille redierit, non ero Londini: jamdudum enim cupio Sarisberiam; sed impedimur mille vinculis. Interim tamen, dum nos hic tenemur, nescio quis Pan curet oves! Verum ego de illo testamento et pecunia nihil scio; et sine Randolpho nihil possum: nam si scirem aut possem, Julio tuo meoque summam aliquam et liberaliter et ultro deciderem. Randolphus autem abest adhuc longe gentium in Scotia. Itaque literas tuas et D. Bullingeri ad illum scriptas habeo adhuc apud me integras: neque enim video, qua ratione ad illum tam procul satis tuto mitti possint.

Religio nunc aliquanto confirmatior est quam fuit. Populus ubique ad meliorem partem valde proclivis. Magnum ad eam rem momentum attulit ecclesiastica et popularis musica. Postquam enim semel Londini cœptum est in una tantum ecclesiola cani publice, statim non tantum ecclesiæ aliæ finitimæ, sed etiam longe disjunctæ civitates, cœperunt idem institutum certatim expetere. Nunc ad crucem Pauli videas interdum sex hominum millia, finita concione, senes, pueros, mulierculas, una canere et laudare Deum. Id sacrificos et diabolum ægre habet. Vident enim sacras conciones hoc pacto profundius descendere in hominum animos, et ad singulos pene numeros convelli et concuti regnum suum. Nihil tamen habent, quod jure ac merito queri possint. Missæ enim nostra memoria nunquam erant in majori pretio: singulæ enim nunc æstimantur, in singula spectatorum capita, non minoris quam ducentis coronatis. Vitus tuus[2], qui ita candide et amice in te scripsit, mortuus est, credo, ex rabie; et religio, quod mireris, habet nihilo deterius. Id hominem patientem male habuit, quod videret se suosque publice rideri a pueris.

Si Julius noster ad nos veniat, nihil illi a me neque ad victum, neque ad cultum, neque ad crumenam deerit. Cupio enim voloque meo Julio, non tantum tua causa, cui ego omnia debeo, sed etiam ipsius causa Julii. Tamen, ut adhuc sunt res nostræ, me auctore subsistat paullulum, dum istæ turbæ conquiescant. Interim ne putes, mi pater, neminem hic esse qui de te absente cogitet. Hucusque Oxonii asservatur lectio theologica illa tua, non alii, spero, si tu ipse velis, quam tibi. Cæcilius tuus est: Gulielmus Petrus[3] humanissime de te prædicat. Posthac si, re confecta, et religione reque publica constituta, et ultro et honorifice, et reginæ, quæ te gerit in oculis, et reipublicæ nomine revoceris, obsecro, ne pigeat redire. Redibis, spero, ad homines non ingratos, et tui memores bene[4].

Vale, mi pater, dulce decus meum, atque animi plusquam dimidium mei. Saluta

[1] Quid, Oxf.]
[2] White, the late bishop of Winchester.]
[3] Sir William Petre. He had been secretary of state, and was long a privy-councillor.]
[4] Bene memores, Oxf.]

uxorem tuam et filiolum suavissimum meo nomine. Saluta D. Bullingerum, D. Gualterum, D. Simlerum, D. Lavaterum, D. Gesnerum, D. Hallerum, D. Volphium, D. Frisium, et imprimis D. Bernardinum (cujus res apud nos utinam irent paulo celerius!), juvenem cultissimum Hermannum, Julium, Juliam, et Martyrillum. Vale, mi pater, vale: O quis mihi dabit, ut dicere aliquando possim, Mi pater, salve? Londini, 5 Martii, 1560.

Istæ sunt decimæ tertiæ, ni male memini. Tu vide an omnes ad te pervenerint. D. Lælium, si redierit in centrum suum, saluta, quæso, meo nomine.

Tui nominis observantissimus,

Jo. JUELLUS, Sarisberiensis.

[TRANSLATION.]

Much health in Christ! Although these engagements of mine have the effect of making me write to you less frequently, they will never make me either love you less, or have you less frequently in my thoughts. For how can I do less, especially to one whom I ought to regard as a father? I wrote to you not long since by our friend Burcher, by whom also I received your letter, though after a long interval; for, notwithstanding it was written at the beginning of October, I did not, I think, receive it till the thirteenth of January; so long was he compelled to linger on the road. This, I imagine, has likewise not unfrequently been the case with respect to my letters to you; and especially since our friend Abel has left Strasburgh, where there is no Englishman now remaining, who can undertake the management of these matters.

Should the will of my friend Frensham be at this time sent to Frankfort, I have given a commission to Conrad, the servant of Arnold Birkman, an honest and trustworthy young man, to receive it from Froschover, and take it away with him, and keep it under his own care. For I shall not be in London when he returns, as I have long been anxious to go to Salisbury, but have been prevented by a thousand hinderances. In the meantime, while I am detained here, I know not what Pan is tending my sheep! But I know nothing about that will and the money, and can do nothing without Randolph. For, if I did know, or were able to act, I would make over liberally, and without solicitation, a certain sum to your and my Julius. But Randolph is still absent in Scotland, a long way off; so that I still keep by me unopened the letters written to him both by Bullinger and yourself. Indeed, I do not see by what means they can be safely forwarded to him at so great a distance.

Religion is now somewhat more established than it was. The people are every where exceedingly inclined to the better part. The practice of joining in church music has very much conduced to this. For, as soon as they had once commenced singing in public, in only one little church in London, immediately not only the churches in the neighbourhood, but even the towns far distant, began to vie with each other in the same practice. You may now sometimes see at Paul's cross, after the sermon, six thousand persons, old and young, of both sexes, all singing together, and praising God. This sadly annoys the mass-priests, and the devil. For they perceive that by these means the sacred discourses sink more deeply into the minds of men, and that their kingdom is weakened and shaken at almost every note. There is nothing, however, of which they have any right to complain; for masses have never been more highly prized within my memory; each being now valued, to every individual spectator, at not less than two hundred crowns. Your friend White, who wrote against you so *candidly* and *kindly*, is dead, as I think, from rage; and religion, which you may be surprised at, has not suffered in the least. It sorely vexed this patient man to see both himself and his party laughed at by the very boys in the streets.

If our friend Julius should come over to me, he shall not want for either board, or clothing, or money; for I greatly esteem and wish him well, not only for your sake, to whom I owe everything, but also for his own. However, as our matters now are, my advice is that he should wait a little, till the present confusion shall have subsided. Meanwhile, my father, do not suppose that there are none here who think of you in your

absence. Your divinity lecture at Oxford is still kept open, and, as I hope, for no one but yourself, if you are so disposed. Cecil is your friend. Sir William Petre speaks of you with the greatest kindness. After a while, when the work is finished, and the affairs of religion and the state thoroughly settled, should you be spontaneously and honourably recalled, in the name both of the queen, who still bears you in mind, and of the commonwealth, I entreat you not to be unwilling to return. You will return, I hope, to men who are not ungrateful, and who still remember you with kindness.

Farewell, my father, my pride, and the better half of my own soul. Salute, in my name, your wife, and your dear little boy. Salute masters Bullinger, Gualter, Simler, Lavater, Gesner, Haller, Wolfius, Frisius, and especially Bernardine (whose affairs here I could wish to see more speedily settled), the most accomplished young Herman, Julius, his wife, and my little Martyr. Farewell, my father, farewell. O that I may sometime or other be allowed to say, My father, how do you do? London, March 5, 1560.

Your most attached friend,

JOHN JEWEL,

[Bishop] of Salisbury.

This, if I am not mistaken, is my 13th letter. You will perceive whether they have all reached you. Should master Lælius return to his head-quarters, salute him, I pray you, in my name.

XXIII. JOHANNES JUELLUS AD PETRUM MARTYREM.

(Zur. Coll.)

S. P. Si ex denis meis literis octo ad te, ut scribis, pervenerint, mi pater, et dulce decus meum, minus multo jacturæ factum est, quam putaram; ego enim sperare nunquam potui vel tertiam literarum mearum partem ad te incolumem perventuram. Verum etsi illæ subsistant, ut fit, otiosæ, aut delitescant[1] uspiam, aut etiam pereant in itinere; tamen ego non desinam ea causa officium meum facere, neque unquam committam, ut tabellariorum perfidia videar velle liberare fidem meam. Crede enim mihi, nihil unquam facio libentius quam cum aut ad te scribo, aut de te cogito. Itaque, O Deum immortalem! quoties ego[2] me fingo esse Tiguri, et pro nostra inter nos amœnissima consuetudine modo te audire, modo tecum colloqui, ut interim, cum vera non liceat, saltem falsa atque umbratili voluntate[3] possim perfrui! Confectis autem rebus nostris, et pace reque publica, quod brevi speramus fore, constituta, umbras istas et imagines missas faciemus, et te coram, spero, præsentem intuebimur: id enim scire debes nobis bonisque omnibus esse curæ. Interim academiæ, et nostra illa imprimis Oxoniensis, miserum in modum deseruntur, sine bonis literis, sine lectionibus, sine studio ullo pietatis. Cæcum illud numen erit aliquando magis propitium. Verum adhuc tempora ista qualia sint vides: ὁ Ἄρης, ὁ Ἄρης ὁ βροτολοιγὸς fundum ipsum τοῦ πλούτου exhaurit. Ubi serenitas aliqua redierit, et istæ turbæ conquieverint, Eleazaro tuo Damasceno[4] nec id, de quo[5] tu scribis, nec alia majora deerunt. Si ad nos venerit, vel potius ubi venerit, erit apud me eodem loco, quo si esset frater meus.

De Eliperio tuo[6] non tribuo mihi tantum ut te consoler. Novi enim ego prudentiam tuam. Quod dies alioqui minueret, id scio te ratione solere antevertere. Utinam tamen puerum ita bellum, et ita tui similem, et hac potissimum ætate tua susceptum, potuisses habere superstitem, non tantum qui tecum garriret aliquando, et te oblectaret domi, sed etiam qui ingenii, pietatis, virtutum tuarum omnium doctrinæque tuæ hæres esset! Sed quoniam Deus optimus maximus ita, ut est, esse voluit, melius quam est esse non potest.

De quinque illis coronatis Italicis scripsi ter ad Julium nostrum, bis ad D.

[1] Delitescunt, MS.]

[2] Oxf. omits *ego*.]

[3] Voluptate, Oxf.]

[4] Julius Santerentianus. See above, page 1220, note 5.]

[5] Quod de, MS.]

[6] Peter Martyr's son, born March 2, died March 10, 1560. Martyr was left without children by his first wife; by his second he had a boy and girl who died in early infancy. There was also a posthumous daughter.]

Bernardinum. Tradidi autem eos ante septem menses D. Acontio Italo, qui nunc est apud comitem Bedfordiensem: ille sese pollicitus est curaturum, ut quamprimum et quam optima fide redderentur Tiguri. Itaque D. Bernardinum toto hoc tempore nec pecuniam suam recepisse, nec vel a me vel ab Acontio quicquam audisse, miror. Redditum est mihi testamentum Frenshami nostri. Ducenti illi coronati sunt adhuc Antverpiæ, apud Arnoldum Birkmannum, non minus in tuto quam si essent apud me. Pamphilus est in Scotia: ibi operam diligenter navat Critoni suo. In ejus reditum res manebit integra.

Nonis Maii summa turris ecclesiæ meæ Sarisberiensis ita non tacta, sed concussa est de cœlo, ut a fastigio ad quadraginta cubitos rima perpetua duceretur: tu vide, num quidnam in ea re sit divini[7] ominis. Ego forte nondum eo veneram: quod si venissem, ut sunt hominum mentes superstitiosæ et fatuæ, omnis illa clades conjecta fuisset in adventum meum. Crastino tamen die proficiscor, et manum ad aratrum admoveo: Deus bene fortunet causam suam!

Petrus Alexander, cum venisset ad nos calendis Maii, post aliquot dies restitutus est in præbendam suam in integrum[8]. Agit nunc Londini apud D. Hetonum tuum, et concionatur in ecclesia Gallorum. Crito est in summa gratia. Si quos antea habebat adversarios, eos nunc tandem prudentia et pietate conciliavit sibi, et fecit suos. Id mihi inde usque literis significavit noster Pamphilus. Verum de illis rebus omnibus scribo plenius ad D. Bullingerum.

Falkonerus noster obiit diem suum. Parkhurstus factus est episcopus Norvicensis. Bonerus, Fecnamus monachus, Patus[9], Storæus jurisperitus, Vatsonus, quod animis obstinatis abstineant a sacro cœtu[10], et in omnibus angulis religionem istam, quam nos hodie profitemur, insectentur et lacerent, conjecti sunt in carcerem. Regina enim, fœmina prudentissima atque optima, virili prorsus animo et fortiter pollicita est, se non passuram ut quisquam suorum possit impune ab hac religione dissidere.

Nos ubique scribimus militem, et omnia comparamus ad bellum. Gallus si advenerit, non opprimet, spero, imparatos: quanquam, ut nunc sunt tempora, ille hostis non ita multum habet otii a re sua, ut possit curare aliena. Deus aliquando componat istas turbas, ut, confectis rebus, possimus te revocare in Angliam! Crede enim mihi, nemo est mortalium, de quo nostri homines aut sæpius, aut amicius, aut reverentius loqui soleant. D. Cæcilius, quocum heri pransus sum in aula, D. Knollus, D. Wrothus orarunt, ut te plurimum suo nomine salutarem; et, quod tu fortasse vix putes, D. Wilielmus Petrus cum audiret mentionem de te fieri, omnino oravit, ut suo etiam nomine idem facerem.

Salvere jubebis a me optimam illam mulierem, uxorem tuam, D. Bullingerum, D. Gualterum, D. Lavaterum, D. Gesnerum, D. Hallerum, D. Simlerum, D. Volphium, D. Frisium, D. Hermannum, D. Paulum, Julium meum, Juliam, et Martyrillum; quibus ego omnibus, totique ecclesiæ et reipublicæ Tigurinæ, omnia precor, omnia cupio. Vale, mi pater, mi pater, vale. Vale, mi domine in Christo colendissime. Ecclesiam causamque nostram commendo tuis precibus. Londini[11], 22 Maii, 1560.

JOHANNES JUELLUS,
ex animo et vere tuus.

INSCRIPTIO.

Ornatissimo et longe doctissimo viro, D. Petro Martyri Vermilio, profitenti sacras literas in ecclesia Tigurina, domino suo colendiss. Tiguri.

[TRANSLATION.]

Much health! If, as you tell me, eight of my ten letters have reached you, my very dear friend and father, there is much less loss than I expected; for I could never entertain the hope that even one third of the number would arrive in safety. But, although they

[7 Num quid in ea re sit diri, Oxf.]

[8 See Strype, Eccles. Mem. Vol. II. Book 1. chap. xxv.]

[9 See before, page 905, note 16.]

[10 A sacro cœtu abstineant, Oxf.]

[11 Oxf. dates this Letter *Tiguri;* it also omits the inscription, and adds a postscript, Istæ sunt decimæ quartæ.]

are, as usual, idly loitering on the road, or lying hid in some place or other, or even lost on the journey, I shall not on that account desist from doing my duty; nor shall I ever so act as to seem inclined to get rid of my engagement, through the treacherousness of the courier. For, believe me, I am never employed more to my satisfaction than when I am either writing to you, or thinking about you. Hence, how often do I imagine myself at Zurich, and, agreeably to the delightful intimacy that exists between us, fancy that I am now hearing you, now conversing with you; to the end that, although I cannot in reality enjoy that pleasure, I may at least enjoy an ideal and shadowy gratification! But, when our affairs are settled, and peace established, and the government placed on a firm footing, as I hope will shortly be the case, I shall dismiss these shadows and idealities, and, I hope, behold you face to face. For you ought to know that this is anxiously endeavoured both by myself and all good men. In the meantime, our universities, and more especially our Oxford, are most sadly deserted; without learning, without lectures, without any regard to religion. The blind deity will some time or other be more favourable to us. But at present you see what is the character of these times. War, destructive war, is utterly draining the very source of wealth. As soon as a calm shall return, and these disorders shall have subsided, there shall not be wanting to your Eleazar of Damascus either that which you mention, or other things of more importance. If he should, or rather *when* he shall come to me, I shall regard him as a brother.

I do not assume so much to myself as to be able to afford you any consolation concerning your Eliperius. But I know your good sense, and that you are wont to anticipate by reflection that comfort which time would otherwise impart. I wish, however, that you could have had, especially in your declining years, a son to survive you, so endearing, and so like yourself; not only to have amused you with his prattling, but also to have been the inheritor of your talents and piety, of all your virtues, and of your learning. But, since the great and good God has willed things to be as they are, they cannot be better than as they are.

Respecting those five Italian crowns, I have written three times to our friend Julius, and twice to master Bernardine. But I delivered them seven months since to Acontius, an Italian, who is now with the earl of Bedford. He promised to take care that they should be sent over to Zurich most faithfully, and at the earliest opportunity. I am surprised therefore that in all this time Bernardine has neither received his money, nor had any intelligence either from me or from Acontius.

The will of our friend Frensham has been placed in my hands. Those two hundred crowns are still at Antwerp, in the care of Arnold Birkman, with whom they are as safe as if I had them myself. Pamphilus is in Scotland, diligently exerting himself for his friend Crito. The business therefore will not be entered upon till his return.

On the seventh of May, the top of the spire of my cathedral at Salisbury was, not merely struck, but so shattered by lightning, that a continued fissure was made from the top for sixty feet downwards: consider whether there is anything ominous in this circumstance. It so happened that I had not yet arrived there: had I done so, so foolish and superstitious are men's minds, that all this mischief would have been ascribed to my coming. I shall, however, go thither to-morrow, and put my hand to the plough. May God prosper his own cause!

Peter Alexander came to me on the first of May, and after some days was completely reinstated in his prebend. He is now staying in London with your friend Heton, and preaching in the French church.

Crito is in high favour. Whatever enemies he had heretofore, he has at length, by his piety and discretion, converted into friends. This our friend Pamphilus has made known to me by letter; but concerning all these matters I am writing more fully to master Bullinger.

Our friend Falconer is dead. Parkhurst is made bishop of Norwich. Bonner, the monk Feckenham, Pate, Story the civilian, and Watson, are sent to prison, for having obstinately refused attendance on public worship, and every where declaiming and railing against that religion which we now profess. For the queen, a most discreet and excellent woman, most manfully and courageously declared that she would not allow any of her subjects to dissent from this religion with impunity.

We are raising forces in all quarters, and making all manner of preparation for war. If the French should come, they will not, I hope, find us unprepared. Yet, as the times now are, that enemy has not so much leisure at home, as to allow of his interference in the concerns of others. May God at length put an end to these disorders, that, when our affairs are settled, we may be able to recall you to England! For, believe me, there is no one living about whom our friends are wont to discourse more frequently, or with greater interest and respect. Cecil, with whom I dined yesterday at court, Knollys, and Wroth, desired me to salute you very much in their name: and, what perhaps you would hardly expect, Sir William Petre, when he heard you mentioned, earnestly entreated me to do the same for him.

Give my kind remembrances to the excellent lady your wife, Bullinger, Gualter, Lavater, Gesner, Haller, Simler, Wolfius, Frisius, Herman, Paullus, my friend Julius, his wife, and Martyrillus; to all of whom, and to the whole church and commonwealth of Zurich, I pray and desire every blessing.

Farewell, my father, my father, farewell. Farewell, my most-esteemed master in Christ. I commend our church and cause to your prayers. London, May 22, 1560.

Most cordially and sincerely yours,

JOHN JEWEL.

XXIV. JOHANNES JUELLUS AD PETRUM MARTYREM.

(Zur. Coll.)

S. Plurimam in Christo. Scripsi ad te, mi pater, non ita pridem, biduo antequam discederem Londino. Eas dedi proficiscens Hetono nostro, ut ad te primo quoque tempore mitterentur. Nunc postquam ad meos veni Sarisberiam, etsi nihil detractum est de observantia erga te mea, imo etiam quamvis ea ex longo isto et mihi permolesto tui desiderio infinitis partibus aucta sit, et augeatur in dies; literarum tamen scribendarum opportunitas non eadem videtur nunc esse, quæ fuit antea. Longe enim nunc absum a turba et strepitu, minusque multo audio quid agatur; et si quid volo, tabellarium tamen, qui isthuc eat, non invenio. Scribam tamen, quicquid erit, imo etiam quamvis nihil erit. Pereant istæ sane, si volunt, in itinere: meum erga te officium, obsequium, studium, non peribit. Erit, spero, aliquando tempus, cum propius nos mutuo salutabimus: quam[1] ego diem ubi videro, et in tuum complexum venero, satis me diu vixisse arbitrabor. Ea res nobis omnibus curæ est. Et quid impediat non videmus; nisi id forte est, quod suspicor, quodque ad te aliquando scripsi, Petrum et Paulum[2] tibi reditum interclusisse. Sed Deus hujusmodi apostolis male velit! Lectio tamen tua adhuc vacat, nec scio, cui potius alii servetur, quam tibi. Interea tamen ibi omnia ruunt et pessum eunt: collegia enim nunc illa plena puerorum sunt, inanissima literarum.

Smithus abiit in Valliam: ibi enim aiunt duxisse uxorem, opinor, ut omnia tua argumenta refutaret. Quicquid est, tamen jactat canos et inane caput: habet nunc popinam, et vivit de taberna meritoria, contemtus a nostris, a suis, a notis, ab ignotis, a senibus, a pueris, a se ipso, ab omnibus. Sidallus[3] noster Harpocratem colit, et tegit sententiam: itaque nunc nec inter aves nec inter quadrupedes numeratur: bonus quidem vir, uti nosti, utque ego sat scio, observans atque amans tui. Et fortasse, ubi copias nostras videbit esse auctas, ultro accedet, et ponet istam simulationem, et aperte se geret. Nam in lustrando exercitu oportet aliquem esse ultimum.

Episcopi aliquot Mariani sunt in turri; Londinensis in veteri[4] hospitio suo[5], ubi antea fuerat sub Edvardo rege: quo cum abductus esset, et in medium jam carcerem pervenisset, et, ut est homo perurbanus, et non tantum animo, sed etiam

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[1] Quem, Oxf.]

[2] See before, page 1207, note 14. Martyr was eventually invited into England, but excused himself. See Strype, Annals, Vol. I. chap. xxi.]

[3] See before, page 1205, note 4.]

[4] Vetere, Oxf.]

[5] The Marshalsea.]

facie, ut scis, liberali, vinctos, quos ibi reperit, officiose salutasset, et amicos ac socios appellasset, reclamavit statim quidam e numero: "Et egone," inquit, "bestia, videor tibi socius esse tuus? Abi, quo dignus es, ad inferos; ibi invenies socios. Ego unum tantum hominem, eumque inductus aliqua causa, occidi: tu magnum numerum bonorum virorum, martyres Christi, testes atque assertores veritatis, sine causa occidisti: et me quidem facti pœnitet; tu vero ita obduruisti, ut nesciam an possis duci pœnitudine." Hoc scribo, ut scias, quo ille loco sit, quem etiam scelerati homines et malefici repudient et fugiant, nec ferant socium.

Constans rumor est, isque jam sermone multorum et literis confirmatus, militem nostrum post longam oppugnationem tandem deditione cepisse Letam, et Gallos præsidiarios cum singulis vestimentis emisisse. De conditionibus multa sparguntur; sed adhuc nihil certi. Summa est nunc necessitudo inter Anglos et Scotos, non solum humana societate, sed etiam cœlesti fœdere sancita. Quod si illud etiam accedat, quod speramus quodque cupimus, de Critone et Glycerio[1], recte erit. Atque utinam ne illi id impediant, qui nec nobis nec illis bene volunt. Verum ista adhuc inchoata tantum sunt, et cruda quodammodo; post audiemus omnia clariora. Pamphilus nondum rediit; datus est Critoni comes a Glycerio. Ille, ut potest, scribit interdum ad me, et sperat fore ut volumus. Quicquid est, Crito non erit in mora. Suecus exspectatur cum numerosa classe, princeps potens, et dives argenti, et in faciendo sumptu perliberalis. Sed habitat longe gentium; et per hyemem maria omnia coguntur frigore, ut neve accedere ad nos possit, neve ad se redire.

Gallicis istis tumultibus Deus aliquando imponat finem optabilem, et Guisanos furores et consceleratam nequitiam reprimat. Dei beneficio apud nos omnia tranquilla sunt, non tantum de religione, sed etiam de republica. Messis copiosa est; messores tantum desunt. Tamen, quia Gallus dicitur armare classem, et nescio quas irruptiones minitari, ne quid nobis periculi, ut fit, oreetur ex improviso, delectus facimus passim, et militem, si quid opus erit, habemus in procinctu. Ego tamen, ut nunc sunt tempora, vix puto illi tantum esse otii a re sua, ut nostra curare possit. Habes nostra. De Julio meo tuoque desino polliceri. Tantum veniat: novit viam: nihil illi a me deerit. Imo quid ego illum jubeo venire solum? Exspectet potius paullulum, et tecum veniat. Imo quid exspectari[2] jubeo? Jamdudum venisse oportuit. Vale, mi pater, vale. Dicam tibi, spero, aliquando coram et in os, Mi pater, salve. Saluta meo nomine optimam illam mulierem, uxorem tuam, D. Bullingerum, D. Gualterum, D. Lavaterum, D. Frisium, D. Simlerum, D. Gesnerum, D. Hallerum, D. Wickium, D. Hermannum, si est adhuc[3] apud te, Julium, Juliam, et Martyrillum. Nos omnes dissipati jam sumus in dispersionem gentium, ut quid alii fratres nostri faciant nihil possim certo scribere: esse tamen pie occupatos in promovendo evangelio, et tui vestrique omnium memores, nihil dubito. Iterum, mi pater, vale, et ora Deum, ut hanc lucem velit nobis esse perpetuam. Sarisberiæ, Calendis Junii, 1560.

Tui nominis observantissimus,

Jo. Juellus, Anglus.

INSCRIPTIO.

Doctissimo et ornatissimo viro, D. Petro Martyri Vermilio, docenti sacras literas in schola Tigurina, domino suo colendiss. *Tiguri*[4].

[TRANSLATION.]

Much health in Christ! I wrote to you, my father, not long since, two days before I left London; and gave my letter, as I was going away, to our friend Heton, that it might be forwarded to you by the first opportunity. Now, since I have come among my people at Salisbury, though there is no diminution in my regard for you, yea, though it is in many respects increased, and is daily increasing, by your very long, and to me most painful, absence; yet my opportunities of letter-writing seem

[1 See before, page 1228, note 7.]

[2 This is the reading of the Zurich MS. which the present Editor has collated in this and the succeeding letters.]

[3 *Adhuc* is not in Oxf.]

[4 Oxf. has not this inscription.]

not to be what they were some time since. For I am now far distant from the crowd and bustle [of London], and am much less conversant with passing events; and, when I am ever so much inclined to write, I cannot meet with a courier who is going your way. However, I will write, whatever it may be; aye, even though it be nothing at all. My letter may be lost on the road, if it should so happen; but my regard, and respect, and affection for you will never perish. The time, I hope, will at length arrive, when we may be able to salute each other in person. Should I ever see that day, and live to welcome you [in England], I shall think I have lived long enough. This subject is one of great interest to us all; and we do not see what should hinder you, unless perhaps, as I suspect, and as I once wrote to you, Peter and Paul have stopped the way to your return. Woe betide such apostles! Your lectureship, however, is still vacant; and I do not know for whom it should rather be kept open than for yourself. In the mean time every thing there is falling into ruin and decay; for the colleges are now filled with boys, but quite empty of learning.

Smith is gone into Wales, where, they say, he has taken a wife, with the view, I suppose, of refuting all your arguments. However this may be, he boasts of his grey hairs and empty head. He now keeps a victualling house, and gains his livelihood by a hired tavern, despised by our friends and his own; by those who know him, and those who do not; by old and young, by himself, by every one.

Our friend Sidall is a disciple of Harpocrates, and conceals his opinions; so that he is now reckoned among neither the birds nor beasts. He is, as you know, and as I also am convinced, a good sort of man, and one who esteems and loves you: and perhaps, when he sees our forces increased, he will lay aside this dissembling, and join us of his own accord, and openly come forward. But in mustering an army some one must needs be hindermost.

Some of the Marian bishops are in the Tower. The bishop of London is in his old lodging, which he formerly occupied in king Edward's time. When he was conveyed thither, and had arrived in the interior of the prison, where (being a most courteous person, and gentlemanly both in his manners and appearance) he politely saluted the prisoners who were present, and addressed them as his friends and companions; one of them immediately disclaimed this, and cried out, "Do you take me, you brute, for a companion of yours? Go to hell, as you deserve; you will find companions there. As for me, I only slew one individual, and that not without reason; while you have causelessly murdered vast numbers of holy men, martyrs of Christ, witnesses and maintainers of the truth. Besides, indeed I am sorry for what I did; while you are so hardened, that I know not whether you can be brought to repentance." I write this, that you may know in what a state he must be, when even wicked and abandoned men reject and avoid him, and will not endure him in their society.

There is a prevailing report, which is indeed confirmed, both by the common discourse of many persons, and also by letter, that our forces have at length, after a long siege, taken Leith by capitulation, and driven out the French garrison, with only the clothes on their backs. There are various rumours respecting the terms, but we have not yet received any certain information. There is now the closest friendship between the English and the Scots; who are united not only in a political but also in a religious bond. If that event also should take place, which we are hoping and desiring, in regard to Crito and Glycerium, all will be well: and I wish that those may not prevent it, who wish well neither to them nor to ourselves. But these matters are as yet only in their infancy, and, so to speak, immature; after a while we shall see all things more clearly. Pamphilus has not yet returned. He was appointed by Glycerium to accompany Crito. He sometimes writes to me when he has an opportunity, and hopes that things will turn out as we wish. Whatever may happen, Crito will occasion no delay.

The Swede is expected with a numerous fleet: he is a powerful prince, with plenty of money, and very liberal in regard to expense. But he resides a long way off, and all the seas are frozen over in the winter, so that he can neither come to us, nor get back again if he did.

May God at length put such an end as we could wish to these disorders in France, and restrain the rage and wickedness of the Guises! By the blessing of God, all is now

quiet among us, not only as regards religion, but also the state. The harvest is plenteous; labourers only are wanting. Yet, as the French are said to be arming a fleet, and threatening some mischief or other; lest any danger should arise unexpectedly, as is not improbable, we are raising levies in all quarters, and getting troops in readiness, in case we should require their services. For my own part, however, as times now are, I scarcely think they have sufficient leisure from their own affairs to attend to ours. You have now all our news.

I desist from making any promises respecting our Julius. Only let him come; he knows the way hither, and he shall not want any thing that I can give him. But why do I bid him come by himself? Let him rather wait a little while, and come with you. Yet why should I bid him wait, when he ought to have come long since?

Farewell, my father, farewell. I shall one day, I hope, say to you face to face, My father, how do you do? Salute in my name that most excellent lady your wife, masters Bullinger, Gualter, Lavater, Frisius, Simler, Gesner, Haller, Wickius, Herman (if he is still with you), Julius, his wife, and the little Martyr. We are all so scattered among the dispersion of the nations, that I cannot at all write for certain as to what our brethren are doing. I doubt not, however, but that they are piously occupied in the furtherance of the gospel, and that they are mindful of you and of all your friends.

Again, my father, farewell, and pray God that he may make this our present light to be perpetual. Salisbury, June 1, 1560.

Your most attached,

JOHN JEWEL, *Anglus.*

XXV. JOHANNES JUELLUS AD PETRUM MARTYREM.

(Zur. Coll.)

S. Pl. in Christo. Scripsi ad te ante non ita multos dies, si satis memini, calendis Junii, de universo statu nostrarum rerum qui vel tum erat, cum scriberem, vel certe esse dicebatur. Nunc accipe ea, quæ et passim jactantur in vulgus, et hodierno die ad me ex aula perferuntur.

De Scotia res confecta est. Galli præsidiarii, quos noster miles longa lentaque obsidione et quasi per ludum oppugnaverat, postremo vi maloque coacti, sese nostris dediderunt. Habita a nostris ratio imprimis est, ne quid per insolentiam et rabiem militum nimium crudeliter factum videretur. Itaque præterquam quod velitationes illæ, quæ subinde, ut fit, utrinque factæ sunt, non potuerunt esse incruentæ, quam minimum alioqui haustum est humani sanguinis.

Gallus, cum pacem aliquam suis rebus quæreret, pollicitus est, se imposterum relicturum esse titulos et insignia regum Angliæ, quæ propter uxorem Scotam, proneptim Henrici VIII., jam antea cum suis titulis et insignibus miscere cœperat, seque posthac veteribus tantum liliis et avitis titulis contentum fore; regnum Scotiæ per duodecim viros, homines Scotos, administratum iri; si quid posthac vocetur in quæstionem, vel de religione vel de republica, ejus rei judicium fore penes totius regni parlamentum; centum tantum et viginti milites Gallos relictum iri in tota Scotia, non qui illi regno creent periculum, sed qui acceptæ cladis et dedecoris testes esse possint, si quis in posterum ea de re forte dubitet; eos velle duodecim virorum senatui, si quid imperent, dicto audientes esse. His conditionibus utrinque discessum est. Letha præsidium solo æquata est a nostro milite. Galli impositi sunt in classem, ut abducerentur domum, mœsti et afflicti vix cum singulis vestimentis. Ista ego, mi pater, omnia non dubito ad vos jam antea vel nunciis vel rumoribus perlata esse: tamen ea non dubito tibi etiam nunc, cum a me narrantur, nec injucunda nec ingrata[1] fore.

Dux Holsatiæ[2] abiit domum magnifice acceptus a nostris, egregie donatus a regina, cooptatus in ordinem garterium, ornatus aurea et gemmata periscelide.

[1 Grata, Oxf.]

[2 The nephew of the king of Denmark.]

Καλλιπέδης[3] Sueciæ semper venire dicitur, atque etiam nunc esse in itinere, et velle propediem appellere: tamen ille, quod sciam, pedem unum non promovet[4]. Hic nunc omnes pacem, nescio quam, fore prædicant; et de constituenda religione exspectari concilium orbis terrarum publicum. At ego nec pacem his temporibus convenire posse arbitror, nec coire concilium.

Habes, mi pater, quæ nunc apud nos dicuntur nova. Bene vale, et te cura; curabis animi dimidium mei. Saluta optimam illam mulierem, uxorem tuam, D. Bullingerum, D. Gualterum, D. Simlerum, D. Lavaterum, D. Volphium, D. Hallerum, D. Gesnerum, D. Frisium, D. Hermannum, D. Julium, Juliam, Martyrillum. Salisberiæ, 17 Julii, 1560. Raptim.

JOHANNES JUELLUS,
ex animo tuus.

INSCRIPTIO.

Ornatissimo viro Do. Petro Martyri Vermilio, profitenti sacras literas in schola Tigurina, domino suo colendissimo. Tiguri.

[TRANSLATION.]

Much health in Christ! I wrote to you, not long since, if I remember right, on the first of June, respecting the general state of our affairs, as it then was, or at least was reported to be, at the time of writing. You shall now receive the intelligence which is every where spread abroad among the people, and which has this day been sent to me from court.

Matters are all settled respecting Scotland. The French garrison, having sustained from our troops a siege so long and tedious, as if they were only in sport, were at last compelled to surrender. Especial care was taken by our party to avoid every thing that might have the appearance of undue severity, through the wantonness or rage of the soldiery; so that, with the exception of those skirmishes which occasionally, as usual, took place on both sides, and which could not be without bloodshed, as little of human life was wasted as could have been expected.

The French king, when he made overtures of peace, promised that he would in future relinquish those titles and armorial bearings of the kings of England, which he had heretofore assumed, together with his own, in right of his Scottish wife, the great niece of Henry the eighth; and that he would be content with only his lilies and ancestral titles. He engaged too, that the government of Scotland should be administered by twelve commissioners, all Scotchmen; and that, in case there should arise any dispute about matters of religion or civil polity, the decision thereof should rest with the parliament of the whole kingdom; that only a hundred and twenty French soldiers should be left in all Scotland; and this, not as hostile to the government, but as evidences of the defeat and disgrace they had sustained, should any one hereafter venture to call it in question; that he would have them obey the directions of the twelve commissioners, in whatever they should command. Both sides separated upon these conditions. The fortress of Leith was levelled to the ground by our troops; the French were sent on board the fleet, to be taken home, sorrowful and dejected, and with scarcely the clothes on their backs. I doubt not, my father, but that all this intelligence has already reached you, either by messengers or report; yet I doubt not likewise but that my relation of these events, even now, will neither be unpleasant nor unacceptable to you.

The duke of Holstein has returned home after a magnificent reception by us, with splendid presents from the queen, having been elected into the order of the garter, and invested with its golden and jewelled badge.

The Swede is reported to be always coming, and even now to be on his journey, and on the eve of landing; yet, as far as I can judge, he will not stir a foot. Every one here is talking about a peace, I know not upon what terms; and that a general council

[3 Καλλιπέδης is supplied from Oxf. The Zurich MS. has a blank. Conf. Cic. ad Att. Lib. XIII. Epist. xiii.]

[4 Eric XIV., son of Gustavus Vasa. He never came; but his brother John, duke of Finland, did.]

is expected for settling the affairs of religion. For my own part I think neither that a peace will suit these times, nor that a council will ever come together.

You have now, my father, received all the news we have at present. Farewell, and take care of yourself, that is, of the half of my own soul. Salute the excellent lady your wife, masters Bullinger, Gualter, Simler, Lavater, Wolfius, Haller, Gesner, Frisius, Herman, Julius, his wife, and the little Martyr. Salisbury, July 17, 1560.

Yours from my heart,

JOHN JEWEL.

XXVI. JOHANNES JUELLUS AD PETRUM MARTYREM.

(Zur. Coll.)

S. Pl. in Christo. Quid ego ad te hoc tempore scribam, mi pater, nescio. Nam et rerum novarum parum est, et temporis ad scribendum multo minus; nunc enim accingor ad agendos conventus et obeundam provinciam: ille labor erit bimestris. Eram scripturus, nescio quid, ad te ante mensem; et jam non nihil etiam scripseram. Sed cum rumor hic de te parum secundus, nostris omnibus molestus, mihi autem inprimis ad audiendum peracerbus, passim spargeretur; isque non tantum populari fama, sed etiam literis D. Grendalli et archiepiscopi Cantuariensis confirmaretur; præ mærore, mihi crede, atque animi ægritudine coactus sum desistere, atque abrumpere inchoata. Nunc autem, postquam fratres nostri Genevenses, qui ad nos nuper admodum redierunt, nuntiant apud vos omnia ita esse ut volumus, non possum mihi imperare quin scribam aliquid ad te, etsi hercle nihil sit hoc tempore quod scribam.

Ecclesia nostra nunc Dei beneficio tranquilla est. Nec mirum: nunc enim illi venti, qui antea fluctus concitabant, ne quid turbare possint, egregie ab Æolo conclusi sunt. Concionatores tantum nobis desunt: illorum est enim magna et miserabilis inopia; et scholæ desertæ prorsus sunt, ut, nisi Deus nos respiciat, nulla in posterum supplementa sperari possint. Concionatores tamen illi qui sunt, qui pauci sunt, præsertim qui aliquid possunt, a populo secundis auribus atque animis audiuntur. Invenimus primis temporibus Elizabethæ magnam et inauspicatam segetem Arianorum, Anabaptistarum, et aliarum pestium, qui, nescio quo pacto, ut fungi noctu et in tenebris, ita illi in illa caligine et infausta nocte Mariani temporis excreverunt. Eos nunc audio, spero quidem certe, ad lucem melioris doctrinæ, tanquam noctuas ad aspectum solis, obticuisse, et prorsus jam nullos esse: aut si qui sunt, tamen ecclesiis nostris molesti non sunt.

Volatica illa doctrina ubiquitaria non potest apud nos consistere ullo modo[1]: etsi non deerant ab initio, quibus ea res magnopere curæ fuerit. In Gallorum ecclesia, quam habent nunc Londini, audio esse quosdam importunos homines et turbulentos, qui aperte incipiant Ἀῤῥιανίζειν[2]. Deus nobis aliquando auferat ista lolia!

Regina, pacatis rebus, pollicetur se daturam nobis argentum purum putumque; itaque jam incipit omnem superiorum temporum adulterinam monetam revocare. E Scotia nihil præterquam quod superioribus literis ad te scripsi, de expugnato præsidio et rebus confectis ex sententia. Crito quid agat, nescio. Pamphilus nondum rediit. De Glycerio utinam—sed ταῦτα ἐν τοῦ Θεοῦ γούνασι κεῖται. Maius, decanus Paulinus, designatus archiepiscopus Eboracensis, mortuus est. D. Hornus erit episcopus Vintoniensis. Cetera sunt eo loco quo scripsi antea. Parkhurstum, Sandum, Samsonem, Leverum, ceterosque nostros, minus pene nunc video quam tu: ita prorsus disjecti sumus, non in dispersionem, sed, spero, ad collectionem gentium. Audio literas et alia quædam ad me advecta esse e Germania; sed unde, aut a quibus, nescio: suspicor tamen a te. Idcirco omnia nunc mihi longa sunt, dum rescisco quid sit. Ego, nisi quod tu ita procul abes, ceteroqui recte valeo.

Mi pater, vale. Vale, potior pars cordis mei. Scriberem hoc tempore ad

[1 Conf. Vol. I. pages 480, &c.]

[2 Ἀρειανίζειν, Oxf. Of this and some of the following letters there are two copies from the Zurich MS. One of them has Ἀρρειανίζειν.]

ornatissimum virum, D. Bullingerum, nisi excluderer negotiis. Ignoscat mihi in præsentia; posthac scribam prolixius, quicquid erit. Saluta, quæso, illum, D. Gualterum, D. Simlerum, D. Gesnerum, D. Hallerum, D. Vickium, D. Lavaterum, D. Zuinglium, D. Volphium, D. Frisium, quam potes officiosissime meo nomine. Ego illos omnes illorumque omnia amo in Domino. Julium nostrum nec scribere ad me, nec ad nos[3] venire, miror. Illi ego non minus cupio voloque quam fratri meo. Si quid de fide mea dubitat, faciat periculum. Tamen illi quoque, et Juliæ, et inprimis, vel potius ante omnes primos primasque, optimæ illi mulieri, uxori tuæ, et Martyrillo, et D. Hermanno salutem dicito. Iterum, mi pater, vale. Salisberiæ, 6 Novembris, 1560.

Tui nominis observantissimus,

JOHANNES JUELLUS, Anglus.

INSCRIPTIO.

Ornatiss. et longe doctissimo viro, D. Petro Martyri Vermilio Florentino, profitenti sacras literas in schola Tigurina, domino suo observandiss.

Tiguri[4].

[TRANSLATION.]

Much health in Christ! What to write to you at this time, my father, I do not know: for I have very little news, and much less time for writing, as I am now preparing for the assembling of my clergy, and the visitation of my diocese; which will be a work of two months. I was on the point of writing to you, I know not what, about a month since; indeed I had already begun my letter. But, when a rumour was every where circulated about you, unfavourable to yourself, painful to us all, and to myself especially most distressing; and this too confirmed, not only by common report, but also by the letters of Grindal and the archbishop of Canterbury, I was, believe me, compelled through grief and anxiety of mind to leave off, and tear up what I had begun. Now, however, since our brethren from Geneva, who have very lately returned among us, relate that all is with you as we desire, I cannot refrain from writing something to you, though in truth I have at this time nothing to write about.

Our church, by the blessing of God, is at length in peace. And no wonder; for those winds, which heretofore stirred up the waves, are now admirably confined by Æolus, to prevent their doing any mischief. We are only wanting in preachers; and of these there is a great and alarming scarcity. The schools also are entirely deserted; so that, unless God look favourably upon us, we cannot hope for any supply in future. The existing preachers, who are few in number, those especially who have any ability, are listened to by the people with favour and attention. We found at the beginning of the reign of Elizabeth a large and inauspicious crop of Arians, Anabaptists, and other pests, which I know not how, but as mushrooms spring up in the night and in darkness, so these sprung up in that darkness and unhappy night of the Marian times. These, I am informed, and hope it is the fact, have retreated before the light of purer doctrine, like owls at the sight of the sun, and are now nowhere to be found; or, at least, if anywhere, they are no longer troublesome to our churches.

That volatile ubiquitarian doctrine cannot by any means gain footing among us, though there have not been wanting, from the first outset, those who had the subject much at heart. In the French church, which they now have in London, I hear there are some unquiet and turbulent men, who are openly beginning to profess Arianism. May God at length remove these tares from us!

The queen, now that our affairs are settled, promises to give us a pure and undebased currency, and is therefore beginning to call in all the base coinage of the late times. There is no further news from Scotland, beyond what I acquainted you with in my last letter, respecting the surrender of the garrison, and the settlement of affairs according to agreement. What Crito is doing, I know not. Pamphilus has not yet returned. As to Glycerium I wish—but these things are in the hand of God. May, the dean of St Paul's,

[3] One of the copies from Zurich has *vos*.]

[4] Oxf. has not this inscription.]

and intended for the archbishoprick of York, is dead. Dr Horn is to be the bishop of Winchester. Our matters are in the same state as when I last wrote. As for Parkhurst, Sandys, Sampson, Lever, and our other friends, we are so entirely scattered—not for the dispersion, but, as I hope, for the gathering of nations—that I now see almost as little of them as yourself. I hear that letters, and some other things have been brought over for me from Germany, but I know not whence, or from whom, though I suspect, from yourself; so that every thing will appear tedious to me, till I come to know what it is. As for myself, excepting that you are so far distant, I am in other respects very well.

Farewell, my father, farewell, the better half of my heart. I would write at this time to that most accomplished man, Bullinger, were I not prevented by business. He must forgive me for the present: I will hereafter write to him more at length, whatever it may be. Salute him, I pray you, most dutifully in my name, as also Gualter, Simler, Gesner, Haller, Wickius, Lavater, Zuinglius, Wolfius, Frisius. I dearly love them in the Lord, and all that belong to them. I am surprised that our Julius has neither written nor come to me. I desire his welfare just as much as if he were my own brother. If he doubts my friendship, let him put it to the proof. To him likewise, and his wife, and first and foremost, or rather before all first and foremost, whether men or women, salute the excellent lady your wife, my little Martyr, and Herman. Again, my father, farewell. Salisbury, Nov. 6, 1560.

Your most attached,

JOHN JEWEL, *Anglus.*

XXVII. JOHANNES JUELLUS AD JOSIAM SIMLERUM.

(Zur. Coll.)

S. Pl. O mi Josia, quas ego nunc tibi agam gratias? Libellus ille tuus, primum ita pie et docte scriptus, deinde a te ita eleganter et commode redditus, erat mihi utroque nomine gratissimus[1]. Felices vos, quibus et facultas istiusmodi, et ingenium, et otium obtigit. Nos vero, qui ista non possumus, facere tamen id æquum est, quod putamus. Perge, mi Josia, hunc animum ita instructum, ita ornatum, quod facis et jamdudum magna cum laude facis, dicare templo Dei.

De Julio nostro nihil erat opus ut ita serio ad me scriberes: ego enim illum novi, et ille me. Laudo tamen animum et pietatem tuam, qui homini amico ita ex animo consultum cupias. Illi ego non dubito a vobis prospectum iri. Silentium meum, fateor, mi Josia, longius erat quam oportuit, quamque ego voluissem. Verum magnitudo negotiorum, quibus urgeor assidue, sæpe mihi calamum excutit de manibus. Etsi enim alia habeo omnia, vitam, vires, valetudinem, otium tamen ad scribendum vix unquam habeo. Vel hoc ipso tempore quam sim occupatus, Julius ipse nisi vellet esse testis, utinam esset sine testibus! Jamjam proficiscor Londino domum. Jamdudum equus me exspectat. Quare nova nostra omnia et statum universarum nostrarum rerum committo Julio. Quicquid dicet, quamvis nonnihil affingat de suo, ut solent qui peregre redeunt, tamen tu pro tua humanitate putare debes, illum esse virum bonum. Quod si ille ita se geret, non errabis.

Vale, mi Josia. Et uxorem tuam, et D. Hermannum, Frisium optimum et cultissimum juvenem, saluta meo nomine, et hoc munusculum εἰς τὸ νῦν boni[2] consule. Vale. Londini, 4 Maii, 1561. Raptim.

Tuus ex animo,

JOHANNES JUELLUS, Anglus.

INSCRIPTIO.

Doctissimo et amicissimo viro, D. Josiæ Simlero, profitenti sacras literas in ecclesia Tigurina, amico veteri et singulari.

[1 A work by Bullinger, which Simler translated into Latin. The title was "Institutio eorum qui propter Dominum nostrum Jesum Christum de fide examinantur," Zur. 1560.]

[2 One copy of Zurich has manusculum boni, with a blank between.]

[TRANSLATION.]

Much health! O my Josiah! what thanks shall I give you now? That little book of yours, so piously and learnedly written at first, and then so elegantly and opportunely translated by you, was on both accounts most acceptable to me. Happy you, upon whom is bestowed such ability, and talent, and leisure, for occupations of this kind. As for me, since I am unable to do this, it is right that I should do what I can. Go on, my Josiah, as you do, and long have done, to your great credit, to dedicate your mind, adorned and furnished as it is, to the service of God.

There was no occasion for your writing so seriously about our friend Julius; for I know him, and he me. I commend, however, your motives and your kindness, in so cordially interesting yourself on behalf of your friend; and I have no doubt but that he will be provided for by you.

I confess, my Josiah, that I have been longer silent than I ought, or than I wished. But the magnitude of the affairs in which I am constantly engaged often strikes the pen out of my hands. For, though I enjoy all other requisites, life, health, and strength, yet I can scarcely ever find leisure for writing. And at this very time Julius himself can bear witness how much I am occupied.

I am just now going from London on my way home. My horse has been waiting for me some time; wherefore I shall leave all the news, and the history of our affairs to Julius. Whatever he may say, though he may perhaps invent something of his own, as people generally do when they return from abroad, yet your kindness must lead you to regard him as a good man; and, should he conduct himself as such, you will not be wrong.

Farewell, my Josiah. Salute in my name your wife, and Herman, and Frisius, that excellent and accomplished young man, and take in good part this trifling present. Farewell. In haste. London, May 4, 1561.

Yours from my heart,

JOHN JEWEL, *Anglus.*

XXVIII. BISHOP JEWEL TO ———.

(MSS. cv. 10. C. C. C. C., and Strype, Life of Parker, Append. Book II. No. 19.)

After my hearty commendations. Whereas ye desire to understand my poor advice touching certain words in the 18th chapter of Leviticus, by which words you[3] think it not unlawful for a man to marry successively his own wife's sister, I would ye had rather taken in hand some other matter to defend. For it is not the best way, in my judgment, neither in these troublesome and doubtful times to call more matters in doubt without just cause, nor in this intemperance and licence[4] of life to open any[5] gate to the breach of laws. I reckon the words in Leviticus, whereupon you ground, are these: *Uxorem et sororem suam ad lacessendum*[6] *eam ne ducas, ut retegas turpitudinem ejus, illa adhuc vivente.* Which words I know have been diversly construed by divers men, and in some men's judgments[7] seem to sound of your side. Pellican, Paulus Phagius[8], and Lyra, with certain others, think such marriage to be lawful; and that God forbade the having of two sisters in matrimony at one time, both of them being together on live; and that for the spiteful and continual contention and jealousy which must needs grow between[9] them, as appeared in the example of Jacob with his two wives, Rachel and Leah. And therefore some think the Jews continue such marriage among them, as lawful, until this day.

All these things hitherto make on your side; and the same would not greatly mislike me, saving that I find the judgments of the best-learned men now living, and the continual practice of all ages, and in manner very public honesty, to the contrary. There be otherwise women enough to have choice of, so that no man

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[3] Ye, Strype.] [4] Science, Strype.] [7] Judgment, Strype.]
[5] A, Strype.] [8] Paul Fagius, Strype.]
[6] Lacessendam, Strype.] [9] Betwixt, Strype.]

can justly say that necessity drave[1] him to marry her, whom, in our manner of speech, he sometime[2] called sister.

The practice of former times appeareth by the canons; where as it is decreed that only *carnalis copula cum puella septem annorum dirimit matrimonium cum ejus puellæ sorore postea secutum*[3]. But I know you make small stay upon the canons, and sooner rest yourself upon these words in the text, *illa adhuc vivente.* And thereof[4] thus you ground your reason: a man may not marry his wife's sister, while she is on live; *ergo,* he may marry her after she is dead.

This reason a *negativis* is very weak, and maketh[5] no more proof in logic than this doth, *Corvus non est reversus ad arcam, donec exsiccatæ essent*[6] *aquæ; ergo,* he is returned again, after the waters were dried up. Or, *Joseph non cognovit eam, donec peperisset filium suum primogenitum; ergo,* Joseph knew[7] her[8] after she was delivered of her first-begotten child; or such other like.

Yet will you say, although this manner of reason be weak, and the words make little for you, yet this far the reason is good enough; for these words make not against you. Which thing notwithstanding I might grant, yet will not this reason follow of the other side: there are no express words in the Levitical law, whereby I am forbidden to marry my wife's sister; *ergo,* by the Levitical law such marriage is to be accounted lawful. For, notwithstanding the statute in that case make[5] relation unto the 18th chapter of Leviticus as unto a place whereunto the degrees of consanguinity and affinity are touched most at large; yet you must remember that certain degrees are there left out untouched; within which nevertheless it was never thought lawful for man[9] to marry. For example, there is nothing provided there by express words, but that a man may marry his own grandmother, or his grandfather's second wife, or the wife of his uncle by the[10] mother's side. No, there is no[11] express prohibition in all this chapter but that a man may marry his own daughter. Yet will no man say that any of these degrees may join together in lawful marriage.

Wherefore we must needs think that God in that chapter hath specially[12] and namely forbidden certain degrees; not as leaving all marriage lawful which he had not there expressly forbidden, but that thereby, as by unfallible[13] precedents, we might be able to rule the rest. As when God saith, No man shall marry his mother, we understand that under the name of mother is contained both the grandmother, and the grandfather's wife, and that such marriage is forbidden. And, when God commandeth[14] that no man shall marry the wife of his uncle by the[10] father's side, we doubt not but in the same is included the wife of the uncle by the mother's side. Thus you see God himself would have us to expound one degree by another.

So likewise in this case, albeit I be not forbidden by plain words to marry my wife's sister, yet am I forbidden so to do by other words, which by exposition are plain enough. For, when God commandeth[14] me I shall not marry my brother's wife, it followeth[15] directly by the same that he forbiddeth[16] me to marry my wife's sister. For between one man and two sisters and one woman and two brothers is like analogy or proportion; which, in[17] my judgment, in this case and other such like ought to be taken for a rule. And therefore the rabbins of the Jews have expressly forbidden divers degrees by this rule, which God by plain words forbade not.

And this is one part of the tyranny of the bishop of Rome, that he will take upon him to rule God's commandments[18] at his pleasure, and by his[19] dispensation to make that lawful in one man for the time, which God hath plainly forbidden

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[1] Drove, Strype.]
[2] First, Strype,]
[3] Corp. Jur. Canon. Lugd. 1624. Decretal. Gregor. IX. Lib. iv. Tit. xiii. cap. 7. col. 1504.]
[4] Therefore, Strype.]
[5] Makes, Strype.]
[6] Erant, Strype.]
[7] Knowe, MS.]
[8] Strype omits *her.*]
[9] Men, Strype.]
[10] His, Strype.]
[11] No nor is there any, Strype.]
[12] Especially, Strype.]
[13] Infallible, Strype.]
[14] Commands, Strype.]
[15] Follows, Strype.]
[16] Forbids, Strype.]
[17] Is, Strype; who places a period at *case.*]
[18] Commands, Strype.]
[19] Strype omits *his.*]

as unlawful in all men for ever. He hath dispensed with a man to marry his own brother's wife, as you know. He hath dispensed with the brother to marry his own natural sister, as you shall find[20] in *Summa Angelica*, in these words *Papa*. And what marvel? He would be omnipotent, and saith he may dispense *contra jus divinum*, as you may see 16. q. 1. *Quicunque: in Glossa*[21].

But thus, by the way, you have my mind touching your demand, and I doubt not but, all things well considered, the same mind will be your mind.

Si quid novisti rectius istis,
Candidus imperti; si non, his utere mecum.

Thus fare you heartily well.

From Sarum, Calendis Novemb. 1561.

XXIX. JOHANNES JUELLUS AD PETRUM MARTYREM.

(Zur. Coll. and Burnet, Vol. III. Book VI. No. 65.)

Salutem plurimam in Christo. Gratissimæ mihi fuerunt literæ tuæ, mi pater, non solum quod essent a te, cujus omnia mihi debent esse, ut sunt, gratissima, verum etiam quod omnem statum renascentis in Gallia religionis luculentissime describerent; quodque ego me, cum eas legerem et te ita prope abesse scirem[22], propius etiam aliquanto te audire, et propius tecum colloqui arbitrarer. Nam quamvis res Gallicæ ad nos rumoribus, ut fit, et nuntiis adferebantur; tamen et certiores, et multo etiam jucundiores visæ sunt, quod a te scriberentur, ab illo præsertim, quem ego scirem partem illarum fuisse maximam. Quod scribis, illos, qui rerum potiuntur, omnino velle mutationem in religione aliquam fieri, non tam studio et amore pietatis, quam quod papistarum ineptias videant nimis esse ridiculas, quodque non putent populum aliter posse in officio contineri; quicquid est, quacunque causa ista fiant, modo prædicetur[23] Christus, εἴτε προφάσει, εἴτε ἀληθείᾳ, καὶ ἐν τούτῳ χαίρω, ἀλλὰ καὶ χαρήσομαι. Tamen fieri non potest, quin disputatio illa vestra multum et evangelium promoverit, et adversarios adflixerit. Quod autem scribis, *interim* quoddam a quibusdam et farraginem religionis quæri, Deus id avertat! Scio omnes in republica magnas mutationes odiosas et graves esse, et multa sæpe a principibus temporis causa tolerari; atque illud fortasse ab initio non fuit incommodum: nunc vero, postquam erupit lux omnis evangelii, quantum quidem fieri potest, vestigia ipsa erroris una cum ruderibus, utque aiunt, cum pulvisculo auferenda sunt. Quod utinam nos in ista λιποστολίᾳ obtinere potuissemus! nam in dogmatis prorsus omnia ad vivum resecavimus, et ne unguem quidem latum absumus a doctrina vestra. De ubiquitate enim nihil est hic[24] periculi. Ibi tantum audiri ista possunt, ubi saxa sapiunt.

De Orothete autem tuo an ego me tibi dicam agere gratias[25]? Equidem non dubito, quin ipse ille quem notas, si sapit, se multum tibi debere putet. Sed fortasse colliget animos, et patrocinabitur suo Pantacho, et sese parabit ad respondendum, et teque tuumque Palæmonem repudiabit. Laudes illas, quas tu mihi ita cumulate tribuis, non agnosco. Eas tuas potius esse scio, et tibi uni proprie convenire. Tamen, ut ait ille, jucundum est abs te laudari, mi pater, laudato viro. Erat illud non tam judicii testimonium, quam amoris erga me tui; cui ego, etsi non aliis rebus, tamen amore certe respondebo[26].

Apud nos de religione omnia sunt pacata. Episcopi Mariani servant turrim, et antiquum obtinent. Quod si leges æque nunc vigerent atque olim sub Henrico, facile succumberent. Est genus hominum contumax et indomitum; ferro tamen et metu vincitur. Edidimus nuper Apologiam[27] de mutata religione et discessione ab ecclesia Romana. Eum ego librum, etsi dignus non est qui mittatur tam pro-

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[20] As ye find, Strype.]

[21] See Vol. III. page 599, notes 13, 20.]

[22] This alludes to Martyr's having been invited to the conference at Poissy.]

[23] Prædicatur, Burn.]

[24] Burn. omits *hic;* hic est, Oxf.]

[25] Allusion is made to a dialogue of Peter Martyr's on the ubiquitarian question; in which Jewel under the name of Palæmon was moderator betwixt two disputants. See Zur. Letters, page 100, note 2.]

[26] Burnet omits this passage.]

[27] The Apology.]

cul, tamen ad te mitto. Est multis in locis vitiosus, qualia sunt ea fere omnia, quæ apud nos excuduntur; tanta est typographorum nostrorum negligentia.

Regina nostra prorsus decrevit, nolle mittere ad concilium: quod an ullum aut uspiam sit, nos nescimus: certe si uspiam aut ullum est, perarcanum et valde obscurum est. Nos nunc cogitamus publicare causas, quibus inducti ad concilium non veniamus[1]. Ego quidem sic statuo et sentio, istis congressionibus et colloquiis nihil posse promoveri hoc tempore, nec Deum velle uti istis mediis ad propagandum evangelium.

Regina nostra, magno nostro cum dolore, innupta manet; neque adhuc quid velit sciri potest: tametsi, quo suspiciones nostræ inclinent, satis te jamdudum scire arbitror. Suecus[2], diuturnus procus et valde assiduus, nuper admodum dimissus est. Ille accepta repulsa minatur, quantum audio, in Scotiam; ut, cum apud nos hærere non possit, saltem possit in vicinia.

Est mulier quædam nobilis, domina Margareta, neptis Henrici octavi, mulier supra modum infensa religioni, supra etiam rabiem Marianam. Ad ejus filium, juvenem plus minus octodecim annos natum[3], summa rerum judicatur spectare, si quid Elizabethæ, quod nolimus, quodque Deus avertat, accidat. Ejus mulieris maritus, Leonesius Scotus, proximis istis diebus conjectus est in turrim. Filium aiunt vel ablegatum esse a matre, vel profugisse in Scotiam. De eo, ut solet fieri, sermo est multiplex. Regina Scotiæ, ut scis, innupta est: potest inter illos aliquid convenire[4] de nuptiis. Quicquid est, credibile est, papistas aliquid moliri: sperant enim adhuc nescio quid, non minus quam Judæi Messiam suum. Nuntius pontificis hæret adhuc in Flandria[5]: nondum enim impetrare potest fidem publicam, ut tuto veniat in Angliam. Episcopus Aquilanus[6], legatus Philippi, astutus et callidus veterator, et factus ad insidias, satagit, quantum potest, ejus causa; saltem, ut audiatur; ne tam procul frustra venerit: sperat enim uno colloquio aliquid, nescio quid, posse fieri.

Regina Elizabetha omnem nostram monetam auream argenteamque ad pristinam probitatem restituit, et puram putamque reddidit; opus plane regium, quodque tu mireris tam brevi tempore potuisse fieri[7].

Est puella quædam nobilis, domina Catherina, ducis Suffolciensis filia, ex sanguine regio, eoque nominatim scripta ab Henrico octavo in testamento, ut, si quid accidisset, quarto loco succederet. Ex ea comes Herfordiensis, juvenis, ducis Somersetensis filius, suscepit filium, ut multi putant, ex stupro, ut[8] ipsi dicunt, ex legitimis nuptiis: se enim clam inter se contraxisse, et advocato sacrificulo[9], et paucis quibusdam arbitris, junxisse nuptias. Ea res turbavit animos multorum: nam, si sunt veræ nuptiæ, puer, qui susceptus est, alitur ad spem regni. O nos miseros, qui scire non possumus[10], sub quo domino victuri simus! Deus nobis Elizabetham, spero, diu vivam et incolumem conservabit. Id nobis erit satis. Tu, mi pater[11], ora Deum, ut rempublicam nostram et ecclesiam conservet. Vale, mi pater, mi pater[12], vale. Vale, dulce decus meum.

Saluta meo nomine uxorem tuam, D. Bullingerum, D. Gualterum, D. Lavaterum, D. Zuinglium, D. Hallerum, D. Wickium, D. Gesnerum, D. Frisium, D. Wolphium, Julium, Juliam, et Martyrillum. Salisberiæ, 7 Febr. 1562, ex Anglia.

Tui nominis studiosissimus,

Jo. JUELLUS, Anglus.

INSCRIPTIO.

Viro longe doctissimo, D. Petro Martyri Vermilio, professori sacræ theologiæ in schola Tigurina, domino suo colendissimo. Tiguri[13].

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[1] Here is an intimation of the design carried out in the epistle to Scipio.]

[2] Suevus, MS. and Oxf.]

[3] Lord Darnley, the husband of Mary queen of Scots.]

[4] Convenire aliquid, Burn.]

[5] Abbat Martinengo. See Strype, Vol. I. chap. xix.]

[6] Aquitanus, Burn.]

[7] Burnet puts this paragraph as a postscript.]

[8] Stupro sed ut, Burn.]

[9] Sacrificatore, Burn.]

[10] Non possumus scire, Burn.]

[11] Petre, Oxf.]

[12] Burn. omits the second *mi pater*.]

[13] Oxf. has not this inscription.]

[TRANSLATION.]

Much health in Christ! Your letter, my father, was most gratifying, not only as coming from you, from whom every thing ought to be, and is, most agreeable; but also, as most lucidly describing the revival of religion in France; and because, when I read it, and perceived you were so near, I fancied that I heard you yet nearer to me, and that I was enjoying your conversation. For, though the affairs of France were made known to us by report, as usual, and by the couriers, yet the information seemed both more certain and far more agreeable, when communicated by yourself, and more especially as I knew you to have had much to do with them. As to what you write, that those at the head of affairs are altogether desirous of some alteration in religion, not so much from a zeal and love of godliness, as from a conviction of the ridiculous absurdities of the papists, and that the people can be kept to their duty in no other way; whatever may be the principle, and whatever the reason of the change, only let Christ be preached, "whether in pretence or in truth, and I therein do rejoice, yea, and will rejoice." That disputation of yours, however, has of necessity much advanced the gospel, and discomfited the adversaries. But as to your statement, that a kind of *interim* and farrago of religion is aimed at by some parties, may God prevent it! I know that all changes in the state are offensive and disagreeable, and that many things are often tolerated by sovereigns by reason of the times. And this at first, probably, was not attended with inconvenience; but now that the full light of the gospel has shone forth, the very vestiges of error must, as far as possible, be removed together with the rubbish, and, as the saying is, with the very dust. And I wish we could effect this in respect to that linen surplice: for, as to matters of doctrine, we have pared every thing away to the very quick, and do not differ from your doctrine by a nail's breadth; for as to the ubiquitarian theory there is no danger in this country. Opinions of that kind can only gain admittance where the stones have sense.

Must I tell you that I thank you for your *Orothetes?* I doubt not but that the individual you mention, if he is wise, will think himself much indebted to you. He will perhaps, however, summon courage, and defend his *Pantachus*, and, prepare himself for a reply, and make his exceptions both against yourself and your *Palæmon*. I disclaim the praise which you so bountifully bestow upon me, as I am aware that it belongs rather to yourself, and to yourself alone. Yet it is sweet, my father, as the saying is, to receive praise from one who is himself commended. Your commendation was not so much an evidence of your judgment, as of your love; and, although I cannot deserve it in other respects, I certainly shall by my affection for you.

All things are at peace with us as to religion. The Marian bishops are still confined in the Tower, and are going on in their old way. If the laws were but as rigorous now as in the time of Henry, they would submit themselves without difficulty. They are an obstinate and untamed set of men, but are nevertheless subdued by terror and the sword.

We have lately published an Apology for the change of religion among us, and our departure from the church of Rome. I send you the book, though it is hardly worth sending to such a distance. It is faulty in many places, as is almost every thing that is printed in this country; such is the negligence of our printers.

Our queen has fully made up her mind not to send any representative to the council, as to the existence or locality of which we are totally ignorant: certainly, if it is held any where, or has any being at all, it must be very secret and obscure. We are now thinking about publishing the reasons which have induced us to decline attendance. I am fully persuaded, for my part, that no effectual progress can be made at the present time by these assemblies and discussions; and that God will not employ such means for the propagation of the gospel.

The queen, to our great sorrow, still remains unmarried, nor is it yet known what is her intention. I think, however, you have long since been aware of my suspicions on the subject. The Swede, a most constant and assiduous suitor, has very lately been dismissed; and now he has received his refusal, threatens, as I hear, to look towards Scotland; that since he cannot settle among us, he may at least establish himself in our neighbourhood.

There is a certain noble lady, the lady Margaret, a niece of Henry the eighth, and one who is beyond measure hostile to religion, more violent indeed than even queen Mary herself. The crown, it is surmised, will descend to her son, a young man of about eighteen, should any thing unhappily befal Elizabeth, which God forbid! The husband of this woman, the Scottish Lenox, has within these few days been committed to the Tower. The son, they say, is either carried away by his mother, or has taken refuge in Scotland. There are, as is usually the case, various reports respecting him. The queen of Scotland is, as you know, without a husband; so that a matrimonial alliance may possibly be formed between them. However this be, it is believed that the papists are planning some scheme or other, and expecting something, I know not what, no less than the Jews do their Messiah.

The pope's nuncio is still loitering in Flanders; for he cannot yet obtain a safe-conduct to come over to England. The bishop of Aquila, Philip's ambassador, a clever and crafty old fox, and formed for intrigue, is exerting himself in his behalf as much as he can; at least, that he may have an audience, that he may not have come so far to no purpose; for he hopes that something, I know not what, may be effected at a single conference.

Queen Elizabeth has restored all our gold and silver coinage to its former value, and rendered it pure and unalloyed; a truly royal act, and which you will wonder could have been effected in so short a time.

There is a noble young lady, the lady Catherine, daughter of the duke of Suffolk, of the blood royal, and as such expressly mentioned in his will by Henry the eighth, as fourth in succession in case any thing should occur. The earl of Hertford, son of the duke of Somerset, has a son by her, born, as many think, out of wedlock, but as the parties themselves declare, in lawful marriage; for that they made a private contract between themselves, and were married by a Romish priest in the presence of a few witnesses. This affair has much disturbed the minds of many persons; for, if this marriage is a legal one, the son now born will be brought up with the hope of succeeding to the crown. O how wretched are we, who cannot tell under what sovereign we are to live! God will, I trust, long preserve Elizabeth to us in life and safety; and that will satisfy us. Do you, my father, pray God for the preservation of our church and state.

Farewell, my father, farewell, my pride. Salute in my name your wife, masters Bullinger, Gualter, Lavater, Zuinglius, Haller, Wickius, Gesner, Frisius, and Wolfius, together with Julius, his wife, and Martyrillus. Salisbury, Feb. 7, 1562. From England.

Your most attached,

JOHN JEWEL, *Anglus.*

XXX. JOHANNES JUELLUS AD HENRICUM BULLINGERUM.

(Zur. Coll.)

S. Pl. Vix quicquam nunc superest, clarissime vir et domine in Christo colendissime, quod ad te scribam: omnia enim, quæ opus erant, quæque scribenti occurrebant, perscripsi diligenter ad D. Petrum Martyrem. Tamen quicquid est, pro observantia et amore erga te meo, non possum te insalutatum dimittere, saltem, ut intelligas me vivere, et pro tuis maximis erga me plurimisque meritis memorem esse tui. Parkhurstum, Sandum, Leverum, Elmerum, Samsonem, biennium jam totum non vidi, nec illi me. Tamen nihil[1] dubito, illos omnes erga te, tuosque, vestrosque adeo omnes, ea esse voluntate qua debent.

Ex Scotia nihil ad nos adfertur novi; nisi religionem ibi et secundis animis recipi, et constanter defendi, et in singulos dies latius propagari. Reginam tamen Scotiæ missam suam adhuc aiunt retinere. Deus illi, spero, aliquando aperiet oculos: est enim alioqui, uti dicitur, mulier non mala. Utinam prorsus exuerit omnes spiritus atque animos Lotharingicos!

Apud nos omnia sunt pacata. Episcopi quidam pauci, qui superioribus istis temporibus Marianis insanierunt, non possunt adhuc tam brevi tempore satis verecunde redire ad sanitatem. Itaque asservantur in turri, ne contagione sua

[1 Non, Oxf.]

inficiant alios. Papa clam palamque molitur quantum potèst. Ante quatuordecim menses ad reginam Elizabetham misit nuncium: is, quoniam nondum etiam recipi potest in Angliam, hæret adhuc in Flandria. Sperant adhuc aliquid posse effici; nondum omnes ineptiarum suarum radices evulsas esse; esse adhuc aliquos, quos non dubitent esse suarum partium. Sed quid ego ista? ea enim omnia ad D. Petrum, ut dixi, scripsi fusius. D. Johannem Schneider, juvenem illum vestrum Tigurinum, ex quo Julius noster discessit ex Anglia, nunquam vidi. Nec mirum; longe enim gentium absumus. Tamen illum ante aliquot menses audivi satis commode agere: quod si quid opus erit, et ego ejus rationes scire potero, dabo diligenter operam, ne quid illi a me desit. Id ego et humanitati tuæ et Tigurinæ civitati debeo, et me debere profiteor. Nonnihil miror, Burcherum nostrum ad nos ante hoc tempus non venisse: scripsit enim se venturum; et ex literis videbatur esse in itinere. Ego illi valde cupio, et tuæ dominationi ejus nomine ago gratias.

Deus vos omnes, et te, mi pater, imprimis, et ecclesiam rempublicamque vestram conservet incolumem; et si quis est, qui vobis male velit, det illi breve vivere et parum posse. Scriberem plura, si occurrerent plura digna quæ tam procul scriberentur. Saluta optimam illam feminam, uxorem tuam, D. Gualterum, D. Josiam Simlerum, D. Lavaterum, D. Zuinglium, D. Hallerum, D. Gesnerum, D. Volphium, D. Vickium, D. Frisium, D. Henricum Bullingerum, filium tuum, optimum juvenem. Etsi nullus nostrum est mecum, tamen ego te non dubito omnium illorum nomine salutari[2]; scio enim illos de tua dominatione, uti debent, quam honorificentissime cogitare. Vale, mi pater, et domine colendissime: et si quid ego aut sum aut possum, id omne puta esse tuum. Salisberiæ, 9 Februar. an. 1562[3].

Tuæ dominationi deditissimus,

JOHANNES JUELLUS, Anglus.

[TRANSLATION.]

Much health! Scarcely any thing, most illustrious and esteemed master in Christ, now remains for me to write to you about. For I have carefully detailed all matters necessary to mention, and which occurred to me as I was writing, in my letter to Peter Martyr. My regard, however, and affection for yourself will not allow me to leave you unremembered, that you may at least know that I am still alive, and that I still retain a grateful recollection of the many and great favours I have received from you. As for Parkhurst, Sandys, Lever, Aylmer, and Sampson, we have not seen each other these two years. I doubt not, however, but that they all entertain the regard they ought to do, both towards yourself, your family, and friends.

We have no news from Scotland, except that religion is most favourably received, firmly maintained, and daily making progress in that country. They say, however, that the queen of Scots still retains her mass. God will, I trust, some time open her eyes; for in other respects she is, it is said, not badly disposed. I wish she would entirely lay aside her high spirit and Lorrain feelings.

With us all things are quiet. Some few of the bishops, who were furious in the late Marian times, cannot as yet in so short a time for very shame return to their senses. They are therefore confined in the Tower, lest their contagion should infect others. The pope both in public and private is plotting mischief to the utmost of his power. Fourteen months since he sent a nuncio to queen Elizabeth. But, as he cannot yet be admitted into England, he is still loitering in Flanders. They still hope that something may be done; for that all their roots of folly are not yet plucked up, and there are still remaining some persons whom they doubt not to belong to their party. But why do I tell you of these things, which, as I said just now, I have more fully related to Peter? Since our friend Julius left England, I have not once seen that young townsman of yours, master John Schneider; nor is it to be wondered at, as we are so far distant from each other. I heard however, some months since, that he was very comfortably situated; but should he stand in need of any thing, and I become acquainted with

[2 Salutare, Oxf.] [3 Oxf. adds *Ex Anglia.*]

his plans, I will take care that nothing shall be wanting to him on my part: for I owe this, both to your kindness, and to the state of Zurich; and I acknowledge the debt. I am rather surprised that our friend Burcher has not arrived here before this time; for he wrote me word that he was coming, and from his letter he appeared to be already on the road. I take a great interest in him, and thank you in his name.

May God preserve you all, and especially thee, my father, and your church and commonwealth; and, should there be any who wish you evil, may he grant him a short life and little ability for mischief. I would write more, if more subjects occurred to me worthy of being reported to such a distance.

Salute that excellent woman your wife, masters Gualter, Josiah Simler, Lavater, Zuinglius, Haller, Gesner, Wolfius, Wickius, Frisius, Henry Bulllinger your son, that excellent youth. Though none of our friends are with me, yet I hesitate not to greet you in the name of all; for I know that they regard you with the respectful deference they ought. Farewell, my father, and most-esteemed master; and if I either am any thing, or have any power, think it all your own. Salisbury, Feb. 9, 1562.

Your most devoted,

JOHN JEWEL, *Anglus.*

XXXI. JOHANNES JUELLUS AD JOSIAM SIMLERUM.

(Zur. Coll.)

S. Pl. in Christo. Quid ego nunc ad te scribam, mi Josia? nova enim omnia quæ erant, imo etiam fortasse quæ non erant, jam antea conjeci in eas literas quas scripsi ad D. Bullingerum et ad D. Petrum Martyrem. Crambe autem, uti scis, bis posita[1] mors est. Putidum autem esset vetera et obsoleta scribere. Nihil ergo ego ad te? Johannes ad Josiam? Juellus ad Simlerum? Amicissimus ad amicissimum? Scribam certe, saltem ut intelligas me vivere, et te tuosque omnes in oculis gerere, et nec spatia locorum nec intervalla temporum mihi ex animo eximere potuisse εἴδωλα illa multo jucundissima Josietatis tuæ. Quod mihi de Julio tuo meoque agis gratias, ego tibi vicissim ejus ipsius causa ago gratias. Ego quidem Julio meo cupio et volo, quantumque possum pro mea exiguitate polliceor me illi velle commodare; idque me illi et sua et multo maxime D. Petri causa debere ingenue profiteor. Tibi vero, mi suavissime Josia, de omni tua humanitate quantum debeam, nihil dico. Hoc solum te scire velim, ex quo tempore te primum novi, me et fuisse semper, et esse, et semper fore tuum.

Vale, mi carissime Josia atque optime, vale. Saluta uxorem tuam, ejusque sorores, et matrem, D. Bullingerum, D. Gualterum, D. Lavaterum, D. Lupum, D. Zuinglium, D. Hallerum, D. Vickium, D. Frisium. Iterum, mi Josia, valè. Sarisberiæ, 10 Februarii, 1562[2].

Tuus in Domino,

JOHANNES JUELLUS, Anglus.

INSCRIPTIO.

Viro doctissimo D. Josiæ Simlero, professi sacras literas in schola Tigurina, amico suo carissimo. Tiguri.

[TRANSLATION.]

Much health in Christ! What, my Josiah, shall I now write to you? For all the news there was, and some perhaps that was not news, I have already comprised in the letters which I wrote to Bullinger and to Peter Martyr. But a repetition of the same dish, you know, is odious; and it would be impertinent to write about things now become antiquated and obsolete. Shall I then write nothing to you? John nothing to Josiah? Jewel to Simler? A most dear friend to one most dear? I will certainly write, were it only that you should know that I am still alive, and that I bear you and all yours constantly before my eyes; and that no intervals either of time or place can ever remove from my mind those most agreeable recollections

[1 Cocta, Oxf.]

[2 Oxf. adds *Ex Anglia*, and omits the inscription.]

of Josiah. As for your thanking me with respect to our friend Julius, I must thank you, in my turn, for his sake. I indeed desire and wish well to my Julius, and profess myself ready to afford him any assistance, as far as my slender means will allow: and I must candidly acknowledge this to be his due, both on his own account, and more especially for the sake of Peter [Martyr]. As for yourself, my very dear Josiah, and how greatly I am indebted for all your kindness to me, I shall say nothing. This only would I have you know, that, from the time I first became acquainted with you, I ever have been, am, and shall be yours.

Farewell, my very dear and best friend, farewell. Salute your wife, and her sisters, and mother, Bullinger, Gualter, Lavater, Wolfius, Zuinglius, Haller, Wickius, Frisius. Again, my Josiah, farewell. Salisbury, Feb. 10, 1562.

Yours in the Lord,

JOHN JEWEL, *Anglus.*

XXXII. JOHANNES JUELLUS AD HENRICUM BULLINGERUM.

(Zur. Coll. and Burnet, Vol. III. Book VI. No. 73.)

Salutem plurimam in Christo. Redditæ mihi sunt non ita pridem literæ tuæ, scriptæ Tiguri ad quintum[3] diem Martii; quæ, quamvis essent ὑπομεμψίμοιροι et querulæ, tamen mihi perjucundæ videbantur; non tantum quod a te essent, cujus omnia scripta dictaque mihi semper visa sunt honorifica, sed etiam quod officium meum ita obnixe requirerent, et meam in scribendo negligentiam et socordiam excitarent. Ego vero, mi pater et domine colendissime, etsi minus fortasse ad te sæpe scribo quam velim, tamen, quoties occasio aliqua offertur, ne hoc quidem officium intermitto. Binas enim dedi nuper ad te literas, alteras Francofordiam ad nundinas Martias, alteras statim a paschate; quæ si adhuc, ut fit[4], subsistant forte in itinere, tamen expedient se aliquando, et postremo, uti spero, ad te pervenient[5]. Ego interim de te cogitare, et honorifice, ut debeo, de te loqui nunquam desino.

De Gallicis rebus ad te scribere hoc tempore esset fortasse[6] putidum: omnia enim ad vos etiam sine ventis et navibus afferuntur. Sanctissimus nihil relinquet intentatum. "Flectere si nequeat superos, Acheronta movebit:" videt enim jam non agi de reduviis, sed de vita et sanguine. Utinam ne nostri sese patiantur circumveniri! Dux Guisanus, ut, nescio qua spe moderandæ religionis et recipiendæ confessionis Augustanæ, moratus est principes Germaniæ, ne se admiscerent huic bello; ita omnibus modis persuadere conatus est reginæ nostræ, non agi nunc in Gallia negotium religionis, esse manifestam conjurationem, causam esse regis, cui illam, cum regium locum teneat, non oporteat adversari. Interea id egit, ut neptis sua, regina Scotiæ, ambiret gratiam atque amicitiam reginæ nostræ, et munuscula mitteret, et nescio quas fides daret; velle se hac æstate honoris causa venire in Angliam, et æternum amicitiæ fœdus, quod nunquam postea convelli possit, velle sancire. Misit ea adamantem maximi pretii, gemmam pulcherrimam, undique vestitam auro, et commendatam pulchro et eleganti carmine[7]. Quid quæris? Putabant[8] festivis[9] colloquiis, et venationibus, et blanditiis, animos nostros abduci facile posse a strepitu bellico, et consopiri. Interea regina nostra, cum subodorata esset rem omnem, et quid ageretur intelligeret (neque enim id erat adeo difficile), mutare consilium de profectione, a Guisanis paulatim alienari, et ad principem Condensem non obscure inclinare. Tulit id Guisanus indigne, consilia sua non procedere; accepit contumeliose legatum nostrum, proposuit edicta publice, reginam Angliæ insidias facere regno Galliarum, et solam istos tumultus concitasse. Ista regina nostra patienter ferre non potuit, nec sane debuit. Statim aperte

[3] Quartum, Oxf.]
[4] Sit, Burn.]
[5] Prevenient, Burn.]
[6] Fortassis, Oxf.]
[7] Written by Buchanan. See below, page 1256, note 1.]
[8] Putabunt, Burn.]
[9] Æstivis, Oxf.]

agere, legatum, uti audio, revocare, militem scribere, navibus omnibus, undecunque atque ubicunque essent, et suis et alienis vela tollere, ne quis exire posset, et quid ageretur nuntiare. O si ea id antea facere voluisset, aut si nunc principes Germaniæ hoc exemplum sequi vellent! Facilius et minori jactura sanguinis christiani tota res posset transigi. Et regina quidem misit hoc tempore in Germaniam ad principes; et[1] nunc in aula legatus a Guisano, cum novis, ut opinor, blanditiis, ut nos moretur et impediat. Sed non ita erit facile, spero, imponere videntibus.

Res Scotiæ de religione satis sunt pacatæ. Regina sola missam suam retinet invitis omnibus. Incredibilis fuit hoc anno toto apud nos cœli atque aëris intemperies. Nec sol, nec luna, nec hyems, nec ver, nec æstas, nec autumnus, satis fecit officium suum. Ita affatim et pene sine intermissione pluit, quasi facere jam aliud cœlum non queat. Ex hac contagione nata sunt monstra: infantes fœdum in modum deformatis corporibus, alii prorsus sine capitibus, alii capitibus alienis; alii trunci sine brachiis, sine tibiis, sine cruribus; alii ossibus solis cohærentes, prorsus sine ullis carnibus, quales ferę imagines mortis pingi solent. Similia alia complura nata sunt e porcis, ex[2] equabus, e vaccis, e gallinis. Messis hoc tempore apud nos angustius quidem provenit, ita tamen ut non possimus multum conqueri[3]. Sarisberiæ, 14 Augusti, 1562.

Tuus in Christo,

Jo. Juellus, Anglus.

INSCRIPTIO.

Ornatissimo viro, domino Henrico Bullingero, summo pastori ecclesiæ Tigurinæ, domino suo colendissimo. Tiguri.

[TRANSLATION.]

Your letter written at Zurich on the 5th of March has but lately been delivered to me; and, though a little scolding and querulous, it was nevertheless very gratifying, not only as coming from you, all of whose writings and conversation have always been so much esteemed by me, but also, as so earnestly claiming the performance of my duty, and stirring up my negligence and remissness in writing. But, my father and much-esteemed master, although, perhaps, I write to you less frequently than I could wish, yet, as often as any opportunity presents itself, I never decline this duty. In proof of this, I have lately written you two letters, one to Frankfort at the March fair, and the other immediately after Easter; and, if these are still delayed on the road, as may possibly be the case, they will some time or other be released, and will, I hope, reach you at last. In the mean time I never cease either to think or speak about you as honourably as I ought to do.

To write to you at the present time about the affairs of France would probably be impertinent; for all the news is brought you without the help of either wind or vessels. The most holy [father] will leave nothing untried: "if he cannot bend heaven to his purpose, he will move hell." For he sees that the struggle is not about things of no importance, but a matter of life and death. I wish our friends may not suffer themselves to be over-reached.

As the duke of Guise, by holding out some hope or other of settling the affairs of religion and receiving the confession of Augsburg, has prevented the princes of Germany

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[1] Est, Oxf.]

[2] Et, Burn.]

[3] Oxf. adds here: Joannes Burcherus rediit ad nos nuper, valde, ut mihi videtur, afflictus et miserabilis. Ego illi pollicitus sum, quicquid possum: tametsi illum audio non nimium honeste discessisse Tiguro. Misi ad D. Martyrem x. Gallicos coronatos, quos tuo atque illius arbitratu insumi cupio in convivium publicum. Illud munusculum, qualecunque est, obsecro, ut boni consulatis, quodque facitis, ecclesias nostras in vestris precibus Domino commendetis, Saluta optimam illam mulierem, uxorem tuam, D. Gualterum, D. Lavaterum, D. Josiam, D. Gesnerum, D. Vuolphium, D. Zwinglium, D. Vuickium, D. Hallerum, D. Frisium, D. Guldebeccum meo nomine. Vale, mi pater et domine in Christo colendissime.]

from intermeddling in this war; so he has endeavoured by all possible means to persuade our queen that the present contest in France is not about matters of religion, but that there is an evident conspiracy against the government; that it is the cause of the king, whom, as being herself also invested with royal authority, she ought not to oppose. Meanwhile he has caused his niece, the queen of Scotland, to court the favour and friendship of our queen, and send her presents, and make I know not what promises—that she purposes this summer to come upon a complimentary visit into England, and to establish a perpetual treaty of friendship, never to be dissolved. She has sent her a diamond of great value, a most beautiful gem, set in gold, and accompanied by some beautiful and elegant verses. What next? They seem to suppose that by festive interviews, and hunting matches, and flatteries, our attention will easily be diverted from the noise of war, and lulled to sleep. In the mean time our queen, when she saw through the whole affair, and perceived what was doing (and this was not a matter of much difficulty), changed her purpose respecting her progress, gradually withdrew her favour from the Guises, and not obscurely intimated her determination to assist the prince of Condé. [The duke of] Guise was very angry at this interruption to his designs, and received our ambassador with reproaches; and declared by a public proclamation, that the queen of England was planning intrigues against the kingdom of France, and that she alone had occasioned those disorders. Our queen could not bear this charge with patience, nor indeed ought she to have done. She forthwith began to act with openness, as I hear, to recal her ambassador, to enlist troops, to dismast all vessels, both English and foreign, from whatever place, or wherever they might be, to prevent their getting away and giving information of what was doing. O that she had acted in this manner some time since, or that the German princes would even now follow her example! The whole business would be settled much more easily, and with much less waste of christian blood. And indeed the queen has now sent into Germany to the princes; and there is now at court an ambassador from Guise, with new blandishments, as I suppose, to delay and hinder us. But it will not, I think, be so easy a matter to deceive people with their eyes open.

The affairs of Scotland, as to religion, are tolerably quiet. The queen alone retains her mass, contrary to the general wish. There has been here, throughout the whole of this present year, an incredibly bad season both as to the weather, and state of the atmosphere. Neither sun, nor moon, nor winter, nor spring, nor summer, nor autumn, has performed its appropriate office. It has rained so abundantly, and almost without intermission, as if the heavens could hardly do any thing else. Out of this contagion monstrous births have followed; infants with hideously deformed bodies, some being quite without heads, some with heads belonging to other creatures; some born without arms, legs, or shin-bones; some were mere skeletons, entirely without flesh, almost as the image of death is generally represented. Similar births have been produced in abundance from swine, mares, cows, and domestic fowls. The harvest is now coming on, rather scanty indeed, but yet so as we have not much to complain of. [John Burcher has lately returned to us, very wretched and miserable, as it seems to me. I have promised him whatever I can, though I hear he did not leave Zurich very respectably. I have sent to M. Martyr ten French crowns, which I wish to be expended in a public entertainment at his and your discretion. I beg you to dispose of this little gift as well as you can, and, whatever you do, commend our churches in your prayers to God. Salute that excellent lady, your wife, masters Gualter, Lavater, Josiah, Gesner, Wolfius, Zwingle, Wickius, Haller, Frisius, Guldebeccus, in my name. Farewell, my father, and most honoured master in Christ[4].] Salisbury, Aug. 14, 1562.

Yours in Christ,

JOHN JEWEL, *Anglus.*

[4 See last page, note 3.]

XXXIII. JOHANNES JUELLUS AD PETRUM MARTYREM.

(Zur. Coll.)

S. Pl. in Christo. Scripsi ad te et seorsim ad D. Bullingerum statim a paschate. Eas spero jam pridem esse redditas. Nam de superioribus, quas misi Francofordiam ad nundinas Martias, et curavi reddendas Froschovero juniori, quin ad te aliosque pervenerint, nihil dubito. Tamen D. Bullingerus videtur mihi in literis suis nescio quid de negligentia nostra conqueri. Ex eo tempore allatæ sunt a te ad me literæ datæ Tiguri ad quartum diem Martii, quæ quam mihi gratæ et jucundæ fuerint, tu potes facile pro mea erga te observantia et amore perpetuo judicare. Etsi enim ea quæ scribebas essent jam satis vetera et pene obsoleta (literæ enim illæ tuæ vix ad me pervenire potuerunt ante 27 diem Junii, anhelantes jam et lassæ de via), tamen in illis videbar mihi te agnoscere, et audire vocem tuam, et suavissime tecum colloqui. Te incolumem atque[1] alacrem rediisse e Galliis, et integram corporis firmitatem et valetudinem retinere, pro eo ac debeo valde gaudeo.

Quod ad me scribebas, cum jam tum esses in Galliis, rem tibi videri spectare ad arma, neque alia ratione posse transigi, id nunc nimium vere re ipsa videmus accidisse. Dominus Deus Sabaoth exsurgat aliquando, et pessundet ac dissipet hostes suos; nostris autem fratribus, qui illum sancte colunt, addat animos! Dux Guisanus, hostis potens, et jam ætate atque usu rerum callidus, nihil tam ambire videtur quam opinionem de se bonam. Itaque ante aliquot dies nuntii et literæ passim volitabant; addebantur munuscula quædam honoraria; et omnibus modis gratia et bonæ existimationis usura quærebatur. Sic scilicet sperabat fucum hominibus simplicibus posse fieri. Quicquid est, apud nos non successit. Nos enim jam conscripsimus militem, armavimus classem, stamus in procinctu, ut, si quid opus erit, eamus subsidio. Adversarii omnes, quicunque sunt apud nos egregii aut alicujus notæ, jussi sunt conquiri[2] et asservari, ne quid noceant.

Utinam vestri etiam principes et respublicæ aliquando expergefiant, et cogitent causam esse communem; se quoque involvi posse, nisi caveant ne nimium diu otiose spectare velint quid agant alii. Res eo loco nunc est, ut cunctando nec restitui possit nec retineri. Sed Dii illi vestri selecti Tridentini quid? an repente obmutuerunt? O sanctos patres et magna mundi lumina! Tanto tempore, septendecim jam totis mensibus, ne verbum quidem? Atqui sanctissimus jamdudum exspectarat ἀποθέωσιν; et fortasse ab illis putat sibi injuriam fieri. D. Balduinus[3] scribit ad me magnopere probari sibi nostram in mutanda religione moderationem, seque daturum operam (putat enim se posse aliquid), ut similis ratio obtineat in regno Galliæ; ἀκρίβειαν autem illam sibi vestram et Genevensium non placere. Est in ea re, ut mihi quidem videtur, iniquior D. Calvino, nimium fortasse memor veteris simultatis. Petrus Alexander laborat Londini e podagra, bonus vir et jam senio nonnihil debilitatus. Hermannus[4] tuus est nunc apud me: transmisit ad nos e Galliis, quod ibi videret istis tumultibus, quibus antea non assueverat, studia sua impediri. O quoties nos inter nos de te, de D. Bullingero, de uxore tua, de tota familia, deque[5] universo Tiguro, quam suaviter et quanta cum voluptate colloquimur! Est mihi illius convictus jucundissimus: est enim, ut scis, juvenis bonus et perhumanus, et literarum bonarum admodum studiosus.

Res nostræ de religione recte habent. Papistæ obstinatiores nunc sunt quam unquam antea. Pendent scilicet ab eventu rerum Gallicarum. Nos viginti jam dies e Gallia nihil audimus.

Sunt alia quædam pauca; sed ea scribo prolixius ad D. Bullingerum, quem video literas nostras avidissime legere, et de illarum intermissione nullo meo merito mecum conqueri. Mitto ad te decem coronatos Gallicos, quos tuo et D. Bullingeri arbitratu insumi cupio in cœnam in vestro hypocausto publicam, ad quam de more ministri ecclesiarum, et juvenes studiosi, aliique quos videbitur, convocentur. Mitto ad Julium meum coronatos Gallicos viginti, quos, cum esset

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[1] Et, Oxf.]

[2] Conqueri, one copy of Zur. MS.]

[3] Balduinus was a professor of civil law. He had been attacked by Calvin as the author of a work by Cassander which he had introduced into France.]

[4] Herman Folkerzheimer. See Letters of his in Zurich Letters, Sec. Series, pp. 84, &c.]

[5] De, Oxf.]

proxime in Anglia, pollicitus illi sum in annos singulos; alios etiam octo coronatos, et nescio quos præterea baziones, hoc est solidos Anglicos quinquaginta, quos vix tamen expressi ab Annæ socero.

Vale, mi pater et domine in Christo colendissime. Saluta quæso optimam illam mulierem, uxorem tuam, D. Bullingerum, D. Gualterum, D. Lavaterum, D. Simlerum, D. Volphium, D. Zuinglium, D. Gesnerum, D. Vickium, D. Hallerum, D. Frisium, D. Franciscum, et suavissimum[6] puerum Martyrillum, meo nomine. Sarisburiæ, 14 die[7] Augusti, 1562.

Tuo nomini deditissimus,

JOHANNES JUELLUS, Anglus.

INSCRIPTIO.

Viro longe doctissimo D. Petro Martyri Vermilio, profitenti sacras literas in schola Tigurina, domino suo colendissimo[8].

[TRANSLATION.]

Much health in Christ! I wrote to you, and also separately to Bullinger, immediately after Easter, and hope my letters have been received before now: for, as to the former letters which I sent to Frankfort at the March fair, and took care should be delivered to the younger Froschover, I doubt not but they have reached both yourself and my other friends; yet Bullinger seems in his letter as if he were complaining somewhat of my neglect. Since then your letter dated Zurich, March 4th, has been brought to me; and you may easily imagine, from my love and affection towards you, how agreeable and delightful it was. For, although the subjects you wrote about were already old and almost out of date (for that letter of yours was not able to reach me before the 27th of June, out of breath and weary with its journey), nevertheless I seemed therein to recognise and hear your voice, and hold most delightful intercourse with you. I rejoice greatly, as I ought to do, that you returned safe and sound from France, and that you retain your bodily health and strength.

What you wrote me word, when you were in France, that you saw every appearance of an approaching war, and that matters could be settled in no other way, we now too truly see to have actually occurred. May the Lord God of hosts at length arise, and overthrow and scatter his enemies; and inspire courage into our brethren, who worship him in holiness! The duke of Guise is a powerful enemy, and, being wary both from age and experience, seems to aim at nothing so much as to obtain a favourable opinion of his character. Therefore, some days since, messengers and letters were passing to and fro, together with honorary presents; and favour and popularity was courted by him in every possible way. By such pretences, forsooth, did he hope to deceive simple people. He did not, however, gain his object with us; for we have already enlisted our troops, armed our fleet, and are quite ready to afford our assistance whenever it may be wanted. All disaffected persons of any eminence or note among us are ordered to be sought out and kept in custody, to prevent their doing mischief.

I wish your rulers and commonwealth would at last rouse themselves, and consider that the case is a common one, that they also may be involved, and that they should be cautious of gazing so long and so unconcernedly upon the proceedings of others. Matters are now in that state, that delay will neither restore them nor check their progress. But what are your *Dii selecti* of Trent about? Are they suddenly struck dumb? O holy fathers, and great lights of the world! Not a single word in so long a time, even in seventeen whole months! And yet the most holy [father] has long since expected his *apotheosis*, and thinks perhaps that they have done him an injury. Master Baldwin writes me word, that he is very much pleased with our moderation in the late change of religion, and that he will use his endeavours (for he thinks he has some influence), that

[6] Humanissimum, Oxf.]
[7] Oxf. omits *die*.]
[8] This inscription is not in Oxf.]

a like moderation may prevail in the kingdom of France; but that your preciseness, as well as that of Geneva, is by no means agreeable to him. In this respect he is, I think, rather unjust to Calvin, probably from bearing in mind their ancient quarrel. Peter Alexander is in London, laid up with the gout; a good man, but somewhat weakened by age. Your friend Herman is now with me. He came to us from France, because he saw that his studies were interrupted there by those disorders to which he had never before been accustomed. Oh, as often as we talk together about yourself, and Bullinger, your wife, your whole family, and all Zurich, how sweetly and with what pleasure do we converse! His society is most agreeable to me; for he is, as you well know, an excellent and well-principled young man, and very much devoted to literature.

Our affairs as to religion are going on well. The obstinacy of the papists is now greater than ever. They are depending, it seems, upon the result of events in France: we have heard nothing from that country these twenty days.

There are a few other matters to write about; but of them I write more fully to Bullinger, who, I see, reads my letters with avidity, and sadly complains to me of the interruption of them, occasioned however by no fault of mine. I send you ten French crowns, which I desire may be expended, at the discretion of yourself and Bullinger, upon a public supper in your common-hall, to which may be invited, as usual, the ministers of the churches, and young students, and any others whom you may think fit. I send my Julius the twenty French crowns, which I promised him annually, when he was in England; besides eight crowns, and I know not how many batzen besides, making in all fifty English shillings, which I squeezed with difficulty from Ann's father-in-law.

Farewell, my father and much-esteemed master in Christ. Salute, I pray you, in my name that excellent woman your wife, Bullinger, Gualter, Lavater, Simler, Wolfius, Zuinglius, Gesner, Wickius, Haller, Frisius, Franciscus, and the dear boy Martyrillus. Salisbury, Aug. 14, 1562.

Your most devoted,

JOHN JEWEL, *Anglus.*

XXXIV. JOHANNES JUELLUS AD JOSIAM SIMLERUM.

(Zur. Coll.)

S. Pl. in Christo. Hermannus tuus nunc tandem, mi Josia, factus est meus, prorsus, inquam, et κτήσει et χρήσει meus. Quo pacto? inquies. Dicam. Alluvione: appulit enim Sarisberiam ad octavum diem Julii, cum se e tumultibus Gallicis vix eripuisset. O quoties nos inter nos de toto statu reipublicæ Tigurinæ, inprimis vero de Josia nostro, colloquimur! Prorsus nunc fruor illis dulcissimis sermonibus, quos, ut verum fatear, tibi antea subinvidebam. Quod si tu esses una, nihil posset esse dulcius, animo quidem meo nihil optabilius, modo ut podagram illam tuam relinquas domi. Crede mihi, mi Josia, etsi nobis dolori sunt esseque debent dolores tui, tamen ridemus interdum, cum de te cogitamus, teque ante oculos nostros ita constituimus, hominem senem, vietum, incurvum, obstipo corpore, nitentem scipionibus, trahentem alterum pedem, et molliter ac delicate prementem terram. Miramur etiam nonnihil, quomodo te podagra capere potuerit, cum tu semper ita fueris juvenis impiger atque alacer, illa autem vetula ita ignava et deses.

Regina Scotiæ, neptis ducis Guisani, proximis istis diebus, cum ambiret gratiam atque amicitiam reginæ nostræ, misit ad eam adamantem, gemmam pulcherrimam et summi pretii, inclusam et fixam in aurea lamina, et commendatam blando et eleganti carmine. Illud ego carmen[1] ad te mitto, ut intelligas verum

[1 See Buchan. Op. Amst. 1687. Hendec. p. 339; Div. Epigr. Lib. I. pp. 364, 5.]

esse, quod olim dicere solebat Ludovicus, si bene memini, undecimus: "Qui nescit simulare, nescit regnare[2]." Vale, mi Josia, vale. Saluta uxorem tuam, feminam lectissimam, D. Gualterum, D. Volfium, D. Zuinglium, D. Hallerum, D. Vickium, D. Frisium, D. Guldebeckum, quam potes diligentissime, meo nomine. D. Hermannus te salutat. Sarisberiæ, 18 Augusti, 1562.

Tuus in Christo,

JOHANNES JUELLUS, Anglus.

INSCRIPTIO.

D. Josiæ Simlero, profitenti sacras literas in schola Tigurina, viro doctissimo et amico suo longe carissimo.

[TRANSLATION.]

Your Herman, my Josiah, is at last become mine; yes, mine altogether, both by acquisition and possession. How so? you will exclaim. I will tell you. By the rising of the waters; for he reached Salisbury on the 8th of July, having escaped with difficulty from the tumults in France. O how often do we converse with each other about the state of the republic of Zurich, and especially about our friend Josiah! I have now the entire benefit of those delightful conversations, which, to say the truth, I rather envied you the enjoyment of. And, if you were now with us, nothing could be more pleasant, or more to be desired by me, provided only you would leave that gout of yours at home. Believe me, my Josiah, although your griefs are, and ought to be, a grief to me, yet I sometimes laugh when I think about you, and place you, as it were, before my eyes, a wrinkled old man, bowed down, with bent body, leaning on crutches, dragging one foot after the other, and delicately treading on the ground. But I am not a little surprised that the gout can lay hold upon you, as you have always been a brisk and active young man, while that old woman is so indolent and sedentary.

The queen of Scotland, niece of the duke of Guise, has within these few days, by way of courting the favour and friendship of our queen, sent her a most splendid and valuable diamond, inclosed and fixed in a plate of gold, and set off with some flattering and elegant verses. I send you a copy of them, that you may know the truth of that saying, attributed, if I remember right, to Louis XI., "He who knows not how to dissemble knows not how to govern."

Farewell, my Josiah, farewell. Salute most dutifully in my name your most excellent wife, masters Gualter, Wolfius, Zuinglius, Haller, Wickius, Frisius, Guldebeckus. Herman salutes you. Salisbury, Aug. 18, 1562.

Yours in Christ,

JOHN JEWEL, *Anglus.*

XXXV. JOHANNES JUELLUS AD HENRICUM BULLINGERUM.

(Zur. Coll.)

S. Pl. De D. Petro Martyre[3] etsi dolere nihil prodest, tamen nescio quo pacto dolor ipse jucundus est. Hei mihi! dignus quidem ille fuit, illa ingenii magnitudine, illa literarum multitudine, illa pietate, illis moribus, illa vita, qui nunquam e vita tolleretur. Sed hoc ego jam antea fore divinabam, ubi primum audissem hominem id ætatis animum adjecisse ad nuptias. Deus Optimus Maximus benigne respiciat ecclesiam suam, et illi demortuo suscipiat[4] alios. Pauci estis, mi pater, pauci estis, quibus nunc rerum summa nititur; nam te semper numeravi inter primos. O utinam semper existant aliqui, quibus possitis hanc lampadem committere! Sed missa ista facio. Hercules vester Tubingensis, monstrorum fabricator, non

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[2] See before, page 1101, note 10.]

[3] Peter Martyr died Nov. 12, 1562, in the 63rd year of his age.]

[4] Illo demortuo suscitet, Oxf.; suscipet, Zur.]

domitor, otiose jam triumphat[1]. In toto illo suo regno ubiquitario tam amplis spatiis et regionibus miror si possit consistere. Si quid moliri velit in hominem mortuum, et ejus scripta possint ad nos perferri, nisi quis vestrum mihi velit antevertere, ego mearum partium esse puto, quantum negotia mea patientur, ut illi respondeam; si nihil aliud, saltem ut intelligi possit, Angliam et Helvetiam contra istos ubiquitarios convenire.

Interitus Guisani Pharaonis, quem hodierno die pro explorato et certe accepimus, crede mihi, intimum mihi animum et pectus perculit. Ita erat repentinus, ita opportunus, ita faustus, ita omnem spem atque exspectationem nostram superabat[2]. Quid nunc animi putemus esse fratribus nostris, quos illa bestia jam cinxerat obsidione, quosque spe et cogitatione prope jam cruentis faucibus devorarat? Sit nomen Domini benedictum. Chattilio[3] nunc oppugnat arcem Canensem, et crescit in dies; et spes bona est adversarios venturos ad conditiones nostras, et omnia ita futura ut volumus. Regina nostra colligit militem e Germania, et dat stipendium, et nihil parcit sumptibus. Nos hoc tempore conventus agimus totius regni, et de religione secundis animis tractamus, deque republica, et de nervis bellorum, hoc est, de pecunia.

E Scotia nunciantur recte omnia. Regina pene sola et pertinaciam animi Guisianam et missam suam retinet, invitis omnibus. Nostra regina superiori autumno laboravit e variolis, satis cum periculo. Impatiens æstus et tædii se ipsam pene perdiderat. Sed agimus Deo gratias, qui et illam periculo liberavit et nos metu. Quid paterculi illi vestri Tridentini et papa hydropicus parturiant, nihil audimus. Fortasse Spiritus Sanctus adesse non vult, aut fari non potest. Quicquid est, tanto in conventu, tanta exspectatione, nihil agi mirum est.

Ego post superioris æstatis atque hujus hyemis intemperiem, et aliquot dierum spasmos et catarrhos, jam tandem incipio convalescere. Scripta D. P. Martyris ne intereant, non dubito tibi curæ fore. Magno illi viro constiterunt, et digna sunt, ut scis, quæ magni fiant.

Vale, vir ornatissime, et frater ac domine in Christo colendissime. Saluta optimam illam mulierem, uxorem[4] tuam, filios, nurus, D. Gualterum, D. Simlerum, D. Lavaterum, D. Zuinglium, D. Wickium, D. Wolphium, D. Hallerum, D. Gesnerum, D. Frisium, meo nomine. Dominus te nobis diu servet salvum et incolumem[5]! 5 Martii, 1563.

Tuus in Christo frater et tuo nomini deditissimus,

Jo. Juellus.

[TRANSLATION.]

Much health! Though grief for Peter Martyr in unavailing, yet there is something pleasant, I know not why, even in the very feeling of sorrow. Alas! he was one who, from the greatness of his talents, the variety of his attainments, his piety, his morals, his life, seemed worthy of never being taken away from us. But I had long before suspected this would be the case, when I first heard of a man of his age turning his thoughts to marriage. May our great and good God mercifully look upon his church, and raise up for her other defenders in the room of the departed! Ye are few, my father, ye are but few, upon whom the whole matter rests; and I have always reckoned yourself among the foremost. O that there may always be some to whom you may be able to transfer your duties with satisfaction! But, to pass over these things, I do not wonder that your Hercules of Tubingen, the forger, instead of conqueror, of monsters, is now triumphing at his ease: I wonder whether he is able to confine himself within the ample limits and regions of his ubiquitarian kingdom. Should he make any attack upon our departed friend, and his writings come to my knowledge, unless some of you should be beforehand with me, I shall think it my duty to reply to him, as far

[1 Brentius, the great promoter of the ubiquitarian doctrine.]

[2 Francis, duke of Guise, was shot by Jean de Poltrot, in the neighbourhood of Orleans, and died six days after, Feb. 24, 1563.]

[3 Admiral Coligny.]

[4 Oxf. omits *uxorem*.]

[5 Incolumem et salvum, Oxf.]

as my engagements will permit; if for no other reason, at least to let the world know that England and Switzerland are both united against these ubiquitarians.

The death of the Guisian Pharaoh, which I have to-day heard as an ascertained and undoubted fact, has, believe me, affected my inmost heart and soul. It was so sudden, so opportune, so fortunate, and so far exceeding all our hopes and expectations. What spirits must we now suppose our brethren to possess, whom that monster had already closely besieged, and whom in hope and imagination he had already almost devoured with his cruel jaws? Blessed be the name of the Lord! Châtillon is now besieging the castle of Caen, and is daily gaining strength; and there is good hope that the enemy will come into our terms, and that all will end as we wish. Our queen is collecting troops from Germany, and keeps them in her pay, regardless of expense.

We are now assembling the great council of the nation, and are going on successfully both as to the affairs of religion and of state, and also with respect to the sinews of war, namely, money.

We have very favourable accounts from Scotland. The queen, almost alone, retains both her Guisian obstinacy, and her mass, against the general wish. Our queen last autumn was taken ill of the small-pox, and in some danger: she had almost lost her life through her impatience of the fever and of the wearisomeness [of the disease]. But we thank God, who has delivered her from danger and us from fear. We hear nothing about what your little Tridentine fathers, and the dropsical pope, are bringing forth. Perhaps the Holy Spirit declines being present, or cannot speak. Whatever may be the reason, it is strange that in so great an assembly, and with such expectation, nothing is accomplished.

I am at last beginning to recover my health, after the unseasonable weather of the last summer and this winter, and the spasms and cough which lasted for some days. I doubt not you will take care that the writings of Peter Martyr be not lost: they cost their author much labour, and deserve, as you know, to be highly esteemed.

Farewell, most accomplished sir, and much-esteemed brother and master in Christ. Salute in my name that excellent lady your wife, your sons, daughters-in-law, masters Gualter, Simler, Lavater, Zuinglius, Wickius, Wolfius, Haller, Gesner, Frisius. May the Lord long preserve you to us safe and sound! [London], March 5, 1563.

Your brother in Christ,

and most attached,

JOHN JEWEL.

XXXVI. JOHANNES JUELLUS AD JOSIAM SIMLERUM.

Scriberem ad te quoque, mi Josia, nisi me occupationes meæ impedirent. Verum nos, ut scias, hoc tempore conventus agimus, et de religione, de republica, de pace belloque deliberamus. Ego vero inter istos æstus etsi mei ipsius meminisse vix possum, tamen Josiæ mei oblivisci non possum; quem etsi commentantem, scribentem, legentem[6] multis maximis de causis admiror et veneror, et in oculis gero; tamen cum illum cogito senili gibbo, nitentem scipionibus, trahentem alterum aut utrumque pedem, diligenter circumspectantem vias ne quid incurrat in digitos, molliter ac delicate prementem terram, et Chremetis in modum ægre et seniliter tussientem, crede mihi, risum tenere vix possum. Dic dum enim mihi, mi Josia, quod istud est senium[7]? vel quæ potius ista[8] est dissimulatio? Tantamne mutationem factam esse tam brevi tempore? Sed quicquid est, ego te puto hominem esse bonum, nec aliud in vultu, aliud in pede gerere. Hermannus meus tuusque

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[6] Legentemque, Oxf.]

[7] Simler was now but 32.]

[8] Illa, Oxf.]

mecum est. Utinam tu adesses una! Facile et podagras et fascias et baculos abjiceres. Vale, mi Josia. Londini, 7 Martii, 1563.

Tuus in Christo,

JOHANNES JUELLUS.

INSCRIPTIO.

Doctiss. viro D. Josiæ Simlero, profitenti sacras literas in schola Tigurina, amico suo longe carissimo. Tiguri[1].

[TRANSLATION.]

I would write to you also, my Josiah, did not my engagements prevent me. But, as you know, we are now assembled in parliament, and are deliberating about the affairs of the church and state, peace and war. And though in all this turmoil I can scarcely remember myself, I cannot be forgetful of my Josiah, whom, although on so many accounts I admire and reverence, and bear in mind, as either discoursing, or writing, or reading; yet, when I think upon him with the stoop of old age, leaning on two crutches, drawing after him one or both feet, cautiously looking about, for fear anything should run against his toes, softly and delicately treading on the ground, and coughing just as old Chremes, painfully, and like an old man; believe me, I can scarcely refrain from laughing. For do tell me, my Josiah, what kind of old age is this? or rather, what kind of shamming is it? Can such a change have taken place in so short a time? But, however it be, you are, I believe, a worthy man, and do not let your looks belie your feet. Our mutual friend Herman is with me. I wish you were here also; you would easily get rid of your gout, and bandages, and crutches. Farewell, my Josiah.

London, March 7, 1563.

Yours, in Christ,

JOHN JEWEL.

XXXVII. JOHANNES JUELLUS AD JOSIAM SIMLERUM.

(Zur. Coll. and Humfred. Juell. Vit. pp. 239, &c.)

Semper amavi, doctíssime Josia, humanitatem, suavitatem, amorem tuum. Quis enim non amet hominem hoc ingenio, hac comitate, istis literis, ita veteris amici memorem, ita denique amabilem? Verum cum ad amorem erga te meum nihil videretur addi posse, tu tamen tuo merito facis ut quotidie videar videre[2], ut, si amor maximus major esse posset, magis amem.

Recepi a te eicona argenteam, et vitam atque obitum optimi illius senis, Petri Martyris[3]. In eicone quidem etsi multa egregie conveniant, tamen erat etiam aliquid nescio quid, in quo artificis solertiam requirerem. Et quid mirum in illius hominis similitudine erratum esse, cujus equidem cum omnia circumspicio, vix quicquam puto fuisse simile? Libellum autem tuum avidissime et summa cum voluptate perlegi. Videre enim mihi videbar illum ipsum senem, quocum antea suavissime vixeram, eum nescio quo pacto propius etiam et penitius videre, quam cum una cum illo viverem. Stancarum[4] autem, obscurum et insolentem scurram, quem ego nunquam natum audieram, et argute et pererudite, neque, uti spero, sine magno ecclesiæ commodo confutasti. Parcius ad te ista, mi Josia, de te præsertim: auribus enim tuis dare non est nec amicitiæ nostræ nec pudoris mei. Equidem libenter illa legi, ut soleo tua omnia; erant enim scripta de rebus jejunis plenissime, de obscuris splendidissime. De omni ista tua[5] humanitate agnosco et fateor, atque etiam profiteor, me esse in ære tuo.

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[1] This inscription is not in Oxf.]

[2] Ardere, Humfr. and Oxf.]

[3] Simler's Oratio de Vita et Obitu P. Martyris is prefixed to editions of Martyr's Loci Communes. It was dedicated to Jewel.]

[4] Stancarus was professor of Hebrew at Cracow and Konigsberg. He maintained that our Lord was mediator between God and man in his human nature only. Simler had written a confutation of the book he published against Bullinger and others.]

[5] Tua ista, Oxf.]

Ecclesia nostra Dei beneficio immunis est ab istis monstris. Tantum res nobis est cum satellitibus quibusdam pontificiis[6]. Illi turbant quantum possunt in angulis, atque etiam hoc tempore impediunt quo minus ea possim pertexere contra ubiquitarios quæ cogitaveram: sed de ea re ad D. Bullingerum scripsi plenius. Si scripta D. Martyris edideris, et ecclesiæ consulueris, et multorum bonorum expectationi, qui ea cupiunt, satisfeceris. Commentaria autem in Genesin, quoniam de illis quærere videris judicium meum, equidem ea, mi Josia, nunquam legi: tamen non dubito esse ejusmodi ut, si edantur, videri possint Petri Martyris.

Nova ea quæ erant, conjeci in literas ad D. Bullingerum. Nisi Rhenus vester nobis ita esset adversus, et scriberem ad te et mitterem sæpius. Sed iter longum est, et præterea ad istas nundinas vix unum aliquem invenire possum qui isthuc eat. Nunc autem etiam de nundinis dubito. Quicquid autem de literis istis meis fiet, ego tuus, mi Josia, totus sum, sive scribo sive taceo. Saluta, etc. 23 Mart. 1563.

INSCRIPTIO.

Ad D. Josiam Simlerum, apud Tigurinos sacræ theologiæ professorem, Juelli episcopi Sarisburiensis literæ[7].

[TRANSLATION.]

I have at all times, most learned Josiah, duly appreciated your kindness and courtesy and affection. For who could do otherwise than love one of such a disposition, so courteous, so learned, so mindful of an old friend, in a word, so worthy to be loved? But, when my regard for you seemed incapable of increase, your deserts have nevertheless produced this effect, that I daily seem to feel that, if what is now *most* great could become *more* so, I should love you yet more than I now do.

I have received from you a silver medal of that excellent old man Peter Martyr, with an account of his life and death. In the figure indeed, although there is in many respects an admirable resemblance (to the original), yet there was a something, I know not what, in which I was not satisfied with the skill of the artist. And what wonder is it, that there should be some defect in producing the likeness of one, the like of whom, whenever I look around me, I can scarce believe ever to have existed? Your little book, however, I perused with the greatest eagerness and delight. For I seemed to myself to behold the same old man with whom I had formerly lived upon such affectionate terms; and to behold him too, I know not why, more nearly and thoroughly, than when we were living together.

That obscure and insolent reviler, Stancarus (whose very existence I was ignorant of), you have refuted both skilfully and learnedly, and, as I hope, with great advantage to the church. But, my Josiah, I shrink from writing this to you, especially concerning yourself: for it is consistent with neither my friendship nor my modesty to utter these things in your ears. I have read this work with the greatest eagerness, as I do all your writings; for they are written most copiously on barren subjects, and most clearly on obscure ones. I acknowledge and confess your kindness, and own myself, moreover, in your debt.

Our church, by the blessing of God, is free from these monsters. We have only to do with some of the popish satellites, who are making as much disturbance as they can in their corners and hiding-places; and even at this moment are preventing me from throwing together what I had meditated against the ubiquitarians: but on this subject I have written more fully to Bullinger. Should you publish the writings of Peter Martyr, you will both confer a benefit on the church, and satisfy the expectation of many good men who desire it. As to the Commentaries on Genesis, respecting which you seem to require my opinion, indeed, my Josiah, I have never read them. I doubt not, however, that they are such as, when published, will be acknowledged to be the work of Peter Martyr.

Whatever news I had to relate, I have thrown together in my letter to master

[6 Pontificis, Oxf.] [7 This inscription is not in Oxf.]

Bullinger. Were not your Rhine so much in the way, I should both write and send to you much more frequently. But the journey is long, and besides I can scarce find any one who is going thither at this next fair; added to which, I am uncertain as to the fair itself. But, whatever may become of my letter, whether I write, or am silent, I am, my Josiah, wholly yours. March 23, 1563.

Salute, &c.

JOHN JEWEL.

XXXVIII. BISHOP JEWEL TO ARCHBISHOP PARKER[1].

(From the Original in the Archiepiscopal Library, Lambeth.)

After my most humble commendations; unless necessity forced me, I would be loth to trouble your grace farther, as knowing the troubles you have already. Yet, forasmuch as your grace is *sacra anchora* unto me and others, I shall humbly beseech your grace to bear with me. The bearer hereof will exhibit unto your grace a Roman dispensation under lead for one Harvee, prebendary of my church. I beseech your grace to advertise me whether it will stand good in law or no, and whether the party may enjoy it, not having nor using priestly apparel, but in all respects going as a serving man, or no.

Chafin, that hath married two sisters, upon his appeal from your grace and me, hangeth still before the delegates, and, as much as I can perceive, is not likely to take any great hurt at their hands. I would they would decree it were lawful to marry two sisters; so should the world be out of doubt: as now it is past away in a mockery. D. Hewicke promised me I should have it remitted with expenses.

Touching my last letters, and namely touching one Feharde(?), a person within my diocese, I beseech your grace to shew me your advice accordingly as I have humbly requested your grace. Thus I beseech your grace to tender my suits, and wish the same most heartily well to fare.

From my poor house in Sarum. 16 Junii, 1563.

Your grace's most humbly assured,

JO. SARUM.

To the most reverend father in God my very good lord, my lord archbishop of Canterbury's grace, be these delivered.

XXXIX. BISHOP JEWEL TO SIR WILLIAM CECIL.

(From the Original in the State Paper Office.)

Right Honourable, After my very hearty commendations; if your honour have read any parcel of my answer to M. Harding, as my lord of London informeth me ye have, I doubt not but, as ye may well mislike many other things therein, so ye may specially mislike the length. Which thing notwithstanding, interlacing M. Harding's whole book as it was for many causes thought necessary, and making several answer to every point, without great hindering of the cause, I could not devise how to abridge it and make it shorter. I seek not ambitiously to enlarge the matter, but contrariwise have cut off as much as might stand with full answer to every objection, and with the perspicuity of the whole. I know many look for it greedily, and some wonder it is not abroad long sithence. But the adversaries make their vaunts, it is lost labour to go about it. All this forceth me not to hasten faster than I may; which thing, as, God willing, it shall

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[1 This letter is now printed for the first time.]

not hinder the cause, so, I trust, it cannot be greatly offensive unto the wise. *Sat cito, si sat bene.* One thing I shall most heartily desire your honour, that I may not be called to preach this Lent before the queen's majesty; otherwise, your honour knoweth it would be unto me a great loss of time and a great hinderance unto the matter, and so a great encouraging to the adversary. Thus I take my leave, and beseech God to guide you and your counsels with his Holy Spirit. From my poor house in Sarum. 30 Januarii, 1564. [1565.]

Your honour's own,

JO. SARUM.

To the right honourable Sir William Cecil, knight, principal secretary to the queen's majesty, and one of her highness' most honourable privy council.

XL. JOHANNES JUELLUS AD HENRICUM BULLINGERUM.

(Zur. Coll. and Burnet, Vol. III. Book VI. No. 85.)

Salutem plurimam in Christo Jesu. Quid ego dicam, doctissime vir et carissime[2] pater? Et pudet et dolet: pudet primum non scripsisse ad te sæpius[3]; deinde dolet, eas ipsas quas scripsi non potuisse ad vos pervenire. Obsecro tamen te, ne putes mihi aut scholam Tigurinam, aut rempublicam, aut illam vestram[4] humanitatem tantam tam cito ex animo elabi potuisse. Equidem vos omnes in oculis et in sinu gero, et te inprimis, mi pater, lumen jam unicum ætatis nostræ. Quod autem ad literas attinet, equidem, præterquam anno illo superiori[5], cum peste et lue omnia ubique clausa essent, ceteroqui[6] nunquam intermisi scribere ad te, ad Lavaterum, ad Simlerum, et ad Julium: quod nisi facerem, videri vix possem, non dico officii, sed ne humanitatis quidem rationem ullam retinere. Et de aliis quidem meis literis superioribus quid factum sit, nescio; proximas autem audio in navali conflictu exceptas fuisse a Gallis, atque ablatas Caletum. Sed missa ista facio.

Nunc accipito de rebus nostris, quas tibi pro tua pietate magis cordi esse sat scio. Primum, de religione omnia domi Dei Optimi Maximi beneficio pacata sunt. Papistæ exules turbant et impediunt quantum possunt; et evulgatis libris, nescio quo meo, fatone dicam an merito, me petunt unum, idque terni[7] maximis clamoribus uno tempore. Illis omnibus dum unus respondeo, tu me ne putes esse posse otiosum[8]. Offertur mihi inter alia causa illa ubiquitaria, quam ego in senis illius nostri Tubingensis[9] gratiam, ut potui, utque res tulit, de industria ornavi pluribus[10]; sed nostra lingua, utpote hominibus nostris[11]. Si quidem otium erit, partem aliquam transferam et ad vos mittam. De illo autem sene, equidem non video quid debeam statuere: ita mihi videtur in singulos dies magis magisque[12] delirare. Legi enim novum "Menandri phasma," quod "nunc nuper dedit[13]:" et tibi et de illo libro, et de omnibus literis tuis, et de omni tua humanitate, ago gratias.

Respublica domi forisque, terra marique, tranquilla est. Pacem habemus cum Gallis constitutam: Flandrica etiam illa turba jam tandem consiluit. Mercatores utrinque commeant, Flandri ad nos, et nostri vicissim ad illos. Granvelanus, cujus unius nequitia hæc omnia cœpta sunt, id egit ut, turbatis atque impeditis emporiis, cum neque invehi quicquam neque exportari posset, attonitis mercatoribus, et oppidano vulgo, quod vere e lanificio victum quærit, ad otium atque inopiam redacto, popularis aliquis motus et seditio domestica sequeretur. Ita enim sperabat religionem una posse concuti. Sed Deus ista consilia convertit potius in auctorem: nostri enim in officio, uti par erat, remanserant; Flandricum

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[2] Clarissime, Burn.]
[3] Scripsisse sæpius, Burn.]
[4] Vestram illam, Oxf.]
[5] Superiore, Burn.]
[6] Cæteroquis, Burn.]
[7] Harding, Dorman, and Harpsfield (Cope), are probably those meant.]
[8] Esse otiosum, Burn.]
[9] Brentius. See before, page 1258, note 1.]
[10] See Vol. I. pages 480, &c.]
[11] Nostris hominibus, Burn.]
[12] Magis magisque in singulos dies, Burn.]
[13] Terent. Eunuch. Prolog. 9.]

autem vulgus, digressis nostris mercatoribus, et emporio Embdæ constituto, eam rem indigne ferre, atque etiam tantum non tumultuari.

Hiberni, uti te audisse scio, nobis parent, et nostris utuntur legibus. In illam insulam papa ante aliquot admodum dies immisit hominem sceleratum et callidum cum mandatis, qui huc illuc concursaret, (erat enim Hibernus,) et[1] gentem feram et silvestrem contra nos religionis causa commoveret. Quid quæris? Nebulo statim primo appulsu comprehenditur, et excussus et vinctus ad nos mittitur. Ita sacerrimus pater prorsus decrevit, cum flectere non possit superos, Acheronta movere! In Scotia ita est ut[2] volumus. Regina sola missam illam suam retinet, invitis omnibus.

Parkhurstus, Hoperus, Sampson, Sandus, Leverus, Chamberus valent, et officium faciunt. Biennium jam est, quod ego illorum quenquam viderim. Vale, mi pater. Dominus Jesus te quam diutissime servet superstitem et incolumem! Saluta D. Gualterum, D. Lavaterum, D. Simlerum, D. Lupum, D. Hallerum, D. Gesnerum, D. Frisium, D. Zuinglium, D. Wickium; ad quos singulos darem literas, si esset otium, vel potius nisi prorsus obruerer negotiis. Sarisberiæ, in Anglia, Calend. Martiis, 1565.

Tui nominis studiosissimus,

tibique deditissimus,

Jo. Juellus, Anglus.

[TRANSLATION.]

Much health in Christ Jesus! What shall I say to you, most learned sir, and dear father? I am both ashamed and grieved; ashamed, in the first place, that I have not written more frequently; and also grieved, that the letters which I have written have not been able to reach you. I beseech you, however, not to entertain the thought that either the school of Zurich, or the republic, or, lastly, your exceeding kindness, can so quickly have passed away from my mind. Indeed I have all of you in my eyes and in my heart, and yourself especially, my father, who are now the only light of our age.

And now, as to my correspondence, I, for my part, the last year only excepted, when all intercourse was everywhere prevented by the plague and pestilence, have never omitted writing to yourself, Lavater, Simler, and Julius. Had I not done so, I should seem scarcely to have retained any sense, I will not say of duty, but even of common courtesy. But what has become of my former letters, I do not know. I hear that my last was taken by the French in a sea-fight, and carried off to Calais.

But no more of this. Attend now to some affairs of ours, in which I know, from your usual kindness, you will take more interest. First then, by the blessing of our great and good God, all things are settled with us in the matters of religion. The popish exiles are disturbing us and giving us all the trouble in their power; and in their published books, I know not whether through any ill luck (shall I say?) or desert of mine, aim at me alone; and this too three of them have done at once, and with most outrageous clamour. As I alone have to answer them all, you must not imagine that I can be idle. Among other things, the ubiquitarian question is pressed upon me, which, for the sake of our old Tubingen friend, I have purposely treated of very copiously, to the best of my power, and as the subject required; but in our own language, as being intended for our own people. If I have leisure, I will copy a part, and send you. But as to that old man, I cannot make out what I ought to think about him; he appears to me to become more insane every day. For I have read the new "Phasma of Menander," which he has lately published; and I have to thank you, both for that book, and for all your letters, and all your kindness.

The state is in tranquillity, both at home and abroad, by land and sea. We are at peace with France; and the disorders in Flanders are at last settled. Merchants go backwards and forwards from both countries, the Flemish to us and our merchants in turn to them. [Cardinal] Granvelle, through whose knavery alone all those disturbances

[1] Qui, Burn.] [2] Ita ut, Burn.]

began, so managed matters, that by the irregularity and stoppage of the markets (neither imports nor exports being allowed), the tradesmen all aghast, and the towns'-people, who literally gain their livelihood by spinning wool, reduced to idleness and destitution, some popular commotion or domestic sedition might be the consequence. For he hoped by this means our religion would be shaken at the same time. But God has rather turned these counsels upon their author: for our people remained in their duty, as it was right they should; but the people of Flanders, when our merchants took their departure, and settled their trade at Embden, were exceedingly indignant, and did every thing but break out into open disorders.

The Irish, as I know you have heard, are subject to us, and adopt our laws. The pope, not very long since, sent over an unprincipled and crafty agent, with orders to raise a commotion in that island. He was an Irishman, and was to stir up that wild and savage race against us for the cause of religion. But the knave was apprehended on his first attempt, and examined, and sent prisoner to England. And thus the most holy father has determined that, since he is unable to move the powers above, he will stir up hell beneath. In Scotland affairs are as we desire. The queen alone retains her mass, against the general wish.

Parkhurst, Horn, Sampson, Sandys, Lever, Chambers, are well, and at their respective posts. It is now two years since I have seen any of them. Farewell, my father: may the Lord Jesus very long preserve you alive and well! Salute Gualter, Lavater, Simler, Wolfius, Haller, Gesner, Frisius, Zuinglius, Wickius, to each of whom I would write if I had leisure, or rather, if I were not quite overwhelmed with business. Salisbury, in England, March 1, 1565.

Your much attached and devoted,

JOHN JEWEL.

XLI. BISHOP JEWEL TO ARCHBISHOP PARKER.

(From the Original MS. in C. C. C. C.)

After my most humble commendations, these may be to do your grace to understand that M. Doctor Humfrey, the president of Maudlin College, in Oxon, is presented unto me by my lord of Winchester into a benefice in my diocese, whom notwithstanding I would gladly admit in respect of his learning, yet in respect of this vain contention about apparel I have thought it best to make a stay, until I might further understand your grace's pleasure. Unless your grace shall otherwise advise me by your letters, without good assurance of his conformity I mind not in any wise to receive him. Saving your grace's judgment, it were expedient that the matter were generally overruled. This long sufferance breedeth great offence. Certain having obtained your grace's licence pass up and down the country from church to church, as if they were apostles, and by virtue of your grace's seal require money for their labours. I will stay one or other of them, if I can, that your grace may know him better. Thus I humbly take my leave. From Sarum, 22 Decemb. 1565.

Your grace's humbly to command,

JO. SARUM.

XLII. JOHANNES JUELLUS AD HENRICUM BULLINGERUM ET LUDOVICUM LAVATERUM.

(Zur. Coll. and Burnet, Vol. III. Book VI. No. 88[a]. This letter is also printed with some variations by Strype, Annals, Vol. I. Append. No. 36.)

S. Pl. in Christo Jesu. Rarius multo ad vos scribo, reverendissime pater, tuque optime Ludovice, quam aut ego velim, aut vos exspectatis. Idque quam

[a Burnet prints only a part of this letter.]

vos in partem accipiatis, nescio: cupio equidem, ne in malam. Quanto enim magis ego me vestræ omnium pietati obstrictum sentio[1], quantoque pluris judicium de me vestrum semper feci, tanto minus velim me a vobis aut oblivionis aut negligentiæ condemnari. Jam vero occupationibus meis tam longa silentia tribuere putidum fortasse videatur: tametsi, si me nossetis et curas meas, nihil excusatione alia opus esset. Nam præter alias assiduas, meas, alienas, domesticas, publicas, civiles, ecclesiasticas molestias (sine quibus in hoc munere his temporibus vivi non potest), cogor etiam[2] pene solus cum hostibus (externisne[3] dicam, an domesticis?) conflictari. Nostri quidem sunt, sed hostili animo, hostili etiam in solo. Profugi enim nostri Lovanienses cœperunt sese[4] magno numero, anno superiori, commovere[5]; et in nos omnes acerbissime scribere, et me unum nominatim petere. Cur ita? inquies. Nescio, nisi quod me[6] unum omnium εὐμαχητότατον[7], et ad resistendum infirmissimum esse scirent. Tamen ante sex annos cum in aula coram regia majestate haberem concionem, et de nostræ papisticæque[8] religionis antiquitate dicerem, hoc memini dixisse me inter alia, adversarios nostros, cum nostram causam arguant novitatis, et nobis injuriam et populo fraudem facere: illos enim et pro veteribus probare nova, et ea damnare pro novis, quæ sunt vetustissima. Missas enim privatas et truncatas communiones, et naturales ac[9] reales præsentias, et transubstantiationes, &c. (quibus rebus omnis istorum religio continetur) nullum habere certum et expressum testimonium aut sacrarum scripturarum, aut veterum conciliorum, aut priscorum patrum, aut ullius omnino antiquitatis[10].

Id illi indigne ferre, latrare in angulis, hominem impudentem, confidentem, insolentem, insanum dicere. Quarto postremo anno prodiit ex insperato Hardingus quidam[11], non ita pridem auditor atque assectator[12] D. Petri Martyris, et acerrimus evangelii præco, nunc vilis apostata et nostro Julio probe notus; qui me ex Amphilochiis, Abdiis, Hippolytis, Clementibus, Victoribus, Athanasiis suppositiis, Leontiis[13], Cletis, Anacletis, epistolis decretalibus[14], somniis, fabulis, refutaret. Illi ego pro mea mediocritate[15] respondi anno superiori, ut potui. Sed O Deum immortalem! Quæ hæc vita est! Ὡς ἔρις ἔκ τε θεῶν κἀξ ἀνθρώπων ἀπόλοιτο. Vixdum absolveram, evolat extemplo Apologiæ nostræ Confutatio; opus ingens et[16] elaboratum, et conviciis, contumeliis, mendaciis, sycophantiis refertissimum. Hic ego rursum petor. Quid quæris? Respondendum est. Vides, reverende pater, quam non simus otiosi; ego præsertim, cui (nescio quo meo fato) semper cum istis monstris dimicandum est. Dominus addat vires atque animos[17], et proterat Satanam sub pedibus nostris! Hæc idcirco visum est scribere prolixius, ut si posthac literæ isthuc a me infrequentius venerint, quam aut vos exspectatis aut ego velim, id cuivis potius rei[18], quam aut oblivioni vestri aut ingratitudini, tribuatis.

Respublica nostra et ab armis et de religione pacata est. Lovanienses quidem isti nostri turbant, quantum possunt; verum populus est in officio, et futurum spero. Domina regina recte valet, et abhorret a nuptiis. Hyems superior ita misere afflixit nascentem segetem, ut nunc ubique per Angliam magna frumenti difficultate laboretur. Hoc anno, Dei beneficio, omnia lætissime provenerunt. Ego D. Parkhurstum, episcopum Norvicensem, D. Sandum, episcopum Vigorniensem, D. Pilkingtonum, episcopum Dunelmensem, triennium jam totum[19] non vidi: ita procul disjecti sumus. Vivimus tamen omnes incolumes et vestri memores. Solus Richardus Chamberus obiit diem suum; sed pie et[20] in Domino.

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[1] Obstrictum esse sentio, Strype.]
[2] Strype omits *etiam*.]
[3] Externisve, Oxf.]
[4] Strype omits *sese*.]
[5] Commoveri, Strype.]
[6] Nisi me, Strype.]
[7] Ἀμαχώτατον, Strype.]
[8] Strype omits *que*.]
[9] Et, Strype.]
[10] See Vol. I. pages 20, &c.]
[11] Prodiit Hardingus quidam ex insperato, Strype.]
[12] Affectator, Strype.]
[13] Leontis, Strype.]
[14] Drecketalibus, MS. Decretalibus, Strype, with a note: Hoc est stercoreis.]
[15] Tenuitate, Strype.]
[16] Strype omits *et*.]
[17] Animum, Strype.]
[18] Rei potius, Strype.]
[19] Jam totum triennium, Strype.]
[20] Strype omits *et*.]

[21] Contentio illa de ecclesiastica veste linea, de qua vos vel ab Abele nostro vel a D. Parkhursto audisse non dubito, nondum etiam conquievit. Ea res nonnihil commovet infirmos animos. Atque utinam omnia etiam tenuissima vestigia papatus et e templis, et multo maxime ex animis omnium[22], auferri possent! Sed regina ferre mutationem in religione hoc tempore nullam potest.

Res Scoticæ[23] nondum etiam satis pacatæ sunt. Nobiles aliquot primi nominis apud nos exulant. Alii domi[24] remanserunt, et sese, si vis fiat, ad resistendum parant, et ex arcibus suis excursiones interdum faciunt, et ex papistarum agris agunt feruntque, quantum possunt. Regina ipsa, etsi animo sit ad papismum obfirmato, tamen vix satis exploratum habet, quo se vertat: nam de religione adversariam habet magnam partem et nobilitatis et populi; et, quantum quidem nos possumus intelligere, numerus indies crescit. Submiserat proximis istis mensibus Philippus rex abbatem quendam Italum cum auro Hispanico, hominem vafrum, et factum atque instructum ad fraudes, qui et regem reginamque juvaret veteratorio[25] consilio, et impleret omnia tumultibus. Rex novus, qui semper[26] hactenus abstinuisset a missis, et ultro accessisset ad conciones, ut se populo daret, cum audiret navem illam appulsuram postridie, factus repente confidentior, sumptis animis, noluit longius dissimulare. Accedit ad templum: jubet sibi de more dici missam. Eodem ipso tempore D. Knoxus, concionator in eodem oppido, et in proximo templo, maxima[27] frequentia clamare in idolomanias[28], et in universum regnum pontificium, nunquam fortius. Interea navis illa Philippica, jactata tempestatibus et ventis, fluctibusque concussa et fracta, convulso malo, ruptis lateribus, amissis gubernatoribus, vectoribus, et rebus omnibus, inanis et lacera, et aquæ plena, defertur[29] in Angliam. Hæc ego[30] non dubito divinitus[31] contigisse, ut rex fatuus intelligat, quam sit auspicatum audire missas.

E Galliis multa turbulenta nunciantur. Domus illa Guisana non potest acquiescere sine aliquo magno malo. Verum ista vobis multo propiora sunt, quam nobis[32]. Danus et Suevus[33] cruentissime inter se conflixerunt, et adhuc dicuntur esse in armis. Uterque affectus est maximis incommodis; nec adhuc uter sit superior dici potest.

Libri vestri, tuus, reverende pater, in Danielem, et tuus, doctissime Ludovice, in Josuam, incolumes ad me delati sunt. Ego et Deo optimo maximo de vobis, et vobis de istis laboribus et studiis deque omni vestra humanitate, ago gratias. Misi hoc tempore ad Julium nostrum in annuum stipendium viginti coronatos, et alteros totidem ad vos duos; ut eos vel in cœnam publicam pro[34] more vestro, vel in quemvis alium usum pro vestro arbitrio, consumatis. Deus vos, ecclesiam, rempublicam, scholamque vestram conservet incolumes! Salutate D. Gualterum, D. Simlerum, D. Zuinglium, D. Gesnerum, D. Wickium, D. Hallerum, DD. Henricum et Rodolphum Bullingeros[35], meo nomine. Sarisberiæ, 8 Februar. 1566.

Vestri amans et studiosus in Domino,

Jo. JUELLUS, Anglus.

INSCRIPTIO.

Clarissimo viro D. Bullingero, pastori ecclesiæ Tigurinæ, domino suo colendissimo. *Tiguri*[36].

[TRANSLATION.]

Much health in Christ Jesus! I write to you, reverend father, and to you, most excellent Lewis, much less frequently than either I desire or you expect. How you will take this, I know not; yet I hope not unkindly; for the more I feel myself obliged by the kindness of you all, and have always valued your good opinion of me, the less would I desire to be accused by you of forgetfulness or neglect.

[21] Here Burnet's extract begins.]
[22] Strype omits *omnium.*]
[23] Scotiæ, Burn.]
[24] Domum, Strype.]
[25] Veterario, Strype.]
[26] Strype omits *semper.*]
[27] Magna, Burn.]
[28] Idolomanios, Strype.]
[29] Refertur, Burn.]
[30] Vero, Strype.]
[31] Divinitus non dubito, Burn.]
[32] Nos, Burn.]
[33] Suecus, Burn. and Strype.]
[34] *Pro* is not in Strype.]
[35] Bullingerum, Burn.]
[36] This inscription is not in Burn. or Strype.]

It may probably appear affected in me to ascribe my long silence to my own occupations: yet, did you know me and my engagements, there would be no need of any other excuse. For, in addition to my other incessant troubles, my own and other people's, domestic and public, civil and ecclesiastical (from which no one in my office can in these times be exempt), I am compelled, almost alone, to engage with enemies, I know not whether to call them foreign or domestic ones. They are indeed our own countrymen, but enemies in heart, dwelling in a hostile land. For our fugitives at Louvaine began during the last year to be in violent commotion, and to write with the greatest asperity against us all. Me particularly they have attacked by name. And why so? you will say. I know not, unless it be that they know me to be of all men the most adverse from strife, and the most unable to resist. Yet, six years since, when I preached at court before the queen's majesty, and was speaking about the antiquity of ours and the popish religion, I remember that I said this among other things, that our enemies, when they accuse our cause of novelty, both wrong us and deceive the people; for that they approve new things as if they were old, and condemn as new things of the greatest antiquity; that private masses, and mutilated communions, and natural and real presence, and transubstantiation, &c. (in which things the whole of their religion is contained), have no certain and express testimony either of holy scripture, or of ancient councils, or of fathers, or of anything that could be called antiquity.

At all this they were in great indignation: they began to bark in their holes and corners, and to call me an impudent, bold, insolent, and frantic boaster. Four years after, one Harding unexpectedly came forward; a man who, not very long since, was a hearer and admirer of Peter Martyr, and a most active preacher of the gospel, but is now a wretched apostate, and one whose character is well known to our friend Julius. This man would fain refute me out of the Amphilochiuses, Abdiases, Hippolytuses, Clements, Victors, supposititious Athanasiuses, Leontiuses, Cletuses, Anacletuses, the decretal epistles, dreams, and fables. I replied to him last year, as well as I could. But, gracious heaven, what a life is this! O that strife might perish from among gods and men! I had scarce finished my work, when there suddenly flies abroad a Confutation of my Apology; an immense and elaborate work, and filled with abuse, contumely, falsehoods and backbitings. Here I am again pelted at. What would you have? He must be answered. You thus perceive, reverend father, that we are far from idle, myself more especially, whose lot it is, I know not by what fatality, to be always battling with these monsters. May the Lord give me strength and courage, and beat down Satan under our feet! I have thought it right to acquaint you with these things, that, should my letters in future arrive less frequently than either you expect or I wish, you may ascribe it to anything rather than to forgetfulness or ingratitude.

Our country is now free from war, and quiet as to matters of religion. Those countrymen of ours at Louvaine disturb us as much as they can; but our people are faithful to their duty, and I hope will continue to be. The queen is in excellent health, and averse from marriage. The last winter so injured the rising corn, that there is now much distress throughout all England from a scarcity of wheat. This year, by the blessing of God, all kinds of grain have progressed very favourably.

I have not seen Parkhurst, bishop of Norwich, nor Sandys, bishop of Worcester, nor Pilkington, bishop of Durham, for the last three years; so completely are we dispersed. We are all, however, safe and well, and with a grateful recollection of you. The only one that has died is Richard Chambers, who departed piously in the Lord.

The contest respecting the linen surplice, about which I doubt not you have heard from either our friend Abel or Parkhurst, is not yet at rest. That matter still somewhat disturbs weak minds. I wish that all, even the slightest vestiges of popery, might be removed from our churches, and above all from our minds. But the queen at this time is unable to endure the least alteration in matters of religion.

The affairs of Scotland are not yet quite settled. Some of their leading nobility are exiles among us; others have remained at home, and are preparing for resistance in case of any attempted violence; and from time to time sally forth from their castles, and drive off and carry away what they can from the lands of the papists. The queen herself, though obstinately devoted to popery, hardly knows where to turn. For, with

regard to religion, she has a great part both of the nobility and people against her; and, as far as we can learn, the number is daily increasing. Within these few days king Philip privately sent thither a certain Italian abbot, with Spanish gold; a crafty man, and trained for intrigue. His business was to aid the king and queen with his subtle advice, and to throw everything into confusion. The new king, who had hitherto abstained from going to mass, and had of his own accord attended the sermons, for the sake of popularity, when he first heard of the ship being expected to arrive on the morrow, became on a sudden more confident, and, having taken courage, would no longer play the hypocrite. He went to church, and ordered mass to be said before him in usual form. At that very time the preacher Knox, in the same town, and in the next church, was declaiming with his accustomed boldness, before a crowded congregation, against the mad idolatries, and the whole pontifical dominion. In the mean time this ship of king Philip, tossed about by the winds and tempests, shattered and broken by the waves, with its mast sprung, its timbers stove in, the pilots lost, bereft of crew and cargo, is driven, a mere wreck, and filled with water, upon the coast of England. I doubt not but that this has happened by divine providence, to teach the infatuated king what a dangerous thing it is to hear mass.

There is a report of great disorders in France. That house of Guise can never rest without some great mischief. But these things are much nearer you than ourselves.

The Dane and Swede have had some bloody battles with each other, and are reported to be still in arms. Each of them has sustained much loss, nor can it be yet determined which is superior.

Your books, yours, my reverend father, on Daniel, and yours, most learned Lewis, on Joshua, have reached me in safety. I thank both our gracious and almighty God for you, and you for these labours and studies, and for all your kindness. I have sent herewith twenty crowns to our friend Julius for his yearly stipend, and the same sum to you two, that you may expend them, as usual, either upon a public entertainment, or for any other purpose you may prefer. May God preserve in safety yourselves, the church, your state, and school! Salute in my name masters Gualter, Simler, Zuinglius, Gesner, Wickius, Haller, Henry and Rodolph Bullinger. Salisbury, Feb. 8, 1566.

Your attached and devoted in the Lord,

JOHN JEWEL, *Anglus.*

XLIII. JOHANNES JUELLUS AD HENRICUM BULLINGERUM.

(Zur. Coll. and Strype, Annals, Vol. I. No. 37.)

S. Pl. in Christo. Etsi proximis istis[1] diebus ad te prolixe scripserim, reverendissime pater, tamen cum occurrerent quædam, in quibus magnopere mihi opus esset[2] judicio tuo, non alienum me facturum arbitrabar, si iterum scriberem. Sunt autem res ejusmodi, quas non dubitem te, pro tua multiplici rerum omnium cognitione, facile posse expedire.

Primum, scire velim, ecquid Christiani illi qui hodie sparsim habitant in Græcia, Asia, Syria, Armenia, etc., utantur privatis istis missis, quæ nunc receptæ ubique sunt[3] in papismo; quoque genere missarum, privatone an publico, Græci hodie Venetiis uti soleant[4]?

Deinde, cum citetur interdum quidam Camotensis, qui in paparum vitam et insolentiam scripserit acerbius; quis ille Camotensis, et cujus ordinis, et quorum temporum hominumque fuerit[5]?

[1 His, Strype.]

[2 Est, Strype.]

[3 Sunt ubique, Strype.]

[4 Jewel, it would seem, put these questions in respect to the Defence of the Apology, which he was now preparing. On this point he was unable to obtain information. See before, page 887.]

[5 Jewel had after Agrippa cited Camotensis for Carnotensis. He was perhaps confirmed in his error by Illyricus Flacius, who treated Johannes Sarisburiensis (the true Carnotensis) and Camotensis as different persons. See Catalog. Test. Genev. 1608. cols. 1433, 1857.]

Postremo, quid tibi videatur de concilio Germanico, quod aiunt olim celebratum sub Carolo Magno contra concilium Nicenum secundum de imaginibus? Sunt enim qui confidenter negent unquam hujusmodi concilium ullum exstitisse[1].

Peto a te per pietatem tuam, ne me insolenter putes facere, qui ista ex te quæram, tam procul præsertim. Tu enim solus jam[2] superes unicum prope oraculum ecclesiarum. Si ad proximas nundinas rescripseris, satis erit. Id autem ut facias magnopere a te peto. Iterum iterumque vale, reverendissime pater, et domine[3] in Christo colendissime. Sarisberiæ, 10 Martii, 1566.

Tuus in Christo,

JOHANNES JUELLUS, Anglus.

INSCRIPTIO.

Clarissimo viro, D. Bullingero, pastori ecclesiæ Tigurinæ, domino suo colendissimo[4].

[TRANSLATION.]

Much health in Christ! Although I have written to you, my reverend father, at great length within these few days, yet, having met with some things in which I have great need of your judgment, I thought it would not be out of place for me to write again. The things are of such a nature, that I doubt not but that from your multifarious learning you will easily be able to afford me the information I require.

I wish to know, whether those Christians who are at the present time scattered throughout Greece, Asia, Syria, Armenia, &c. use private masses, such as are everywhere customary among the papists; and what kind of masses, private or public, are now in use among the Greeks at Venice? Again, a certain Camotensis is sometimes quoted, as having written with asperity against the life and insolence of the popes. Who was this Camotensis, of what order, and in what time and country did he live?

Lastly, what is your opinion respecting that German council, which is said to have been formerly held under Charlemagne against the second Nicene council concerning images? For there are some persons who confidently deny such council ever to have existed. I ask it of your kindness not to think me impertinent in making these inquiries of you, especially at so great a distance; for you are almost the only remaining oracle of the churches. If you will write me an answer by the next fair, it will be sufficient.

Again and again farewell, my reverend father, and much-esteemed master in Christ. Salisbury, March 10, 1566.

Yours in Christ,

JOHN JEWEL, *Anglus.*

XLIV. JOHANNES JUELLUS AD HENRICUM BULLINGERUM.

(Zur. Coll. and Burnet, Vol. III. Book VI. No. 84.)

S. P. in Christo. Proximæ literæ meæ, ornatissime vir, cum Londinum tardiuscule venissent, et Francofordiam ad nundinas proficisci non possent, re infecta, domum ad me reversæ sunt: quod nonnihil vereor ne nunc quoque in istas accidat.

De prolixis et pereruditis illis tuis ad me literis proximis, prolixe tibi ago gratias. Nunc mihi de synodo illa Francofordiensi, ut de re obscura et controversa, egregie satisfactum esse et fateor et gaudeo. Res nostræ ecclesiasticæ, publicæ[5] privatæque, eo loco nunc sunt, quo fuerunt. Lovanienses nostri clamant et turbant, quantum possunt, et habent fautores, etsi non ita multos, plures

[1] See before, pages 1049, 51, &c.]
[2] Jam solus, Strype.]
[3] Reverende pater domine, Strype.]
[4] This inscription is not in Strype.]
[5] Politicæ, Oxf.]

tamen multo quam velim. Et quamvis complures sint, et in universum in omnes scribant, tamen, nescio quo meo fato, omnes in me feruntur unum. Itaque, dum illis respondeo, ne me esse otiosum putes.

Habuimus proximis istis mensibus comitia totius regni: illis ego per[6] valetudinem interesse non potui. Scriptæ sunt leges de religione, quibus papistarum obstinata malitia atque insolentia in officio contineatur[7]. Actum etiam est de successione; hoc est, cui familiæ jus regni debeatur, si quid Elizabethæ reginæ humanitus acciderit, quod nolimus. Ea contentio mensem unum atque alterum omnium animos occupavit; cum regina ea de re agi nollet, reliqui omnes vehementer cuperent, et utrinque magnis viribus et studiis pugnaretur. Quid quæris? Effici postremo nihil potuit: regina enim, ut est femina imprimis prudens et provida, hærede semel designato, suspicatur aliquid sibi creari posse periculi. Nosti enim illud, Plures orientem solem adorant quam occidentem.

De religione, causa illa vestiaria magnos hoc tempore motus concitavit. Reginæ certum est nolle flecti: fratres autem nostri quidam[8] ita ea de re pugnant, ac si in ea una omnis nostra religio versaretur. Itaque functiones abjicere et ecclesias inanes relinquere malunt, quam tantillum de sententia decedere; neque aut tuis aut D. Gualteri doctissimis scriptis, aut aliorum piorum virorum monitis, moveri volunt. Agimus tamen Deo gratias, qui non patitur nos inter nos hoc tempore gravioribus quæstionibus exerceri. Unus tamen[9] quispiam e nostro numero, episcopus Glocestrensis[10], in comitiis aperte et fidenter[11] dixit, probari sibi Lutheri sententiam de eucharistia: sed ea seges non erit, spero, diuturna.

In Hibernia nonnihil hoc tempore tumultuatur. Insula ea, uti scis, paret nostris regibus. Johannes quidam Onelus[12], spurius, conscripsit nuper militem, et nostros insolenter provocavit. Sed plus in ea re moræ est, quam periculi: is enim longe abdit sese in paludes et solitudines; quo noster miles consequi facile non possit.

E Scotia vero (quid ego dicam? aut tu quid credas?) horrenda atque atrocia nuntiantur. Ea, quamvis ejusmodi sint ut credi[13] vix possint, et ex[14] aula usque ad me scribuntur, et passim jactantur, et creduntur ab omnibus. Regem juvenem aiunt proximis hisce admodum diebus, una[15] cum uno famulo, quem habuit a cubiculis, interfectum esse domi suæ, et exportatum foras, et relictum sub dio. Crede mihi, horret animus ista commemorare. Si ista vera sint, (ne sint! tamen si sint,) quid causæ fuerit, aut quibus ille insidiis petitus sit, faciam te posthac, ubi omnia rescivero, de rebus omnibus certiorem. In præsentia nec ea, quæ ita constanter jactarentur, reticere potui, nec ea, quæ comperta non haberem, nimium fidenter affirmare.

Julium nostrum audio Tiguri esse mortuum: mitto tamen ad illum viginti coronatos Gallicos, si vivit, ut illi cedant; sin autem, quod nolim, est mortuus, ut in epulum scholasticum insumantur. Si esset otium, scriberem ad D. Lavaterum, ad D. Simlerum, ad D. Wolphium, ad D. Hallerum, et alios; imprimis vero ad D. Gualterum; ad quem hactenus, homo ingratus, nunquam scripsi. Quæso ut hosce omnes, atque etiam in primis D. Rodolphum et D. Henricum tuos, meo nomine plurimum valere jubeas.

Vale, mi pater, et domine in Christo colendissime. Sarisberiæ in Anglia. Feb. 24, 1567.

Tuus in Christo,

JOHANNES JUELLUS, Anglus.

INSCRIPTIO.

D. Henrico Bullingero, ministro ecclesiæ Tigurinæ fidelissimo, viro longe doctissimo, et domino suo colendissimo.

Tiguri.

[6 Propter, Burn.]
[7 Continentur, Burn.]
[8 Quidam nostri, Burn.]
[9 Tantum, Burn. and Oxf.]
[10 Cheney, bishop of Gloucester and Bristol. See Strype, Annals, Vol. I. chap. lii.]
[11 Confidenter, Oxf.]
[12 Onclos, Burn.]
[13 Credo, Burn.]
[14 Possint tamen ex, Burn.; possint tamen et ex, Oxf.]
[15 Oxf. omits *una.*]

[TRANSLATION.]

Much health in Christ! As my last letter, most accomplished sir, arrived in London rather too late, so that it could not be forwarded in time for the fair at Frankfort, it returned to me without the accomplishment of its object; and I am rather afraid of the same thing happening to the one now before me.

For your late long and very learned letter to me I return you many thanks, and most gladly acknowledge myself to be completely satisfied respecting that synod at Frankfort, as a matter of doubt and controversy. Our ecclesiastical affairs, public and private, are in the same state as heretofore. Our Louvaine friends are making as much noise and disturbance as they can; and they have some auxiliaries, who, though not very numerous, are yet much more so than I could wish. And, though they are many, and write against every one in general, yet, I know not by what fatality, they are all aiming specially at me; so that, while I am replying to them, you must not think me idle.

We have assembled within these few months the parliament of the whole kingdom, at which, however, owing to ill health, I have been unable to be present. Laws have been enacted concerning religion, by which the obstinate malice and insolence of the papists may be kept within due bounds. The question respecting the succession was likewise brought forward; that is, to what family belongs the right of sovereignty, in case anything, which we should much regret, should happen to queen Elizabeth. This question occupied the minds of all parties for a month or two: for the queen was unwilling that any discussion should take place upon the subject; while every one else was exceedingly anxious about it; and the contest was carried on with great earnestness and zeal on both sides. What next? after all, nothing could be done; for the queen, who is a wise and cautious woman, suspects that, when her successor is once determined upon, there may hence arise some danger to herself. For you know the saying, that there are more worshippers of the rising than of the setting sun.

As to religion, the affair of the habits has at this time occasioned much disturbance. For the queen is resolved not to be turned from her opinion; and some of our brethren are contending about this matter, as if the whole of our religion were contained in this single point; so that they choose rather to lay down their functions, and leave their churches empty, than to depart one tittle from their own views of the subject: neither will they be persuaded either by the very learned writings of yourself and Gualter, or by the counsels of other pious men. However, we thank God that he does not suffer us at this time to be disquieted among ourselves by questions of more importance. One alone of our number, the bishop of Gloucester, has openly and boldly declared in parliament his approval of Luther's opinion respecting the eucharist; but this crop will not, I hope, be of long continuance.

There is some little disturbance now in Ireland. That island, as you know, is subject to our monarchs. One John O'Neale, a bastard, has lately been levying troops, and insolently defying our soldiery. But this is a matter of more tediousness than danger; for he conceals himself afar off in the bogs and wastes, where our forces cannot easily overtake him.

From Scotland, however, (what shall I tell you, or what will you believe?) horrible and atrocious reports are announced. And, though they are of such a nature as that I can hardly believe them possible, yet they are written to me from court, and are every where noised about, and believed by all. The young king, they say, has within the last few days, together with an attendant, one of his chamberlains, been murdered in his house, and carried out of doors, and left in the open air. Believe me, my mind shudders to relate such things, whether they be true or not; but, if they should be true, I will hereafter give you entire information as to the motives, or to what treachery he has fallen a victim, as soon as I become acquainted with all the circumstances of the case. At present neither can I be wholly silent upon a subject which is so universally spoken of, nor can I affirm too confidently what I do not yet know to be the fact.

I hear that my friend Julius is dead at Zurich. I send him, however, twenty French crowns, for his own use, if he is still living; but if, which I hope is not the

case, he is dead, let them be expended upon a scholastic entertainment. Had I leisure, I would write to masters Lavater, Simler, Wolfius, Haller, and others; and especially to Gualter, to whom, ungrateful that I am, I have never yet written. Salute all of them, I pray you, affectionately in my name, and especially your [sons] Rodolph and Henry.

Farewell, my father, and most-esteemed master in Christ. Salisbury in England, Feb. 24, 1567.

Yours in Christ,

JOHN JEWEL, *Anglus.*

XLV. BISHOP JEWEL TO SIR WILLIAM CECIL.

(From the Original MS. in the State Paper Office.)

Right Honourable, Having now well-near past the printing of mine answer to master Harding[1], I think it high time to consider of the dedication of the same. My lord of Canterbury's grace and some others my friends here have advised me, for certain good causes, to recommend it by writing unto her majesty, and specially for that M. Harding hath already adventured, in an evil cause, to do the like.

I beseech your honour, for that you best know the inclination of her majesty's mind, to aid me herein with your good counsel. It standeth not only me, but also the cause upon, that such attempts may have favourable acceptation. It may please your honour to advertise me of your advice herein by my printer, the bearer hereof, whom I have specially sent, and willed to attend upon your honour's leisure to that purpose. And, if it shall please you also further to advertise me what matter or matters it were most expedient to touch in my preface to her majesty, I shall reckon it as a double pleasure. Thus being always bold to trouble your honour, and wishing unto you the continual assistance of God's Holy Spirit, I bid you most heartily well to fare. From London, 27 Septemb. 1567.

Your honour's own,

JO. SARUM.

To the right honourable sir William Cecil, knight, principal secretary to the queen's majesty.

XLVI. BISHOP JEWEL TO ARCHBISHOP PARKER[2].

(From the Original MS. Cambridge University Library.)

My duty most humbly premised, with like thanks for your grace's great gentleness at my late being there, it may please your grace to understand, that according to my promise I have ransacked our poor library of Sarisbury, and have found nothing worthy the finding, saving only one book written in the Saxon tongue, which I mind to send to your grace by the next convenient messenger. The book is of a reasonable bigness, well-near as thick as the communion-book. Your grace hath three or four of the same size. It may be Alfricus for all my cunning: but your grace will soon find what he is. Other certain books there are of Rabanus and Anselmus, but as common, so also little worth. If I had any leisure, I would send your grace the titles of all. But as now I am entering into

[1 The Defence of the Apology.]

[2 This letter and the following are inserted at the end of a Saxon MS. viz. Pastoral. Gregorii ex versione Aluredi Reg. Saxon. It was probably the same that bishop Jewel sent to the archbishop.

It is doubtful to what year these two letters should be assigned. As we learn (see Strype, Parker, Book III. chap. xix.) that Parker had authority from the privy council, July 7, 1568, to search for and inspect ancient records, it seems probable that his application to Jewel was subsequent to that date. In this case the dates, Jan. 18 and 31, must be understood to be O. S.; and so the two letters should come after LII.]

the visitation of my diocese; by the way if I may learn of any antiquities, I will do your grace to understand. Thus I humbly take my leave. From Sarum, 18 Januar. 1568.

Your grace's most humble,

Jo. Sarum.

XLVII. BISHOP JEWEL TO ARCHBISHOP PARKER.

(From the Original MS. Cambridge University Library.)

After my most humble commendations, being now newly returned from the visitation of my diocese, and having this convenient messenger, I thought it my duty to perform my promise; and therefore have sent your grace that hidden treasure, that we had in our library. Whether it be Alfricus or no, or what matter it containeth, your grace will soon judge. I have made inquiry for such antiquities, as I have passed through my clergy in this visitation, but as yet I can find nothing. If there be any thing found, I shall have understanding of it. I will not forget to write to M. Bullinger. And, if your grace shall otherwise command me to ought else, I am always ready. Thus I humbly take my leave. From Sarum, 31 Januar. 1568.

Your grace's most humble,

Jo. Sarum.

XLVIII. BISHOP JEWEL TO ARCHBISHOP PARKER.

(From the Original MS. in C. C. C. C.)

My duty most humbly remembered. Whereas I wrote of late unto your grace touching this bearer M. Lancaster, now elect of Armagh[1], that it might please your grace to stay him from further ordering of ministers; it may now like the same to understand that I have sithence communed with the said M. Lancaster concerning the same, and find by his own confession that he hath already ordered divers, although not so many as it was reported; howbeit among the same he hath admitted and ordered one whom by the space of these eight years I for many good and just causes me moving evermore have refused. Your grace may further advertise him hereof, as unto your wisdom shall seem good. Certainly in such cases his discretion is very small.

Further, I am done to understand that Rainold Woulfe is minded to print again the Latin Apology. I most humbly beseech your grace to stay him therefro, until the said book may be better perused either by your grace, or by some other. For in the first edition the author was many ways put to wrong: whereof these printers have small regard, as tendering only their private gain. Thus I humbly take my leave. From Sarisbury, 26 April, 1568.

Your grace's most humble,

Jo. Sarum.

XLIX. BISHOP JEWEL TO ARCHBISHOP PARKER.

(From the Original MS. in C. C. C. C.)

My duty most humbly premised. It may please your grace to understand that, according to my late promise, I have sent iii*l.* vi*s.* viii*d.* to the use of the poor exiles in London, or elsewhere, to be delivered to my lord of London, or wheresoever your grace or he shall appoint. All things here are in good order and quiet. One or two of my clergy have lately grown squeamish touching the

[1 Thomas Lancaster had been treasurer of Sarum, and was consecrated archbishop of Armagh, June 13, 1568. He was allowed, for the poverty of his see, to hold his English preferments *in commendam.*]

apparel; but the one of them I have reformed, to the other I have given a copy with licence to go further. I beseech your grace to give strait order that the Latin Apology be not printed again in any case, before either your grace or some other have well perused it. I am afraid of printers: their tyranny is terrible. Thus I humbly take my leave, and wish unto your grace the continual assistance of God's Holy Spirit. From my poor house in Sarisbury, 3 May, 1568.

Your grace's most humble,

Jo. Sarum.

L. BISHOP JEWEL TO SIR WILLIAM CECIL.

(From the Original MS. in the State Paper Office.)

Right honourable, Having taken a short view of these Greek books, I find that many of them are of human matters, some vain and fabulous, and some unperfite, and yet all meet for some causes to be preserved. But, if they should be divided among the bishops, whereunto of late I found your honour somewhat inclined, upon their departures and dissolution of their libraries they would soon be lost. Therefore, if you shall think it good to have the said books kept within the realm, in my judgment it shall be best they be bought into certain of the colleges of Oxford or Cambridge, where as they may be safely kept for ever: which thing, I doubt not, upon small signification of your pleasure to certain the masters there, will soon be done. Thus wishing unto you health of body and mind, with the continual direction of God's Holy Spirit, I take my leave. From St Lawrence lane in London, 4 Decemb. 1568.

Your honour's own,

Jo. Sarum.

These inclosed were sent unto me from Mr Bradbridge, the dean of Sarisbury[2].

To the right honourable sir William Cecil, knight, principal secretary to the queen's majesty, deliver these.

LI. BISHOP JEWEL TO SIR WILLIAM CECIL.

(From the Original MS. in the State Paper Office.)

Right honourable, This poor man the bearer hereof is very desirous to understand your pleasure and to be dispatched, and to that end hath desired me to move your honour in his behalf. In my judgment there is no better way to preserve the books than to cause them to be bought by certain of the colleges of Oxford or Cambridge, and to be laid up safely in their libraries; which thing, your pleasure once known, is very easy to be done. Notwithstanding, the further consideration hereof I leave to your wisdom; and, desiring all convenient favour and expedition in this poor man's behalf, I heartily wish you well to fare. From London, 7 Decemb. 1568.

Your honour's own,

Jo. Sarum.

To the right honourable sir William Cecil, knight, principal secretary to the queen's majesty. At the court.

[2 There is no inclosure.]

LII. BISHOP JEWEL TO SIR WILLIAM CECIL.

(From the Original MS. in the State Paper Office.)

Right honourable, After my hearty commendations, I have taken such order with these poor Greeks for their books as I think they are indifferently well contented. Further it may please your honour to understand that one of the said Greeks, the bearer hereof, named Nicolas de la Turre, offereth his humble service unto the queen's majesty, and hath besought my letters unto your honour in the furtherance of his poor suit. If it shall please her highness to send him as her man into France, and to commend him to my lord ambassador there, he will gladly copy out any such Greek antiquities there as you shall command him; wherein I believe he will well deserve his hire: the matter is not great: a small entertainment will content him. Therefore I am the bolder to desire your favour in his behalf. Thus I humbly take my leave. From London, 12 Dec. 1568.

Your honour's own,

JO. SARUM.

To the right honourable sir William Cecil, knight, principal secretary to the queen's majesty. At the court.

LIII. BISHOP JEWEL TO DR WILSON[1].

(Wilson's Discourse upon Usurie, Lond. 1584.)

I have perused your learned and godly travail touching the matter of usury, M. D. Wilson, and have no doubt but, if it may please you to make it common, very much good may grow of it. Such variety of matter, such weight of reasons, such examples of antiquity, such authority of doctors both Greeks and Latins, such allegation of laws, not only civil and canon, but also provincial and temporal, such variety of cases so learnedly and so clearly answered, such learning, such eloquence, and so evident witness of God's holy will, can never possible pass in vain. I will not flatter you, I cannot; it becometh me not. I assure you I like all notably well, *si quid mei est judicii*, and if my liking be worth the liking. But of all other things this liketh me best. Of the three parties you make each one to speak naturally like himself, as if you had been in each of them or they in you. What it shall work in other, I cannot tell; for mine own part, if I were an usurer never so greedily bent to spoil and ravine, *ut sunt fœneratores*, yet would I think myself most unhappy, if such persuasions could not move me. For what man would not be afraid to live desperately in that state of life that he seeth manifestly condemned by heathens, by Christians, by the old fathers, by the ancient councils, by emperors, by bishops, by decrees, by canons, by all sects of all regions and of all religions, by the gospel of Christ, by the mouth of God? *Ago breviter, ut vides; non enim id mihi sumo ut damnem large hoc tam horrendum peccatum: id tibi relinquo.*

Ut vivat liber, usura pereat.

From Salisbury, this 20 of August, 1569.

[1 This letter is printed by Wilson with the following notice prefixed: "A letter found in the study of the right reverend father in God, and most godly pastor of Christ's flock, John late bishop of Salisbury, within certain months after his forsaking this earthly dwelling; which letter was sent to the author of this treatise by John Garbrand, master of art in Oxford, and prebendary of Salisbury, who had by legacy given unto him by the foresaid godly father all his papers, writings, and notes of all his travails in God's vineyard, and other devices of learning whatsoever."]

LIV. JOHANNES JUELLUS AD HENRICUM BULLINGERUM.

(Zur. Coll.)

S. Pl. in Christo. Pergratæ visæ mihi sunt literæ tuæ, mi pater et domine in Christo colendissime, vel quod a te essent, cui ego uni omnia tribuo, vel quod submorosæ et querulæ viderentur, et officium meum requirerent. Equidem agnosco culpam et peto veniam. Sic enim agere satius est, quam summo jure experiri. Tametsi non dubitem esse quo me defendam, quamvis apud severissimum judicem ageretur. Primum enim procul absum Londino: deinde Jo. Abelus, communis rerum nostrarum procurator, excessit e vita: postremo turbæ istæ Belgicæ aliquot jam annos ita impediunt itinera, ut neque nostri mercatores Antverpiam commeare possint, neque Antverpiani ad nos. Literæ autem nostræ sæpe in itinere relinquuntur, sæpe auferuntur alio, sæpe redeunt, sæpe pereunt. Et quid in has ipsas quas nunc scribo casurum sit, Deus viderit. Hæc certe causa facit, ut et infrequentius quam velim et parcius et cautius ad te scribam.

Quicquid est, gaudeo res vestras eo esse loco, quo scribis. Deus vobis[2] mittat auxilium de sancto, et vos de Sione tueatur! Vobis enim inhiant hostes hoc tempore, nec minus feroces nec minus multi quam nobis. Videtur enim jam antichristus prorsus omnem jecisse aleam, et orbem terrarum seditionibus, tumultibus, bellis, furoribus, ignibus, incendiis miscuisse. Videt jam conclamatum esse, et sibi suisque exitium atque interitum imminere: itaque id nunc agit miser, ut ne ignobiliter aut obscure pereat. Pereat ergo sane memoria eorum cum sonitu.

Quod vulgo apud vos obscuris rumoribus ferebatur de mutatione status nostri, nihil erat. Nam et regina nostra Dei Opt. Max. beneficio imperium tenet; et religio eo loco est, quo fuit, quoque volumus. Pontificii tamen nostri, suasore atque impulsore papa Pio, omnia sibi sumere[3] proposuerant. Sed benedictus sit Deus noster, Pater Domini nostri Jesu Christi, quod dum quærunt alios perdere ipsi pereunt! Duo quidem comites nostrates, et juvenes, et fatui, et obærati, et perditi, quibus alea magis quam religio curæ esset, sub extremum autumnum in ultimis Angliæ finibus aliquot millia rusticorum conscripserunt. Ea freti multitudine, edicta etiam ausi sunt publicare homines levissimi, velle se nescio quos (neque enim quenquam nominabant) e[4] sacro reginæ senatu submovere, et avitam religionem restituere. Quid quæris? Non mora. Excitantur in castris altaria: comburuntur sacra biblia: dicuntur missæ[5]. Post aliquot hebdomadas mittitur in illos comes Sussexius, vir bonus et strenuus et magni consilii, cum exigua manu. Illi se paulatim recipere et retro cedere. Sussexius insequi prudenter atque acriter, et urgere cedentes. Ad extremum miseri, cum hostes infestis signis sibi viderent imminere, homines imperiti rerum, qui hostem nunquam prius viderant, non ausi experiri fortunam belli, perculsi conscientia sceleris, amentes et cæci, destituunt exercitum sine duce, et relictis castris clam noctu cum paucis profugiunt in Scotiam. Habes historiam nostrarum rerum, quarum vel meminisse non possum sine rubore: pudet enim fuisse unquam in Anglia nostra vel tam ignavos vel tam fatuos. Regina nostra per suum oratorem[6] repetit e Scotia perduelles. Sunt hoc tempore in Scotia factiones duæ. Alii enim puram religionem et evangelium colunt, et pendent a nobis; alii abhorrent a pietate, et papismo potius student, et inclinant ad Gallum. Horum princeps est dux Hameltonius, vir, uti aiunt, nomine magis multo pollens quam consilio. Cogitur senatus; cœptum est deliberari: nostri reddendos censent; Hameltonii negant. Vincunt postremo Hameltonii. Nostri impatientes injuriæ armant militem, et in mediam usque progressi Scotiam, nemine repugnante, arces oppidaque ducis Hameltonii hostili more populantur. Nostri vero illi, quos dixi, egregii bellatores, cum se in Scotia tenere amplius non possent, profugerunt in Flandriam. Ibi nunc hærent apud ducem Albanum, et tumultuantur quantum possunt.

Omnes istas turbas nobis dedit sanctissimus pater. Is enim pro sua sanctitate

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[2] Nobis, Oxf.]

[3] Oxf. does not give this word in full: it is imperfect in MS.]

[4] Oxf. omits *e*.]

[5] The rebellion in the north. See before, page 1146.]

[6] Actorem, Oxf.]

et sapientia submiserat in Angliam ad suos bullam (aureamne dicam an plumbeam?) magni ponderis. Ea menses aliquot inter paucos obscure ferebatur. Significabat videlicet bonus pater, Elizabetham reginam Angliæ non esse; sibi enim illius instituta non placere; itaque mandare se, ne quis illam agnoscat principem, neve illi obtemperet imperanti; qui secus fecerit, illum se omnibus diris devovere atque exitio dedere. O sanctam sedem! Sic, scilicet, Petrus olim factitabat. Erant alioqui quibus ista sacrosancta videbantur: ceteri non ita flexibiles erant ad omnes nutus pontificios, nec ita didicerant evangelium. Mitto ad te exemplar illius putidissimæ atque inanissimæ bullæ, ut intelligas, quam illa bestia solenniter hoc tempore atque impudenter insaniat. Proximis istis diebus novæ turbæ cœptæ sunt in Norfolchia. Sed auctores statim primo quoque tempore capti sunt et conjecti in carceres.

Regina Scotiæ et patria[1] profuga asservatur, uti scis, apud nos; satis illa quidem honorifice, sed ita tamen, ut turbas ciere non possit. Hæc ea est cui papa Pius non tantum Scotiam, sed etiam Angliam despondet: sperat enim feminam catholicam, mariti carnificem, atque adulteram, ad restituendum papismum magnum pondus allaturam. Nos armamus classem, et militem habemus in procinctu. Ecclesia nostra ceteroqui, Dei beneficio, tranquilla est. D. Grindallus factus est archiepiscopus Eboracensis. D. Sandus, qui ante fuerat Vigorniensis, nunc factus est episcopus Londinensis. Parkhurstus Norvicensis vivit et valet. Illum ego sexennium jam totum nunquam vidi. Deus te quam diutissime conservet incolumem ad usum evangelii atque ecclesiæ suæ!

Saluta meo nomine D. Gualterum, D. Simlerum, D. Lavaterum, D. Zuinglium, D. Vickium, D. Hallerum, et Bullingeros tuos, quos ego amo in Domino. Ex itinere: nunc enim obeo provinciam meam. 7 Augusti, 1570.

Tuus in Christo,

Jo. Juellus,
Episcopus Sarisburiensis.

INSCRIPTIO.

Doctissimo clarissimoque viro, D. Henrico Bullingero, pastori ecclesiæ Tigurinæ dignissimo, tradantur hæ. Tiguri.

[TRANSLATION.]

Much health in Christ! Your letter, my much-esteemed father and master in Christ, was most gratifying to me, both as coming from you to whom alone I owe every thing, and also as seeming somewhat angry and complaining, and claiming from me the performance of my duty [of writing]. I confess my fault, and beg for pardon; for it is much better to do this, than to stand upon one's defence, though I doubt not of my being able to defend myself, even before the most severe judge. For in the first place, I am at a great distance from London: in the next place, John Abel, the mutual agent of our correspondence, has departed this life: lastly, the disorders in the Low Countries have for some years thrown so many obstacles in the way of travelling, that neither our merchants can pass over to Antwerp, nor the Antwerp merchants to us. And then, our letters are often left on the road, often carried to other places, often come back, and are often lost. And what is to become of the one I am now writing, it is impossible to tell. This reason certainly makes me write to you both less frequently, and more sparingly and cautiously, than I could wish.

I rejoice, however, that your affairs are in the condition you mention. May God send you help from his holy place, and aid you out of Sion! For there are enemies gaping upon you at this time, not less numerous or ferocious than upon ourselves. For antichrist seems now to have ventured his last cast, and to have thrown the world into confusion by seditions, tumults, wars, fury, fire, and flame. He perceives that it is now all over with him, and that destruction and death are impending over him and his party:

[1] E patria, Oxf.]

so that his wretched object now is, not to perish ignobly or obscurely. Let the remembrance of them perish then with a noise.

That vague rumour which was generally reported among you, respecting a change in our circumstances, was altogether unfounded. For both our queen, by the blessing of our good and gracious God, still holds the government; and religion is in the same state as heretofore, and as we wish it to be. Our papists, however, by the persuasion and influence of pope Pius, have endeavoured to regain their power. But blessed be our God, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, that, while they seek to destroy others, they perish themselves. Two of our nobility indeed, young and foolish and dissolute, who cared more for dice than for religion, raised, towards the end of last autumn, some thousands of peasantry in the remotest parts of England; and, relying on their numbers, these silly men were bold enough to publish a proclamation, to the effect that they intended to remove some persons, I know not whom (for they mentioned no names), from the sacred council of the queen, and to restore the old religion. What more? Without delay altars are erected in their camp: the holy bibles are committed to the flames; and masses are performed. After some weeks the earl of Sussex, a good and active man, and of great discretion, was sent against them at the head of a handful of troops. They began gradually to disperse and retreat, while Sussex was skilfully and resolutely pursuing them, and pressing upon their rear. At last the wretches, when they perceived the enemy hanging over them, being utterly unskilled in action, and men who had never seen an enemy before, were afraid of trying the fortune of war; and, struck with the consciousness of their crime, mad and blind, they leave the army without a leader, and quitting the camp secretly by night, with only a few adherents, take refuge in Scotland. Here then you have the history of our affairs, which I cannot even call to mind without a blush; for I am ashamed that men of such ignorance and folly should have been found in England. Our queen demands through her ambassador the rebels from Scotland, where there are at this time two parties; one of which cherish the pure religion and the gospel, and adhere to us; the other are enemies to godliness, and friendly to popery, and are inclined towards the French. The leader of these is the duke of Hamilton, a man, they say, much more influential in name than in counsel. The states are assembled, the deliberation is begun: our party are of opinion that the rebels should be given up; the Hamilton party maintain the contrary, and at length are successful. Our people, impatient of the offence, arm troops and march into the very midst of Scotland without any opposition, and lay waste in a hostile manner the castles and towns belonging to the duke of Hamilton. But those notable enemies of ours above mentioned, when they could no longer keep themselves in Scotland; fled over into Flanders, where they are now remaining with the duke of Alva, and are making all the disturbance in their power.

The most holy father has occasioned us all these disorders. For in his holiness and wisdom he secretly sent to his friends in England a bull (shall I call it a golden or a leaden one?) of great importance. It was for some months carried about in obscurity and confined to a few. The good father declared that Elizabeth was not queen of England, for that her institutions did not please him; and he therefore ordered that none should acknowledge her as queen, or obey her in that character. Whosoever should act otherwise, he devoted to all the furies, and delivered to destruction. O holy see! Thus it was, forsooth, that Peter used to act of old! There were some, however, to whom these proceedings seemed holy; others were not so flexible to every nod of the pope, and had not so learned the gospel. I send you a copy of this most offensive and empty bull, that you may understand how the beast is now raging with his accustomed impudence. Within these few days new disorders have arisen in Norfolk: but their authors were forthwith apprehended at the very outset, and thrown into prison.

The queen of Scots, an exile from her country, is, as you know, here in custody; with sufficient honour indeed, yet so that she cannot raise any disturbances. This is she to whom pope Pius not only freely promises Scotland, but England likewise; for he hopes that a woman, a catholic, a murderer of her husband, and an adulteress, will have great influence in the restoration of popery! We are preparing a fleet, and have troops in readiness. Our church in other respects, by the blessing of God, is quiet. Dr Grindal is made archbishop of York; and Dr Sandys, who was heretofore bishop of Worcester, is

now translated to London. Parkhurst, of Norwich, is alive and well; but I have not seen him these six years. May God preserve you very long for the advancement of his gospel and of his church!

Salute in my name masters Gualter, Simler, Lavater, Zuinglius, Wickius, Haller, and your Bullingers, whom I love in the Lord. On my journey: for I am now visiting my diocese. Aug. 7, 1570.

Yours in Christ,

Jo. Jewel,
Bishop of Salisbury.

LV. JOHANNES JUELLUS AD HENRICUM BULLINGERUM.

(Zur. Coll.)

S. Pl. in Christo. Scripsi ad te, ornatissime vir et pater in Christo colendissime, sub initium Septembris satis prolixe de omni statu nostrarum rerum. De illis literis quid factum sit, adhuc nescio[1]. Fit enim sæpe turbulentis istis temporibus, ut literæ aut concidantur innocentes, aut extinguantur in itinere. Si eas intellexero ad te incolumes pervenisse, ero alacrior ad scribendum.

Ecclesiæ nostræ hoc tempore Dei Opt. Max. beneficio tranquillæ sunt. Sanctissimus conatus est, quantum potuit, omnibus modis miscere omnia. Summiserat ad nos inanissimas bullas, quibus et Elizabethæ reginæ gubernacula reipublicæ et Christo regnum suum abjudicaret. Illarum ego ad te superioribus nundinis exemplar misi, ut intelligeres, quam ille senex et fatuus solenniter insaniat. Omnia illius consiliorum mysteria ita ab illis, qui regni nostri clavum tenent, prudenter patefacta et dextre appositeque refutata sunt, ut nunc a pueris rideantur. Perduelles illi miseri et fatui, qui jam ante menses octodecim cœperant in agro Dunelmensi tumultuari, nunc exulant in Flandria eversi rebus omnibus. Lovanienses nostri unum jam atque alterum annum nihil scribunt. Regina Scotiæ asservatur, uti scis, apud nos liberali custodia, honorifice et apparatu prope regio: tamen asservatur. Id illa impatienter et indigne fert, et sibi injuriam fieri clamitat: nosti enim spiritus atque animos Guisianos. Aiunt fratrem regis Galliæ illam ambire conjugem. Interim res Scoticæ in illorum sunt potestate, qui profitentur evangelium. Societas illa, quæ nobis aliquando fuit cum Antverpiensibus, ante aliquot annos illorum injuriis et perfidia violata, non potest adhuc coalescere. In Hispaniis Mauri numero, viribus, et victoriis crescunt; Philippus in singulos dies imminuitur. De Cypro vero et Venetis rebus quid ego tibi? Turcam nunc aiunt imminere Italiæ. Ille saltem frænabit antichristi ferociam: nam christiani principes toties admoniti nihil audiunt. Elizabetha regina nostra convocavit proceres, et indixit parlamentum in secundum diem Aprilis; quod felix faustumque sit et ecclesiæ et reipublicæ! Ibi demum, spero, videbo Parkhurstum tuum meumque, quem septennium jam totum nunquam vidi.

Gualterus Haddonus, vir pius et facundus, obiit diem suum. D. Grindallus Eboracensis, Sandus Londinensis, Hornus Vintoniensis, absunt a me longe gentium, quisque in sua specula. Omnes tamen tibi cupiunt et te salutant.

Ego Julio meo debeo xl. Gallicos coronatos, videlicet duorum annorum proximorum pensionem. Scripsi ad illum semel jam atque iterum, ut significaret, cui me velit numerare. Pecunia præsto est, modo sit qui accipiat. Si nihil scribet, non est quod accuset fidem meam. Ipse sibi facit injuriam.

Vale, mi pater, et domine in Christo colendissime. Dominus Jesus te ecclesiæ suæ quam diutissime servet incolumem! Sarisburiæ, secunda Martii, 1571.

Tuus in Christo,

Jo. Juellus,
Episcopus Sarisburien.

INSCRIPTIO.

Ornatiss. viro, D. Henrico Bullingero, pastori ecclesiæ Tigurinæ, domino suo colendissimo, tradantur hæ. *Tiguri.*

[1] Ignoro, Oxf.]

[TRANSLATION.]

Much health in Christ! I wrote to you, most accomplished sir, and much-esteemed father in Christ, towards the beginning of September, and at some length, concerning the general posture of our affairs. I know not what has become of that letter; for it often happens in these turbulent times that our poor innocent letters are either destroyed or lost on the road. Should I hear that it has reached you in safety, I shall be more encouraged to write in future.

Our churches are now, by the blessing of God, in peace. The most holy father has endeavoured to create confusion by every means in his power. He sent over to us by stealth his most senseless bull, by which he would deprive queen Elizabeth of the government of the state, and Christ of his kingdom. I sent a copy of it to you at the last fair, that you might see how the old dotard is raving after his usual fashion. All his secret counsels have been so ably detected, and skilfully and opportunely counteracted by those who hold the helm of government, that they are now laughed at even by children. Those wretched and infatuated rebels, who, eighteen months since, began to raise disorders in the county of Durham, are now utterly defeated, and exiles in Flanders. Our *friends* at Louvaine have not written any thing for two years. The queen of Scotland is still kept here, as you are aware, in a free custody, honourably, and with almost a royal attendance; but still she is in custody, which she bears with impatience and indignation, and complains that she is unjustly dealt with. You well know the spirit and disposition of the Guises. They say that the brother of the king of France is courting her for his wife. The affairs of Scotland, meanwhile, are under the direction of those who profess the gospel. That intercourse, which formerly existed between us and the people of Antwerp, having been violated some years since by their injustice and breach of faith, cannot as yet be renewed. In Spain the Moors are increasing in number, strength, and victories; Philip is growing weaker every day. But what can I tell you about the affairs of Cyprus and Venice? The Turk, they say, is now hovering upon Italy. He at least will bridle the ferocity of antichrist; for the sovereigns of Christendom, though so often warned, pay no attention. Our queen Elizabeth has summoned the peers, and proclaimed a parliament for the 2nd of April, which I hope will be for the prosperity and welfare both of church and state. There, at length, I hope to see our friend Parkhurst, whom I have not seen for seven whole years.

Walter Haddon, a pious and eloquent man, has departed this life. Grindal of York, Sandys of London, Horn of Winchester, are a great way from me, each on his watch-tower. All of them, however, desire your welfare, and send their respects.

I owe my friend Julius forty French crowns, being his pension for the two past years. I have desired him by letter once or twice to let me know to whom he wishes me to pay them. The money is forthcoming, as soon as there is any one to receive it. If he does not choose to write, he must not accuse me of not keeping my promise, for it is altogether his own fault.

Farewell, my father, and much-esteemed master in Christ. May the Lord Jesus very long preserve you in safety to his church! Salisbury, March 2, 1571.

Yours in Christ,

JOHN JEWEL,
Bishop of Salisbury.

MISCELLANEOUS PIECES.

MAGISTRI JUELLI,

HUMANITATIS ARTIUM IN COLLEGIO CORPORIS CHRISTI OXON. PRÆLECTORIS,

ORATIO[1]

CONTRA RHETORICAM,

HABITA IN AULA EJUSDEM COLLEGII

CORAM OMNIBUS EJUSDEM COLLEGII ALUMNIS[2].

[MSS. C. C. C. Oxford, CCLVII. CCCIV. and Brit. Mus. Harl. 129. 72. (111.)]

Scio quam male audire soleant, his præsertim temporibus, doctissimi auditores, qui studiorum suorum cursum sæpe commutant[3], et subinde novam sibi disciplinarum viam deligunt. Est enim dignitatis nostræ jam ante habere constitutum, quales nos velimus esse, et aliquid nobis proponere a quo abduci et discedere nolimus: levium autem est hominum et inconstantium, in omnes partes veluti[4] vento et tempestate circumferri, et modo se poetas, modo philosophos, modo mathematicos, modo theologos profiteri. Id ego etsi non nihil verear, ne mihi hoc tempore vitio dari posset[5], qui tantum temporis in eloquentiæ studio et philosophiæ lectione posuerim, imo autem mutata[6] subito voluntate ad poetas me contulerim; tamen et quia plerique omnes[7] ea consilii infirmitate nascimur, ut facile in deligendo vitæ genere decipi et errare possimus, et quia quicquid facio, id vestræ utilitatis causa facio, in bonam spem adducor institutum meum, quod vestra gratia susceptum sit, vobis facile omnibus probari posse. Nemo enim unquam tanta felicitate ad studia literarum ingressus est, quin aut usus aut casus aliquis omnia sæpe superioris vitæ consilia perverterit[8]. Non enim Jani sumus, neque oculos a tergo gerimus, ut quicquid[9] futurum sit videre et animo prospicere[10] possimus. Eaque de causa Homerus nos, poeta sapientissimus, μέροπας appellavit, quod alteram[11] tantum cujusque rei quasi frontem contemplemur, rem autem integram oculis lustrare totamque[12] complecti nequeamus. Itaque si quid primo non successit, id proximum est ut secunda quasi navigatione corrigatur. Quis enim vestrum non audivit M. Catonem, virum et senatorium, et censorium, et sexagenarium, Græcis literis, quas semper antea odiisset, in extrema ætate studuisse? Quis nescit Aristotelem, postquam Isocratis vocem in tanto esse honore tantique a suis fieri sensisset, neglecto superiore[13] consilio, abjectaque philosophia, et senem, et canum, et philosophum, repente commutasse omnem prope formam disciplinæ? Quid multa? Tanta est imbecillitas et cæcitas rationis nostræ, ut quid nobis maxime conveniat, quidque in rem nostram futurum sit potissimum, non videamus; iterumque labamur in aliquod certum studiorum genus antequam potuimus, quid esset optimum[14], suspicari. Quod autem ad me attinet, malo equidem, cum utilitati vestræ sim obsecuturus[15], desiderari a me prudentiam, quam, si

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[1] This oration exists in manuscript in the Harleian Collection in the British Museum, and also in the library of Corpus Christi College, Oxford, for access to which the editor is indebted to the courtesy of the president of that society. There are two copies in Corpus library, the one a transcript of the other. The editor has endeavoured to present as accurate a text as possible by comparison of the three MSS. and has noted, as far as possible, the various readings.]

[2] Oratio in Vituperium Rhetoricæ per D. Juellum ex Corp. Christi collegio habita coram omnibus ejusdem collegii alumnis, Harl.]

[3] Commutat, Harl.]

[4] Velut, C. C. C.]

[5] Possit, Harl.]

[6] Studio et lectione posuerim, omnino tamen jam mutata, C. C. C.]

[7] Quia plerumque et omnes, C. C. C.]

[8] Perverteret, C. C. C.]

[9] Ut quid, C. C. C.]

[10] Perspicere, C. C. C.]

[11] Alterum, Harl.]

[12] Totumque, Harl.]

[13] Superiori, C. C. C.]

[14] Optimum esset, C. C. C.]

[15] Obsequutus, C. C. C.]

temere propositum[1] retinuero, laudari constantiam. Nam si id[2] unum responderem solum, me tot lectissimorum juvenum indoli et commodo consulere voluisse, quis[3] tandem æquus æstimator posset institutum meum reprehendere?

Hoc autem tempore ut mutarem consilium, gravissimæ me causæ et maximæ commoverunt. Video enim tandem, atque equidem video tempus illud omne, quod hactenus in eloquentia posuimus, inutiliter[4] et turpiter perdidisse. Mirari scio plerosque vestrum, cum ista ipsa[5] ex me, de me præsertim ipso, audiatis: verum sic est ut dico; nam simulare, dum vobis prodesse studeo, non video cur debeam. Atque utinam tempus illud quod hactenus lusimus liceret in integrum revocari[6]. Nam rhetoricam quidem jam olim re ipsa experti sumus nihil nec fructus habere, nec dignitatis: studium, inquam[7], illud omne eloquentiæ, quod tot Græci Latinique scriptores illustrarunt, quod ego tam cupide complexus sum, et in quod vos omnes mea cohortatione compulerim, illud unum nihil habere nec dignitatis nec fructus, et totum otiosum esse, inane, futile, nugatorium, aperte denuntio et præ me fero. Idque dum breviter paucisque doceo, quoniam vestra res agitur, quam ego rebus meis semper anteposui omnibus, quæso diligenter (ut soletis) animum attendite, et inanem dicendi curam pro parvo habeatis[8], et animos majore[9] cum[10] fructu ad aliud studiorum genus referatis[11]. Omnia autem quæ de rhetorica dici possunt, nec me polliceor hoc loco dicturum, nec ea ab alio quopiam, nisi admodum loquaci et rhetore, tam brevi tempore dici posse arbitror. Nam cum multa sint, vel potius omnia, in ea facultate inania[12] et levia, tum professio mihi ipsa dicendi otiosa videtur esse[13] et perridicula. Nihil enim animi tam angusti est, nihil tam ipsa levitate puerile, quam venustatem quandam in dicendo et elegantiam consectari, et curas omnes cogitationesque in verborum apparatu et linguæ celeritate collocare. Pudeat procul dubio eum[14] qui animum, qui mentem, qui[15] pectus habeat, linguam solam expolire[16], ad eamque ornandam studium omne convertere; illa autem superiora, quæ longe sunt omnium maxima, immunita, inculta, neglecta[17] deserere. Nam quid sibi sapientissimorum virorum Pythagoreorum silentium tam diuturnum voluit, quid Lacedæmoniorum brevitas orationis et siccitas, nisi ridiculum esset verborum multitudine circumfluere, et virorum gravitate indignum? Cur verba ab Homero dicuntur [πτερόεντα,][18] nisi quod ea divino poetæ alis veluti quibusdam ferri, et vento jactari, nihil autem habere[19] aut[20] solidi aut firmi, nunquam insistere, nunquam hærere posse viderentur. Hæc scilicet ea sunt momenta[21] et pondera oratorum, quæ quia in verborum sonitu et rebus levissimis occupata sunt, quanti facienda sunt[22], aut quid possunt, nemo tam stupidus aut hebes est ut non intelligat. Nam ad loquendum quidem omnes satis a natura instructi sumus; idque jampridem nostra sponte sine magistro ac[23] præceptore didicimus: belluas enim mutasque pecudes[24] hoc solo naturæ munere superamus. Non illæ a nobis animi virtutibus, non corporis robore, non ullo virtutis genere, non prudentia, non ingenio, non ratione, non astu, sed sola[25] loquendi potestate vincuntur. Infantes enim et[26] pueri, etsi tanta[27] sint linguæ et faucium infirmitate, ut verba fingere atque extorquere orationem non possint[28], ita tamen sæpe vagiunt et clamant, ita omni nixu contentioneque corporis cassos inconditosque sonos edunt, ut etiam tum aliquid loqui[29] videantur. Nulla fuit unquam[30] natio tam barbara, nulla gens tam fera, nulla civitas tam inculta et rudis, quin ad dicendi consuetudinem apta quodammodo a natura factaque esset. Alia enim sunt alia-

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[1] Quasi propositum, Harl.]
[2] Ad, Harl.]
[3] Consulere quis, C. C. C.]
[4] Inaniter, C. C. C.]
[5] Cum ipsa, Harl.]
[6] Revocare, C. C. C.]
[7] Nunquam, Harl.]
[8] Per parvo oderitis, Harl.]
[9] Majori, C. C. C.]
[10] Cum cum, Harl.]
[11] Referetis, Harl.]
[12] Facultate et inania, C. C. C.]
[13] *Esse* is not in C. C. C.]
[14] Pudeat enim sane eum, C. C. C.]
[15] Et, C. C. C.]
[16] Expoliri, Harl.]
[17] Inculta fluxa neglecta, C. C. C.]
[18] This word is omitted in Harl.; in C. C. C. a blank is left.]
[19] Harl. omits the words from *divino*.]
[20] *Aut* is not in C. C. C.]
[21] Monumenta, Harl.]
[22] These three words are not in Harl.]
[23] Et, C. C. C.]
[24] Belluas muta pecudes, Harl.]
[25] Astu sola, Harl.]
[26] *Et* is not in Harl.]
[27] Tantæ, Harl.]
[28] Possunt, Harl.]
[29] Loqui aliquid, Harl.]
[30] Unquam fuit, Harl.]

rum nationum studia, ingenia, mores: loquendi autem vis et oratio omnium animis et pectoribus innata et impressa, quasique[31] insculpta est. Quare qui artem quandam loquendi faciunt, et eam se docturos pollicentur, non multo minus imprudenter et absurde faciunt, quam si videndi, audiendi, ambulandi artem aliquam facerent[32] et profiterentur. Cur enim linguæ rationem habent majorem, quam pedum, quam oculorum, quam aurium? Cur id tantopere inculcant auribus nostris, quod nunquam quisquam tam tardus fuit, ut, quamvis cuperet, nescire posset? Verebantur fortassis[33] homines nimium[34] mali, ne, nisi ipsi nos garrire docuissent, muti futuri fuissemus. Atque loquebantur homines, et res inter se maximas[35] oratione transigebant, antequam deus istorum Cicero et Demosthenes nascerentur.

Quare non est opus, quæ loquimur, infinito et puerili labore ad artem nescio quam et ad præcepta revocare[36]. Quanta est autem importunitas, quod ex æquo detur[37] omnibus, id unum ex omni hominum numero ad se retrahere! quodque omnium semper commune fuit, id[38] alicui[39] rhetorum libidini et garrulitati condonare! Nam si id in dicendo quærimus (quod certe quærimus), ut ab aliis[40] quibuscum agimus intelligamur, qui modus dicendi melior inveniri potest, quam ut aperte, ut plane, ut dilucide dicamus? Quid arte opus est? quid ornamentis puerilibus? Nam sive in scholis dicendum, acumen magis quæritur orationis[41] quam elegantiæ; sive pro tribunalibus apud judicem, quidvis potius spectet[42] judex iratus quam verborum copiam: is enim, quam probabiliter dicatur, non quam verbose copioseque, quærit[43]. Sin oratio paulo copiosior et fluentior[44] accesserit, aliquid subesse fraudis, et insidias sibi fieri suspicatur. Veritas enim candida et simplex est, minime opus habet linguæ præsidio et eloquentia; quæ si est perspicua et clara, satis habet ipsa in se firmamenti, expolitæ orationis delicias non requirit; sive[45] obscura et adversa est, non ea in clamore et cursu verborum exquiritur[46]. Nam oratores postquam inter se duo commissi sunt, et uterque eruditum illum pulverem spargere et jactare cœperit, si artem judex, si linguæ celeritatem, si contentionem strepitumque verborum, si clamores et audaciam, si elegantiam spectabit, secundum quos pronuntiet et quid respondeat, non habebit. Multa illi siquidem sæpe[47] levia, inania, noxia, pugnantia, præcipiunt, et, ut librarum solent singulæ, in utram partem plus infuderis in eam partem vergunt[48]. Non enim pietate, non amore, non æquitate, non religione, sed præda, sed mercede, sed præmio[49], sed largitione moventur. Etenim si in re impedita et lubrica proclamatorem et rabulam satis est aliquot[50] horas ad clepsydram latrare[51], quid subsellia, quid tribunalia, quid leges, quid jura, quid instituta, quid mores majorum, quid tot patres, prætores, judices, magistratus possunt? Cur testium, tabularum, dictorum, scriptorum, quæstionum, jurisperitorum auctoritate[52] nitimur? Præclara quidem judicia, si, quoties de æquo et bono disceptatur, non legum interpres e senatu[53], sed rhetor e schola in forum deducitur[54]; et causa clamante oratore stabit, tacente autem et rauco labetur et cadet.

Verum oratores, ut medici non nisi ad hominem ægrotum et debilem, ita illi non nisi ad causam desertam et perditam adhibentur[55]: ubi nihil juris, nihil æquitatis, nihil boni videtur, ibi linguam et verborum volubilitatem incitant, ibi ardent maxime; et ut piscatores, qui anguillas venantur, nisi et noctem quasi retibus offundant nihil capiunt, usque adeo omnia sursum deorsum turbarunt; ita illi nisi lucem omnem eripiant, quod[56] quærunt unum, id agunt rhetores[57], ut res ipsa et veritas obscuretur. Quid enim dicam, obscuretur[58]? Quid

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[31] Quasi, Harl.]
[32] Fecerint, C. C. C. facerint, Harl.]
[33] Fortasse, C. C. C.]
[34] Minime, Harl.]
[35] Maxime, C. C. C.]
[36] Revocari, Harl.]
[37] The later C. C. C. has in the margin *debetur*.]
[38] *Id* is not in C. C. C.]
[39] Aliquod, Harl.]
[40] Ut aliis, C. C. C.]
[41] Orationis quæritur, C. C. C.]
[42] Potius ut spectet, Harl.]
[43] Quæritur, Harl.]
[44] Nitidior et florentior, C. C. C.]
[45] Sin, C. C. C.]
[46] This word is not in Harl.]
[47] *Sæpe* is not in C. C. C.]
[48] Eam vergunt, Harl.]
[49] Pecunia, C. C. C.]
[50] Aliquod, Harl.]
[51] Latrari, Harl.]
[52] This word is not in Harl.]
[53] Interpretes et senatus, C. C. C.]
[54] Schola deducitur, Harl.]
[55] Perditam non adhibentur, C. C. C.]
[56] Quid, Harl.]
[57] *Rhetores* is not in C. C. C.]
[58] Obscurentur, Harl.]

autem si mendacia doceant? Quid si nihil aliud doceant? Quid si præcipiant etiam? Nam quo potuit alio modo Protagoras deteriorem causam dicendo[1] facere superiorem? Quo potuit alio pacto Carneades Romæ contra justitiam perorare, et summam virtutem summam probare civitatum[2] pestem[3]? Pericles autem, cum palam ab adversario dejectus et victus esset, idque multitudo coram vidisset, verborum tamen elegantia persuasit astantibus se vicisse, ut populus magis oratione ejus quam oculis suis moveretur. Tantum mendaciorum in vitam[4] invenerunt rhetores: neque id sane mirum; Mercurium enim habent patronum et familiarem deum. Hunc illi se habere gloriantur accuratæ dictionis inventorem et principem; at quem, dii boni! deum? qui fraudes, qui fallacias, qui latrocinia, qui furta, qui mendacia, qui perjuria in mores primus[5] induxit; qui Tiresiæ boves, qui Marti gladium, qui[6] Vulcano forcipem, Neptuno tridentem, Apollini sagittas, Veneri cestum, Jovi postremo ipsi sceptrum per fraudem sustulit; hunc illi patrem venerantur; huic deo sacra faciunt. Ab hoc illi præceptore, audere[7], decipere, fallere, pejerare[8], dolis, calumniis, sycophantiis, jus, fas, leges, æquum, bonum permiscere atque obscurare didicerunt. Hæc suscipiunt et profitentur oratores; tantum enim habent juris, quantum habent linguæ et impudentiæ. Nam si veritati et æquitati causæ confidant, cur simplicem et usitatam sermonis consuetudinem fastidiunt? cur tot verborum delicias, tot umbras et ineptias prosequuntur? cur in oratione soluta et libera pedes, numeros, vincula machinantur[9]? cur suspicationibus[10], conjecturis, opinionibus, fabulis, rumoribus pugnant? cur[11] ad capiendas aures tantum insidiarum comparant? Quid illæ orationis figuræ, formæ, schemata, et quæ illi lumina vocant (mihi tenebræ potius videntur), correctiones, commutationes, præcisiones, abusiones, ænigmata, extenuationes, præmunitiones, exclamationes, reticentiæ, purgationes, circuitiones, diminutiones, hyperbolæ sibi[12] volunt? cur tot clamoribus[13], vociferationibus, lacrymis completur forum? cur dii de cœlo[14] devocantur? cur mortui ab inferis excitantur? cur ædes, templa, columnæ[15], sepulchra, lapides loquuntur? Quid sibi illi vultus quærunt[16]? quid corporis jactatio? quid contractio? quid projectio brachiorum? quid femoris percussio? quid pedis supplosio? cur non ore, non lingua, non faucibus, sed manu, digitis, articulis, brachio, vultu, corpore denique toto loquuntur? Hæc enim omnia finxerunt sibi[17] homines otiosi, et multo plus in his præsidii, quam in re ipsa et veritate collocant. O suaves nugatores, quibus sat scio ludum nunquam in omni vita defuturum.

Jam vero si nec mala causa alienis coloribus et illecebris ornanda est, nec bona obscuranda, quid loci putemus relictum usquam esse rhetoricæ? Quid autem si ipsi rhetores inter se dissentiant, et, ut carnifices et medici alios alia ratione[18] et via jugulant[19], ita illi aliis aliisque mendaciis veritatem conficiunt? Nescio tamen quo pacto, cum in præcipiendi solertia dissentiant, in mendaciis tamen omnes inter se mirifice congruunt. Coracem Tisias non probat, Tisiam Theophrastus, Theophrastum Demetrius, Demetrium Termagoras[20]. Nam Aristoteles, ne parum scire videretur, omnia superiorum rhetorum præcepta damnavit[21]. Ab Aristotele Cicero discessit, a Cicerone Fabius, a Fabio Hermogenes. Sed quid hos dico? Hodie cum exstent plusquam sexcenti rhetores, ex eo tamen omni numero nullum reperies, qui cum alio in præcipiendi ratione consentiat. Hic alterum quidem[22] horum fieri potest, ut omnes fallantur; alterum autem, cum contraria doceant et plane pugnantia[23], ut omnes vera doceant fieri profecto non potest. Nam quid commemorem dictionis genus aliud aliis placuisse? et cum alii se uberes[24], alii jejunos, alii pingues, alii graciles, alii acutos

[1] C. C. C. has not *dicendo*.]
[2] Civitatis, C. C. C.]
[3] See before, page 1103, note 3.]
[4] These two words are not in C. C. C.]
[5] Primis, Harl.]
[6] *Qui* is not in Harl.]
[7] Audire, Harl.]
[8] *Pejerare* is not in C. C. C.]
[9] Pedes umbras et ineptias machinantur, Harl.]
[10] Suspicionibus, C. C. C.]
[11] Harl. has not *cur*.]
[12] *Sibi* is not in Harl.]
[13] Clamationibus, C. C. C.]
[14] Cur deinde cœlo, Harl.]
[15] Templa inventa columnæ, Harl.]
[16] This clause is not in Harl.]
[17] Sibi finxerunt, C. C. C.]
[18] Oratione, Harl.]
[19] Jugulent, C. C. C.]
[20] Hermogenes, C. C. C.]
[21] Dominavit, Harl.]
[22] Quidnam, Harl.]
[23] Repugnantia, C. C. C.]
[24] Uberiores, C. C. C.]

et vehementes, alii[25] modestos et sobrios esse vellent, nunquam oratores adhuc duos inter sese similes[26] fuisse, et inter eadem dicendi vestigia incidisse? Ciceroni[27] alii pleniores, alii sicciores, alii lætiores, alii tristiores, alii tumidi et redundantes[28], alii exsangues et aridi videbuntur. Quid multis[29]? eloquentissimus vir et summus orator Demosthenes ab Æschine contemnitur et exagitatur ut barbarus. Cicero ipse a suis civibus fastiditur, ipse inquam Latinæ parens eloquentiæ Cicero, postquam eloquentiæ et linguæ causa totam pene Græciam peragrasset, et in patriam suam peregrinarum vocum magnum numerum invexisset; ab aliis tamen oratoribus ut fractus et enervis, ut solutus, ut[30] elumbis Asiaticus explodebatur. Atque hunc tamen, qui elegantiusculi haberi volunt, unum[31] sibi proponunt quem imitentur; hunc unum, cum scribunt, hunc cum commentantur[32], hunc cum dicunt aliquid, omni studio atque animo intuentur. Cum ingenti copia selectissimorum verborum fluant, tamen ita se dicentes interpolant[33], ita hærent, ita dubitant, ita aliud verbum[34] rejiciunt, aliud quærunt, aliud reponunt, ita se castigant et cruciant, ut, cum se nimis[35] Ciceronianos et elegantes videri volunt, nihil sit eorum[36] oratione putidius, nihil majore[37] cum fastidio audiatur. Nam quasi Cato, Varro, Cæsar, Terentius parum Latine, aut etiam[38] plane barbare loquerentur; ita illi omni religione Ciceronem solum observant, ita distinctiunculas singulas prosequuntur, easque omnibus rimis infarciunt, et, quasi sensum ipsi nullum habeant suum, nihil sentiunt, nisi quod Cicero prius senserit; plusque[39] ex alieno sapiunt palato quam ex suo[40]. Nullum nec poetam legunt, nec medicum, nec[41] historicum: non publicum jus, non privatum attingunt, non antiquitatis memoriam, non geometras, non mathematicos, non philosophos; in uno Cicerone tabernaculum vitæ collocarunt, et in eo ipso non scientiam, non cognitionem rerum, non judicium quærunt, sed literas, sed apices, sed voculas, sed orationis elegantiam et verborum copiam. Atque sive eum totum expresserint, quod nemini adhuc ne loquacissimo contigit; nemo enim unquam tam dissimilis aliorum fuit, quam ipse Cicero est[42] sui; sic, sive eum totum expresserint, fracti, elumbes, Asiatici videbuntur; sive non expresserint, agrestes, hebetes, impoliti, barbari. Quos autem habent oratores hujus tantæ varietatis existimatores[43]? quorum judicio et auribus inserviunt[44]? sapientumne? atqui[45] perpauci sapientes sunt; et illi ipsi qui sunt, quavis potius alia re capiuntur[46] quam eloquentia. At[47] placet tantum laborum, vigiliarum, studiorum, opinione stultorum judicari; horum enim auribus inventa et nata est eloquentia: non ea sapientes auditores, non graves viros, non philosophos, sed populi colluviem, sed conciunculas, sed circulos consectatur. Pallas ipsa, orationis expolitæ dea, non patrum[48] conciliis aut senatu, sed turba et populo delectatur. Nunquam sine his arbitris[49], hoc est, veteramentariis, sartoribus, calonibus[50], piscatoribus, mulionibus, ne Cicero quidem ipse satis disertus esse potuit: hic exultat, hic regnat, hic triumphat oratio. O pulchram facultatem, et magnificam! quæ errorem[51] imperitæ multitudinis aucupetur, judicium et gravitatem sapientium reformidet.

Scio ego, ista prudentiæ vestræ magna sicut et gravia videri[52]: verum ea omnia exigua et parva sunt, si cum his conferantur, quæ nunc dicam. Nisi enim civitates a viris eloquentissimis[53] eversas, nisi magna imperia in magnam solitudinem con-

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[25] Alii scitos et veteris alii, Harl.]
[26] Oratores adhuc inter se similes, Harl.]
[27] Cicerone, C. C. C.; but *Ciceroni* in the margin.]
[28] Timidi et exanimati, C. C. C.]
[29] Multa, Harl.]
[30] Et, later C. C. C. But the older MS. has *ut*.]
[31] Tantum, later C. C. C. But the older MS. *unum*.]
[32] The three preceding words are not in C. C. C.]
[33] Interpellant, Harl.]
[34] Verborum, Harl.]
[35] Majus, Harl.]
[36] Illorum, C. C. C.]
[37] Nihil quod majori, C. C. C.]
[38] Aliam, Harl.]
[39] Plusquam, Harl.]
[40] Quam suo, C. C. C.]
[41] *Nec* is not in Harl.]
[42] Nec, C. C. C.; et, Harl.]
[43] Veritatis æstimatores, Harl.]
[44] Inserviant, C. C. C.]
[45] *Atqui* is not in C. C. C.]
[46] Capiunt, Harl.]
[47] Et, Harl.]
[48] Parum, C. C. C.; but *patrum* in the margin.]
[49] Arbitriis, Harl.]
[50] Colonis, Harl.]
[51] Errores, C. C. C.]
[52] Ita prudentia vestra magna ut sunt et gravia veteri, Harl.]
[53] Eloquentibus, C. C. C.]

versa ostendero[1]; hæc omnia quæ hactenus audistis, quæ maxima sunt, pro nihilo[2] putentur. Ut mihi[2] quidem, quicunque eloquentiam primus invexit humanis rebus pessime consuluisse videatur[3]. Non jura in dubium vocata dicam, quæ violare id est odio[4] fundamenta convellere reipublicæ[5]: non seditiones, non factiones, non insidias, non proditiones[6], non bella, non incendia commemoro. Nam quis nostrum[7] Athenarum, maximæ[8] civitatis et antiquissimæ[9], miserabilem direptionem non audivit? Quæ cum Ἕλλας Ἕλλαδος et epitome[10] totius Græciæ diceretur, Demosthenis[11] tamen oratione et lingua solo æquata, et pene a radicibus excisa et eversa est. Quis civitatem Romanam credet tot mœnibus[12] cinctam, tot fossis munitam[13], tot regum prudentia constitutam, ullis humanis viribus expugnari, quamvis longo tempore, potuisse? At ubi se Marcus Cato[14] commovisset, et Augustum cum Antonio commisisset, statim res Romana, quæ consentientibus civium voluntatibus[15], et orbis terrarum studiis et officiis, tot seculis constitisset, brevissimo tempore unius oratoris opera cecidit: civitatem, inquam, eam[16], quæ tot summorum imperatorum et ducum[17] victoriis, trophæis, triumphis floruisset, quam fortuna ipsa omnium gentium et nationum spoliis ornavisset[18], quam non Gracchus[19], non Carbo, non Marius, non Sylla, non Catilinæ furor, non hostium vis infinita, non cuncta barbaria delere potuit; tot propugnacula[20], tot arces, tot mœnia, tot deorum templa, delubra, focos, aras, unus[21] orator M. Cicero non consilio sed lingua, non prudentia sed eloquentia, non ratione sed oratione, brevi tempore dissipavit, et pene una cum stirpe et nomine funditus delevit. Ubi nunc illi sunt, qui toties queri et vociferari[22] solent, ab avaritia, luxu, libidine rerumpublicarum[23] opes everti? Hæc[24] illa est[25], hæc[24] illa est calamitas, hæc pestis, hæc pernicies civitatum, hæc quocunque incideret, eo[26] ruinæ, tempestates, incendia consequuntur. Nam quid Gracchos, Brutos, Cassios, Critias, Alcibiades, dicam, cum coryphæos et principem Demosthenem dixerim? Quid de vulgo speremus[27], cum videamus quid summi oratores fecerint[28]? aut quid esset hominum vita, si omnes essemus[29] rhetores, cum singuli maximas[30] afflixerint[31] civitates?

Muliercula quædam olim[32] Cantiana, cum Londini forte in magnum numerum juvenum nobilium, qui um juri publico operam de more dabant, incidisset, percontata quinam essent aut quid vellent, cum eos legum studiosos, et etiam brevi tempore jurisperitos et patronos fore accepisset; O res (inquit) perditas[33], O miseram atque infelicem rempublicam! Rogata, cur ita se affligeret, mulier ignota et peregrina, Quoniam jurisperitus[34] (inquit) apud nos unus jampridem omnium fortunas compilavit, et regionem totam exhausit; quid isti tot facient, et disciplina et ætate feroces, et ad fraudem a[35] teneris instituti? Quid autem illa[36] dixisset, si tot vidisset oratores? Nam jurisperiti quidem, cum homines deducant in fraudem, et lites iniquo patrocinio[37] defendant[38], tamen fidem suam, et ingenii lumen, et leges, et edicta, et jura, et senatusconsulta videntur vendere; oratores autem,

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[1] Ostendo, Harl.]
[2] Nihil, Harl.]
[3] Primus reperit humanis rebus pessime dissipatas, Harl.]
[4] Violare volebant id est odio, C. C. C. with a marginal note, *adeo, vel omnia, vel omnino.*]
[5] Reipublicæ convellere, C. C. C.]
[6] Berditiones (i. e. perditiones?), Harl.]
[7] Vestrum, C. C. C.]
[8] Maxime maximæ, Harl.]
[9] Vetustissimæ, C. C. C. But the older MS. has *antiquissimæ.*]
[10] Cum flos et epitome, Harl.]
[11] Demosthenes, Harl.]
[12] Mœniis, C. C. C.]
[13] Munitos, Harl.]
[14] At ubi M. Cato, C. C. C. with *eam Cicero* in the margin.]
[15] Autem res Romana consentientibus civium voluptatibus, Harl.]
[16] Cane? Harl.]
[17] Regum, C. C. C.]
[18] Ornasset, C. C. C.]
[19] These two words are not in Harl.]
[20] Barbaria tot expugnacula, Harl.]
[21] Delubra sacra unus, C. C. C.]
[22] Toties vociferari, C. C. C.]
[23] Rempub. Harl.]
[24] Hæ, Harl.]
[25] *Est* is not in C. C. C.]
[26] *Eo* is not in C. C. C.]
[27] Sperem, C. C. C.]
[28] Facerent, Harl.]
[29] Essent, C.C.C.; but the older MS. has *essemus.*]
[30] Maxime, C. C. C.]
[31] Afflixerant, Harl.]
[32] Olim quædam, C. C. C.]
[33] Perdita, Harl.]
[34] Jurisconsultus, C. C. C.]
[35] *A* is not in Harl.]
[36] Quid illa, C. C. C.]
[37] Patrimonio, Harl. and C. C. C.; but *patrocinio* in margin of the latter.]
[38] Defendunt, Harl.]

cum de se omnia pollicentur, vultus, gestus, linguam, verba, nugas summas venditant. Hac eos de causa videmus omnium antiquissimarum civitatum judicio et existimatione damnatos esse. Ctesiphontem Lacedæmonii, qui pollicitus est se posse[39] totum diem dicendo eximere, exulem et extorrem esse jusserunt. Romani de senatus sententia omnes oratores non solum civitate, sed etiam Italia tota expulerunt. Videte, per deos immortales! quanti hoc hominum genus sapientissimi gravissimique[40] viri fecerint. Histriones, tibicines, lenones[41], parasiti[42], meretrices, apud senatores et patres summo in pretio habebantur. Non eos[43] in extremis finibus, non in angulis aut latebris hærere passi[44] sunt, ne contagio ad alios perveniret. Atque hæc quidem non levium Græcorum, non nimium[45] barbarorum, non imperitæ multitudinis, sed Catonis[46], sed patrum, sed totius civitatis judicio et auctoritate decreta sunt. Hinc illud est, quod quanto[47] quisque instructior est ad loquendum, tanto in exordienda causa deformius et fœdius perturbatur: conscientia enim eum[48] et scelerum cogitatio non patitur omnino consistere; leges[49], cruciatus, judicia, vincula, exilia pertimescit[50]. Cur enim Platonem apud judices pro magistro[51] Socrate dicturum ex optima causa subito et ratio et oratio destituit? cur Theophrastus, quod ne pueri quidem cordati solent, in concione turpiter obmutuit? cur apud Philippum summus orator Demosthenes a mente, a[52] ratione, a seipso discessit? Quid ea sibi vult trepidatio, pallor, dubitatio, stupor, tremor[53]? Nam, si bona est causa[54], cur timent? sin mala, cur recipiunt? Sed mitto civitates, et patres, quorum si apud hos est levis auctoritas, cur non sapientum, philosophorum, deorum exemplo commoventur? Dii enim immortales, si quid unquam dicant[55], usitato loquendi modo et paucissimis verbis dicunt: divinus vir, et Apollinis judicio sapientissimus Socrates, cum capite et fortunis pugnaret[56], luculentiori oratione defendi noluit[57]. Gymnosophistæ, Bardi, philosophi, cum officinas instruxissent sapientiæ, et se ad infinitarum[58] rerum cognitionem et curam dimisissent, nunquam[59] tamen hæc studia coluerunt, non quod illis aut tempus aut ingenium defuisset, hominibus et otiosis[60] et sapientissimis; sed quod hoc genus ineptias et res pueriles[61], nec satis e[62] philosophica gravitate esse judicarent[63]. Sed quid vetera commemoro? Nostri[64] homines proximis hisce annis, cum ne umbram, non dicam eloquentiæ, sed Latini purique sermonis attigissent; cum Cicero contemptus et spretus in situ et tenebris jaceret; cum Scotus omnes scholarum aditus et itinera literarum possideret; cum nec ipsi se satis intelligerent, ab aliis autem, qui ea mysteria non didicerant, insanire et furere putarentur; quam illi tamen pulchre eruditi[65], quam acuti philosophi, quam graves theologi videbantur! Quanta tum erat bonarum literarum admiratio! quanta studiosorum juvenum frequentia! Hæ tum sedes erant, hæc sacraria literarum, hic fons[66] omnis humanitatis, hoc caput fuit. O tum fortunatam academiam! O tempora felicia! Nihil tum nisi de nostra sententia gerebatur: nos pacem componere potuimus[67], nos seditiones incendere, nos bella restinguere, nos principes inter se committere; a[68] nobis cultus Numinis, a nobis pietas, a nobis religio petebatur: quod nos decrevimus, id æquum, bonum, jus, rectumque fuit. Hinc[69] autem postquam Cicero nescio quis, ut Cerberus

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[39] *Posse* is not in the later C. C. C.]
[40] Gravissimi, C. C. C.]
[41] This word is not in C. C. C.]
[42] Parasitis, Harl.]
[43] Illos, C. C. C.; but older MS. *eos*.]
[44] Posse, Harl.]
[45] Unum animum, Harl.]
[46] Sed ut Catonis, Harl.]
[47] Quando, Harl.]
[48] *Eum* is not in C. C. C.]
[49] Lege, Harl.]
[50] Vincula judicia pertimescit, C. C. C.]
[51] Nostro, C. C. C., but *magistro* in the margin.]
[52] Et, Harl.]
[53] Semper tremo, Harl.]
[54] Bona causa est, C. C. C.]
[55] Dicunt, Harl.]
[56] Pugnarent, Harl.]
[57] Voluit, Harl.]
[58] Infimarum, Harl.]
[59] Harl. repeats *nunquam*.]
[60] Jocosissimis, Harl.]
[61] Ineptias inermes et pueriles, C. C. C.]
[62] A, C. C. C.]
[63] Judicarentur, C. C. C.; *judicarent* in the margin.]
[64] Nonne, C. C. C. but older MS. *nostri;* vestri, Harl.]
[65] Illi tum eruditi, Harl.]
[66] Fores, C. C. C.]
[67] *Potuimus* in C. C. C. comes after *committere*.]
[68] *A* is not in Harl.]
[69] Hunc, Harl.]

ex inferis, ita ille[1] ex tenebris in lucem rejectus[2] est; studia literarum restinxerunt, animorum ardor elanguit, numerus in singulos dies imminuitur[3], collegia deseruntur, academiæ gloria et splendor omnis obruitur. Hæc enim omnia mala Cicero vobis[4] importavit, Cicero vobis hanc securim et plagam inflixit, Cicero omnia studiorum nostrorum spatia populatur, Cicero totius academiæ decus et lumen extinxit.

Video me excludi tempore; et, dum orationis futilitatem[5] et ineptias exagito, nimis ipsum a vobis ineptum et futilem[6] judicari. Hoc tantum unum addam, quod haud equidem possum quale sit intelligere. Nam, cum studium illud suum dissimulant rhetores, cur id disciplinæ suæ caput esse statuunt, speciem, artem, orationem[7], quasi radices et stirpes obtegere? Non hoc[8] bonorum virorum est, sed perditorum latronum: nullus unquam est artifex, nec tam[9] vilis, nec[10] tam turpis, quem artis suæ pudeat. Sartores, pharmacopolæ, lenones frequentiam et lucem quærunt, ac[11] merces[12] suas palam ac libere in publico exponunt. Orator solus inventus est, qui facultatem suam præ se ferre non audeat: id autem agit ut, cum maxime lingua utatur et arte, tum[13] maxime expers artis et elinguis, et nihil didicisse posse videatur. Quæ quærimus exempla majora? quos testes aut auctores alios exspectamus, cum oratores ipsi sua se voce condemnant[14]? cur lucem et conspectum reformidant? cur eos[15] pudet professionis? cur aliud simulant, aliud agunt? Quam illis fidem habeamus[16] in alieno negotio, qui de se ipsis et arte sua mentiantur? Quid eos agere domi suæ putemus, qui non dubitant populo inspectante pejerare? Hi sunt, quibus nititur salus reipublicæ, ad hos currimus, ad hos causas deferimus, hos imperatores vitæ nostræ necisque facimus, his fortunas, conjuges, liberos, dignitatem, salutem nostram committimus, quos artem suam didicisse ac profiteri pudeat. Nolo plura. Non enim dubito vos omnes pro vestra prudentia satis intelligere, quid in omnes partes[17] possit[18], quamque vim habeat eloquentia. Quamobrem, cultissimi juvenes, nolite tantum temporis et diligentiæ in eo collocare, quod ridiculum et inane sit, nihilque utilitatis aut fructus ad vitam communem adferat; quod vestris omnium animis et mentibus natura ipsa inseruit; quod bonam causam obscuret, illustret atque ornet malam; quod insidias, fraudes, mendacia præcipiat; quod ad errorem, ad quæstum, ad[19] popularem temeritatem inventum et natum sit; quod sapientum gravitatem et conspectum fugiat[20]; quod respublicas maximas everterit[21]; quod antiquissimæ civitates exploserunt[22]; quod philosophi omnium temporum et nationum repudiarunt; quod majores nostri contempserunt; quod hujus gymnasii veterem et avitam gloriam oppresserit; quod ipsos postremo pudeat rhetores, postquam didicerunt, profiteri. Non est id vestræ dignitatis, non hujus indolis, omnes curas in res faciles abjicere, ad meliores[23] literas[24] oculos non posse attollere. Sint[25] ista sane aliorum studia, quibus aliud est nihil[26] quod agant[27]; aliud me et ingenia hortantur vestra[28] et ætates. Nec enim senio confecti, nec temere a quavis hominum turba et circulo oblati estis[29]. Juvenes (inquam) juvenes estis, summis ingeniis, summa spe, ad singularem literarum scientiam et laudem nati, semper in his educati. Aliter alii studiorum et vitæ rationes instituunt: nobis in rerum cognitione est[30] acquiescendum, cui a pueris traditi et commendati sumus. Hoc sibi tot scholæ, tot præclara ædificia, tot magnifica collegia, tot

[1] Illi, Harl.]
[2] Revectus, C. C. C.]
[3] Minuitur, C. C. C.]
[4] Omnia vobis mala Cicero, C. C. C.]
[5] Subtilitatem, C. C. C.]
[6] Subtilem, C. C. C.]
[7] Statuunt artem et orationem, C. C. C.]
[8] Hic, Harl.]
[9] Later C. C. C. omits *tam.*]
[10] Harl. omits *nec.*]
[11] Et, C. C. C.]
[12] Marcellas, Harl.]
[13] Tamen, C. C. C.]
[14] Contemnant, Harl.]
[15] Eum, Harl.]
[16] Habemus, Harl.]
[17] In omnem partem, C. C. C.]
[18] Posset, C. C. C. older MS.; quid in omnes ars posset, Harl.]
[19] Et, Harl.]
[20] Fugat, Harl.]
[21] Maxime evertit, C. C. C.]
[22] Quod antiquissimas civitates exploserit, Harl.]
[23] Molliores, Harl.]
[24] Vestros, C. C. C.]
[25] Sunt, Harl.]
[26] Nihil est aliud, C. C. C.]
[27] Agunt, Harl.]
[28] Ingenia vestra hortantur, C. C. C.]
[29] Curriculo estis ablati, C. C. C.]
[30] Harl. omits *est.*]

heroicæ substructiones[31] volunt. Nos ipsi hac causa[32] iter tam longum[33] ingressi sumus, et[34] Oxoniam tam procul ad disciplinarum atque artium mercatum venimus[35]: hac via majores nostri ad summam virtutis doctrinæque famam profecti sunt. Illos respiciamus, in illos intueamur, ad illorum[36] imitationem et exemplar contendamus; in eodem vestigio, in quo ab illis relicti sumus, consistamus. Non enim viatores, non præcones, non proclamatores, non rabulæ futuri sumus. Quare si quid apud vos aut utilitatis[37] ratio, aut dignitatis vestræ cogitatio valet, inutilem verborum profluentiam et orationis ineptias contemnamus: cogitationes, industrias, sensus omnes ad reconditarum rerum scientiam conferamus: omni denique diligentia incumbamus in eam curam, ne temporis amissi aut juventutis male collocatæ unquam posthac pœniteat. Dixi[38].

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[31] Substrationes, Harl.]
[32] *Causâ* is not in Harl.]
[33] Longinquum, C. C. C.]
[34] Ut, C. C. C.]
[35] Veniamus, C. C. C.]
[36] Eorum, C. C. C.]
[37] Vos veritatis, C. C. C.]
[38] Fines, Harl.]

ULTIMA JUELLI EJECTI E COLLEGIO ORATIO[1].

FECI proximis hisce lectionibus, quod homines famelici solent: qui, cum epulas subito et præter spem tollendas vident, se avidius et prolixius ingurgitant. Cum enim hunc mihi legendi finem statuerem, et has dicendi mensas jamjam tolli intelligerem, non dubitavi præter consuetudinem nostram vobis et multa, et insuavia, et semicruda proponere. Video[2] enim me in aliquorum offensionem et oculos incurrere; sed quo meo merito, ipsi viderint. Certe qui me hic nolunt esse, si esset integrum, nusquam vellent vivere. Ego vero cedo temporibus[3]; et, si quam illi e mea calamitate voluptatem capiant, eam nihil impedio: quodque suis precatus est olim[4] Aristides, cum iret in exilium et solum verteret, id ego nunc Deum Opt. Max. precor, ne mei posthac cuiquam in[5] mentem veniat. Et quid volunt amplius? Ignoscite, quæso, juvenes, si dolet ab eo loco invitum distrahi, ubi initia ætatis posuerim, ubi vitam egerim, ubi aliquo loco et numero fuerim. Sed quid moror uno me verbo perdere[6]? Hei mihi, quando, ut[7] cum dolore meo dicturus sim, ut dicendum est, Valeant studia, valeant hæc tecta, valeat sedes cultissima literarum, valeat jucundissimus conspectus vestri, valete juvenes, valete pueri, valete socii, valete fratres, valete oculi mei, valete omnes, valete[8].

[1 This address is reprinted from Humfred. Juell. Vit. pp. 74, 5. It is also found in the library of Corpus Christi College, Oxford, in the older MS. which contains the Oratio contra Rhetoricam, immediately after that piece, with the title: Ejusdem Juelli habita oratiuncula de discessu suo.]

[2 The MS. begins as follows: Sæpissime quidem antea, nescio an cum effecta quantum optarim, maximo certe studio et amore in vos omnes non vulgari, orationem habui; nunc vero seu temporis vacatione seu nonnullorum hominum invidia factum est, ut id solum, id extremum dicam me amplius apud vos non dicturum. Video &c.]

[3 Tempori, C. C. C.]

[4 Olim precatus est, C. C. C.]

[5 In cujusquam, C. C. C.]

[6 Verbo prorsus perdere, C. C. C.]

[7 C. C. C. omits *ut*.]

[8 C. C. C. adds *Dixi*.]

A PAPER ON USURY,

FOUND IN BISHOP JEWEL'S STUDY[9].

Quæstio. An quicquid ex pacto supra sortem accipitur ab eo qui mutuo dat pecuniam mercatori illicitum fœnus sit, quamvis non quærat lucrum nisi ex lucro, idque animo mercatoris?

Responsio Joannis Juelli. Imo fœnerator sæpe etiam ex jactura lucrum quærit, non tantum ex lucro.

A. B. Contractum de quo quæritur licitum puto, quia nec primæ tabulæ repugnat, nec secundæ.

Jo. Juellus. Ego, contra, usuram omnibus legibus divinis, humanis, civilibus, canonicis, novis, veteribus, christianis, ethnicis, video diserte prohiberi, nulla autem lege aut hominum constitutione approbari. Itaque hoc genus contractuum non puto esse licitum.

A. B. Nam quod ad primam tabulam attinet, nullum Dei mandatum exstare puto, quo prohibeantur homines ejusmodi contractum exercere, in quo unus materiam lucri, alter operam suam præstet, modo omnia honestis artibus fiant. Nec discrimen ponendum arbitror in materia, sive ager locetur, sive domus, sive denique pecunia ad mercaturam exercendam interveniat. Nam, ut mihi quidem videtur, materiæ diversitas non facit diversam contractus naturam: quamvis certis et quidem justis de causis jurisconsulti subtilius ista distinxerint, apud quos aliud est locatio, quam societas, aut mutuum.

Jo. Juellus. Alienum erat hoc loco (ut mihi quidem videtur) verba facere de prima tabula: nam ea religionem tantum continet et cultum Dei; usura autem proprie refertur ad proximum. Tamen fœnerator, cum aperte fratrem lædit, et sciens prudensque peccat in secundam tabulam, non obscure etiam peccat in primam, hoc est in Deum auctorem utriusque tabulæ. Sed miror tam doctum virum, cum usuram probare vellet, nihil adferre voluisse (non enim dico non potuisse) ex sacris literis, præsertim cum nescire non possit, multos esse hodie, qui putent eam ubique in omnibus scripturis condemnari. Nam dictata hominis, quantumvis sapientis, non possunt habere auctoritatem verbi Dei. Institutionem autem vitæ christianæ ad conjecturas et obscuras quasdam collectiones revocare, nescio an sit illorum hominum, qui pollicentur se, nec ad sinistram, nec ad dextram velle flectere, sed illud tantum amplecti ac sequi velle, quod Deus jusserit.

A. B. Quod autem attinet ad secundam tabulam, ad quam etiam proprie ista respiciunt, mihi sane videtur ejusmodi contractu non modo non lædi quenquam, sed vehementer etiam juvari hominum societatem, si modo certis limitibus definiatur, de quibus mox dicam.

Jo. Juellus. Atqui aliter semper visum est, non tantum christianis hominibus, sed etiam ethnicis. Nam, ut alios taceam, veteres Romani non minus fœneratorem horrebant, quam homicidam aut furem. Majores nostri, inquit Marcus Cato de re rustica, furem condemnabant dupli, fœneratorem quadrupli. Et interrogatus, quid esset fœnerari, Quid, inquit, hominem occidere? Si sapientes putassent hoc pacto tantopere juvari posse hominum societatem, certe in scribendis legibus et constituendis rebuspublicis rationem ita commodam et privatim publiceque utilem non omisissent; illis enim societas hominum summæ semper fuit curæ.

[9 Reprinted from Humfred. Juell. Vit. pp. 217, &c. Humfrey thus introduces it: Annotationes quasdam, sive breves propositiones de usura, in ipsius musæo post obitum repertas, placuit evulgare: ubi lector intelliget ad quandam principalem quæstionem duas adversarias et acutas et succinctas responsiones. Alteri, quia auctor est incertus, literas A. B. apponemus, in altera erit Joannes Juellus.]

A. B. Nam quæ in verbo Dei dicuntur contra fœneratores, huc non pertinent. Fœnus enim (quod ab Hebræis *Nesek*, id est, morsus, dicitur, et verbo Dei damnatur) tum demum exercetur, cum pecunia datur alicui mutuo, ut et sortem et aliquid supra sortem quoquo jure exigam. In ea vero specie quæ nobis proposita est, non proprie datur pecunia mutuo, sed societas quædam initur, in qua unus faciendæ mercaturæ pecuniam ad emendas merces, alter vero suam operam in commune lucrum confert.

Jo. Juellus. Sunt hodie multi viri non mali, qui verbo Dei prorsus omne genus usuræ damnari putant. Certe David ita prædicat virum bonum: "Qui pecuniam suam," inquit, "non dedit ad usuram:" idque non tantum non pauperi, sed prorsus nulli. Et Christus in universum ait, "Date mutuum, nihil inde sperantes." Quod si hæc aliaque multa, quæ contra usuram proferuntur ex verbo Dei, huc non pertinent, cur tu ex eodem illo verbo Dei non adfers ea pro usura quæ huc pertinent? Cur planum non facis ex scripturis, licere ita pacisci cum mercatore, aut cum divite, ut pecuniam tuam repetas cum usura? Est quidem usura alia acerbior, alia mitior: minus enim læditur dives mercator, qui ex fœnebri pecunia lucrum facit, quam pauper qui exeditur usuris, et ne sortem quidem potest reddere. Ego tamen spero doceri posse suo loco, in omni etiam moderatissima usura inesse morsum. Definitio quidem ea, quæ hic adfertur, recte congruit. Ita enim mercator mercatori dat pecuniam mutuo, ut quicquid acciderit, sive lucratus sis, sive jacturam feceris, quocunque jure, quacunque injuria, repetatur cum usura.

A. B. Illud igitur, id est, lucri causa fratrem lædere, quem tuo etiam cum damno tenearis juvare, plane repugnat caritati christianæ, ideoque species est magnæ crudelitatis; a qua Christianos omnes oportet esse alienos.

Jo. Juellus. Scripturis pugnandum erat, non illis rationibus quæ nihil probent. Quæ enim est ista dialectica: Non licet usuras exigere a paupere; *ergo* licet exigere a divite? Nam eodem modo prorsus possis dicere: Non licet affligere pauperem in judicio; *ergo* licet affligere divitem: atque etiam pueri in scholis hoc sciunt, ex negativa non recte concludi affirmativam.

A. B. Hoc vero, e contrario, cum caritate prorsus consentit; quis enim hujusmodi contractu læditur? Nam respublica nullum damnum patitur, imo etiam juvatur, cum reipublicæ intersit, mercaturam honestam potius fieri, quam ut otiosa pecunia jaceat.

Jo. Juellus. Quis, inquis, læditur? Respondeo, Respublica. Mercator enim, qui pecunias accepit fœnori, cogitur merces suas tanto pluris vendere; et populus cogitur eas pluris emere. Itaque Chrysostomus recte dixit, fœneratorem communem esse hostem omnium[1]. Ad hæc, unde hodie sunt tot mercatores obærati, nisi quod juvenes, dum student præpropere rem facere, ante involvuntur atque impediuntur usuris, quam possint emergere? Illi vero, postquam semel incipiunt ruere, alios sæpe multos viros bonos creditores suos secum rapiunt. Si hoc est juvare rempublicam, equidem non video quid sit eam lædere. Jurisperiti quidem aiunt interesse reipublicæ, non ut quisque usurariam istam mercaturam faciat, sed ut quisque re sua recte, hoc est, ut ego interpretor, honeste et legitime utatur.

A. B. Qui vero pecunia utitur, is quoque conqueri non potest, cum pars lucri ad eum redeat.

Jo. Juellus. Redit ad eum, fateor, interdum aliquid; sed hoc pacto, ut dixi, rerum pretia augentur in immensum, et populus mordetur atque opprimitur. Leges autem non unius alicujus avari mercatoris cupiditati servire debent, sed saluti totius populi.

A. B. Denique qui pecuniam confert, quam alioqui jacere otiosam et sensim exhauriri oportuerat, fit hac ratione locupletior, ac proinde ad fratres juvandos magis idoneus.

Jo. Juellus. Certe quicquid aut debitori accidat, aut reipublicæ, solus fœnerator semper fit locupletior, sed iniquis et fœdis rationibus; ut solent, qui ex

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[1 See Vol. II. page 853, notes 12, 13. Conf. Chrysost. Op. Par. 1718-38. In Matt. Hom. v. Tom. VII. p. 82; ibid. Hom. lvi. p. 574. Chrysostom in all these places strongly condemns usury; though the exact expression of the text does not occur.]

lenocinio aut e furto rem faciunt. Sed ridiculum atque etiam acerbum est, multos opprimere ut unum juves. Nam quod additur, fœneratorem divitem ad fratres juvandos magis esse idoneum, nullum est genus hominum avarius, tenacius, sordidius, aut minus propensum vel ad sublevandos fratres, vel ad juvandam rempublicam.

A. B. Sed contra, objici solent nobis quædam, ex quibus probetur, et rempublicam lædi, et ei fieri injuriam qui pecunia utatur, atque adeo sic reddi securos homines et negligentes, quibus stertentibus opes crescant.

Jo. Juellus. Res ipsa utrumque loquitur. Est enim hæc et vetus, et publica, et verissima querimonia.

A. B. Rempublicam lædi aiunt, quoniam mercator hac ratione cogitur carius merces suas vendere, ut et sibi et alteri lucrum quærat. Respondeo, quærendum esse huic malo remedium, ideoque duo inprimis esse cavenda, quoad ejus fieri poterit; nempe ne cum homine improbo sit nobis negotium; deinde ne pecuniæ pensionem æquo majorem stipulemur, sed ejusmodi, ut probabile sit utrique posse honestam lucri partem accedere.

Jo. Juellus. Pulchre, sed quis quæret? ubi, quando, quo pacto, apud quos quæret? hoc scilicet est illud velle quærere, quod inveniri non possit. Non enim positum est in manu tua, quam ille vir probus sit quocum contrahas. Infinitæ enim sunt latebræ in animis hominum. De illa vero mediocri pensione, nescio an unquam possit conveniri.

A. B. Præterea, si ob hoc incommodum damnetur hic contractus, cur non etiam improbetur locatio? Nam certe si vel agrum vel ædes alicui locavero qui sit improbior, vel cariori pretio quam par sit, eadem prorsus incommoda consequentur.

Jo. Juellus. Imo multum est discriminis. Nam locare semper licuit, fœnerari non licuit. Locare honeste potes, fœnerari honeste non potes. Ut autem recte damnatur iniqua locatio, ita recte damnatur iniqua mutatio [mutuatio?]. Usura autem mutatio [mutuatio?] iniqua est. Itaque usura non in universum cum locatione, sed cum iniqua tantum locatione conferri debet. Omnis autem iniqua locatio damnanda est; *ergo* omnis usura damnanda est. Additur, Si ædes locavero alicui qui sit improbior: hoc quid sit non intelligo. Improbitatem enim hoc loco non in conductore qui patitur injuriam, sed in iniquo locatore qui injuriam intulit; nec in eo qui pecunias accepit fœnori, sed in fœneratore qui dedit, reprehendimus.

A. B. Proxime vero aiunt, duabus in rebus fieri injuriam; primum, quod ex alieno labore lucrum percipiat alius; secundo, quia fit stipulatio certæ pecuniæ in omnem eventum, cum tamen mercaturæ sint incerti eventus, et in societate commune debeat esse periculum, ideoque non videatur licita stipulatio, in qua non etiam fiat damni communis mentio.

Jo. Juellus. Utrumque recte.

A. B. De priori sic respondeo, iniquius non esse, ut ego ex alieno labore lucrum percipiam, quam ut ille ex aliena pecunia fiat locupletior; summam autem esse hujus contractus æquitatem in eo quod unus materiam, alter operam conferat, quo fit ut tum alter alterum juvet, merito quoque commune sit lucrum.

Jo. Juellus. Si ita esset, societas esset, non usura: par autem esset ratio, si et creditor et debitor subirent idem periculum. Non enim satis est ab altero materiam lucri præberi, ab altero conferri operam, nisi id ab utroque fiat eodem modo. Nunc autem alter sæpe et operam et oleum perdit, alter securus et certus est, non tantum de sorte, sed etiam de fœnore. Itaque cum non proponatur utrique periculum commune communeque lucrum, fit sæpe, ut alter alterum non juvet, sed opprimat, et in hoc contractu summa sit iniquitas.

A. B. Scio tamen objici posse, quod ait Aristoteles, contra naturam esse, ut pecunia pecuniam pariat; et illa quoque adferri posse, quæ dicunt jurisconsulti, debitorem non uti aliena pecunia, sed sua, quoniam in mutuo, id est in iis rebus quæ pondere, numero, vel mensura constant, mutuum dicatur, quod de meo fiat tuum. Sed has subtilitates nihil moror, quas etiam sperem me posse facile refutare, cum hunc contractum non dixerim mutuum [non] esse, sed societatis speciem, in qua unus materiam lucri, aut id certe ex quo materia lucri comparatur, alter

vero operam confert; et caritatis regula postulat, ut communis beneficii sit communis ac reciproca compensatio.

Jo. Juel. Mirum est, id hominem christianum non videre, quod ethnicus solo naturæ lumine imbutus viderit. Neque ita levis est Aristotelis auctoritas, ut possimus eum, quasi qui inanes tantum subtilitates atque argutias sectatus sit, ita leviter ac contemptim rejicere. Vis autem rationis qua usus est Aristoteles ea est, ut vix putem ita facile posse refutari. Res enim aliæ ita natæ sunt, ut res alias possint procreare similes, ut bos bovem, caper caprum; aliæ autem sunt inertes et stupidæ, quæ nihil procreant; ut lapis non generat lapidem, quod in eo non sit vis aliqua progenerandi. Nummus ergo non magis potest nummum procreare, quam mensa mensam, aut pluma plumam. Quod autem ad nomen *mutuum* attinet, ut leviter objicitur a jurisconsultis, ita hic leviter dissolvitur. Esto enim, non sit usura mutuum, sit species aliqua societatis. Non erat id in controversia; illud potius quæritur, an hoc genus societatis coire liceat? Sed quid hoc tandem argumenti est: Usura inter mercatores aut divites non est mutuum; *ergo* usura inter mercatores aut divites non est illicita? Semel, iterum, tertio inculcas ab altero materiam lucri conferri, ab altero industriam. Quis hoc nescire potest? aut quasi id magnopere ad rem faciat, aut quasi non etiam in fœdissimis contractibus idem interdum fieri soleat. Non quid fiat hoc loco quæritur, sed quid liceat. Sed caritatis regula, inquis, postulat, ut communis beneficii sit communis ac reciproca compensatio. Recte sane: fœneratores enim caritate ducuntur scilicet, non avaritia. Sed quid si debitor nihil lucratus sit, vel potius, quid si, ut fit, rem omnem amiserit? quæ tum regula caritatis statuet compensationem reciprocam?

A. B. De posteriori sic respondeo: quamvis incerti sunt eventus mercaturæ, tamen merito præsumitur potius lucrum quam damnum; cum mercatores artis sint periti, minime sit probabile in damnum suum concessuros.

Jo. Juellus. Præsumitur lucrum potius quam damnum, fortasse quia animo procliviores sumus ad bene sperandum: res tamen ipsa incerta semper est et lubrica, et interdum casu magis regitur, quam prudentia. Quare cum eventus sit incertus, et societas ea pecuniæ atque operæ sit communis, par est, mea quidem sententia, commune esse periculum. Alterum enim subire omnes casus, et rem amittere, atque etiam ex amissa re usuras reddere; alterum sedere domi otiosum, et quicquid acciderit de sorte et lucro securum esse, iniquum est.

A. B. Deinde, distinguenda est hæc species societatis ab ea, in qua uterque et rem et operam confert, ut cum mercatores cum mercatoribus societatem ineunt; tum enim uterque sibi ex æquo cavet.

Jo. Juellus. Distinguenda est societas ab illa. Illa enim honesta est; hæc semper turpis fuit. Verum ne hæc quidem ratio satis firma est. Quid enim facit cautio ad minuendam injuriam? fieri enim potest, ut etiam in turpi re uterque sibi ab utroque ex æquo caveat. Certe ne Judæi quidem hodie hoc genus societatis inter se probare possunt, ut mercatores aut divites a divitibus usuram exigant.

A. B. In hac vero specie diversum accidit; nam alter pecuniam habet in sua potestate, alter, obligationis schedula contentus, alterius bonam fidem sequitur.

Jo. Juellus. Est hoc quidem respondere aliquid, at non satisfacere. Quid enim si creditor non tantum sequatur fidem debitoris, sed etiam agros et prædia velit sibi obligari: an non æque illi cautum est, atque alteri qui accepit pecuniam?

A. B. Itaque cum illi multo melius sit cautum quam isti, dico ita quoque concipi licere stipulationem, ut communis damni mentio non fiat, nempe ut ille hoc veluti fræno coerceatur, ne alienam pecuniam audacius profundat, sed ut ea parcius tanquam suo unius periculo peritura utatur.

Jo. Juellus. Imo æque ut dixi utrique cautum est; itaque in stipulatione par est, si quid acciderit, mentionem fieri communis damni. Otiosum autem erat hoc loco de pecuniæ profusione dicere: nunc enim non de decoctoribus, sed de fœneratoribus sermo est. Certe in hac re una sita est controversia: cum cautio utrinque sit eadem, cur proponi non debeat idem utrinque periculum?

A. B. Interim tamen est christiani hominis, tum in aliis omnibus obligationum speciebus, tum etiam in hoc contractu, ita jure suo uti, ut, cum ei constiterit alterum sine sua culpa jacturam fecisse, paratus sit ex æquo et bono ipsius quo-

que sortis damnum ferre potius, quam ut cum fratre acerbius agat quam christiana caritas ferat.

Jo. Juellus. Christiani est hominis ita vivere; est etiam christiani hominis ita contrahere: pacta enim et conventa quasi vincula quædam sunt humanæ vitæ. Si debitor, inquis, nulla sua culpa jacturam fecerit, creditor debet ipsius etiam sortis damnum ferre. At quid si ille jacturam quidem nullam fecerit, sed ex aliena aut nihil lucratus sit, aut non ita multum, ut ex eo aliquid usuræ nomine decidi possit? quæ tandem hic adhibenda erit christiana moderatio?

A. B. Ac, ne cui hoc mirum videatur, dico similem esse mutui rationem, quod tamen nemo reprehendit. Exempli causa, frater egens venit ad me petens pecuniam; ego quod petit largior, sed tamen stipulor, bona fide intra certum tempus redditurum quod accepit. Quis hanc stipulationem damnet? Et tamen sæpissime accidit, ut debitores non possint, præsertim ad præscriptum tempus, persolvere mutuum, idque sine ulla culpa.

Jo. Juellus. Inter usuram et mutuum multum est discriminis. Deus enim mutuo dare jussit, fœnerari prohibuit; et mutuum cum caritate conjunctum est, usura cum avaritia. Argumentum hoc quale tandem est? Fieri, inquis, potest, ut aliquis interdum in mutuo aut locatione præstare non possit quod promisit; *ergo* licet exercere fœnus. Hæc ratio mihi vix videtur cohærere. Est enim simile dissimile, et meo judicio non multum probat.

A. B. Idem ergo hic quoque incommodum accidit; sicut in agri locatione et aliis contractibus omnibus sæpissime usu venit, ut aliquis, quod sine exceptione promisit, præstare non possit. Eadem igitur inter omnes regula obtineat, ut Christianus cum proximo christiane agat, nec tamen propterea stipulatio damnetur.

Jo. Juellus. Inter bonos bene agere regula pia est et christiana; verum ad hanc regulam usura non quadrat. Non enim adhuc satis liquido probatum est, fœneratorem posse esse virum bonum, aut homini christiano licere magis pie fœnerari, quam pie furari. Nam qui dixit, "Non furaberis," idem dixit, "Non fœneraberis."

A. B. His positis, quod ad me attinet, his veluti finibus hunc contractum circumscriberem.

Jo. Juellus. Quæ res in se moderationem non habet ullam, eam istis moderationibus regere non potes. Quanto satius est, omnem usuram in universum prorsus tollere, quam malum infinitum finibus velle circumscribere.

A. B. Primum considerandum puto diligenter, ne, vel avaritiæ vel otii captandi causa, malimus pecuniam locare, quam ipsam exercere, vel emendis fundis collocare.

Jo. Juellus. Sunt ista non juris regulæ, sed injuriæ. Scilicet venimus ad summum: docemur nunc non avaritiæ, sed pietatis causa fœnerari, et nihil agendo non otium, sed laborem quærere.

A. B. Secundo cavendum, ne hoc modo fiamus ad sublevandam pauperum inopiam minus idonei, ut si quis quicquid habet alteri committat, ita ut non satis supersit quo fratrem juvet.

Jo. Juellus. Ridiculum; quanto enim plus exponis fœnori, tanto plus ad te redit quo juves fratrem.

A. B. Tertio quærendum mercatorem puto, non quam ditissimum, sed quam integerrimum, quique honestam faciet mercaturam.

Jo. Juellus. Quid hoc ad rem? non enim integritas quæritur in fœnore, sed pecunia; nec nos mercatorem qui pecuniam accipit fœnori hoc loco comprehendimus, sed fœneratorem qui dedit.

A. B. Quarto, moderandam censeo pecuniæ pensionem, ita ut, ipsius mercatoris ac bonorum adhibito judicio et arbitrio, nec publicæ leges violentur, nec justa cuiquam offendiculi occasio præbeatur.

Jo. Juellus. Et quis tandem auream istam mediocritatem describet nobis, ut neve plus accipiamus quam oporteat, neve minus? Nam si unciarias usuras exigere licet, cur quadrantarias non licet? si quadrantarias, cur non licet trientarias? Si trientarias, cur non semissarias? et si illas, cur non etiam centesimas? Quis statuet nobis istos limites, ne uspiam liceat aberrare? Quod si regula hujus-

modi ita ad perpendiculum tradi potest, cur eam Ipse non tradidit? cur non edixit nobis, hoc licere fieri, illud non licere? Quid causæ dici potest, cur nunquam nec Deus ipse, nec respublica ulla, nec vir bonus aliquis pensiones istas usurarias ita temperarit, ut intelligi possit, quid quantumque mercatorem a mercatore, usuræ nomine, liceat exigere? Absurdum est, cum omnia ad mediocritatem velis redigi, eam ipsam in medio relinquere, et nullis limitibus definire.

A. B. Quinto, diligenter circumspiciendum est, ut nostro jure utamur, et æquo, et bono, sicut christiana caritas jubet.

Jo. Juellus. Hoc mihi idem videtur esse quod proximum. Æquum enim et bonum non aliud est, quam arbitrium boni viri cum caritate christiana conjunctum. Caritas autem christiana non fœneratur, nec ea quæ sua sunt quærit, sed ea quæ sunt Jesu Christi.

CERTAIN FRIVOLOUS OBJECTIONS

AGAINST

THE GOVERNMENT OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND[1].

[Whitgift's Answere to a Certen Libell intituled An Admonition, &c. Lond. 1573. pp. 323-5; also Defense of the Answere, &c. Lond. 1574. pp. 423, &c.; Strype's Life of Whitgift, Append. Book I. No. 10.]

THE judgment of that reverend father John, late bishop of Sarum, avouched by his own hand.

Archiepiscoporum et Archidiaconorum nomina, simul cum muneribus et officiis suis, sunt abolenda. Novitiorum assertio.

THE FIRST REASON.

God so loved the church[2], that he left a perfite[3] pattern, orderly, &c. Ephes. iv. But there is named neither pope, nor archbishop, nor archdeacon. Prima ratio.[4]

THE ANSWER[5].

How know you that the fourth chapter *ad Eph.* is a perfite[3] pattern of all ecclesiastical government? We have now neither apostles, nor evangelists, nor prophets; and yet are they the chief in that pattern. Neither have we there either bishop, or *presbyter*, or *diaconus*, or *catechista*, or *lector;* and yet are these necessary parts in ecclesiastical government. Therefore that pattern is not perfite[3] to hold for ever. Neither were there then any public churches, or pulpits, or schools, or universities, &c. St Paul nameth neither pope nor archbishop, I grant: and the church is not governed by names, but by offices. Every bishop then was called *papa.* And Anacletus, that was next after Peter (if there be any weight in his words), nameth archbishops[6]. Ejus solutio.[4]

THE SECOND REASON.

The synagogue of the Jews was a figure of the church of Christ. And God to the perfection of that church omitted nothing. Secunda ratio.[4]

THE ANSWER[5].

I see not what you would conclude. Perhaps ye[7] will say, they had not the names of pope or archbishop. So had they not this name *episcopus* in all Moses' law. Yet were not all priests of like anciency in government. They had other names that were equivalent with archbishops; as *Principes synagogæ; Principes sanctuarii; Principes familiarum Leviticarum; Principes familiarum sacerdotalium; Principes sacerdotum; Principes domus Dei; Pontifex; Summus pontifex; Summus sacerdos, &c.* Therefore this negative reason is but weak. Again, whereas it is said, that to the perfection of the synagogue there wanted nothing, it may be answered, that to the perfection thereof there wanted many things, as it is known and confessed. And, as the synagogue had not the names of pope and archbishop, so had it not the name of apostle, or evangelist, &c. Ejus solutio.[4]

THE THIRD REASON.

Where the substance of anything is most perfite[8], there the accidents be most perfite[8]. But the substance of true religion was most perfite[8] in the primitive church; and yet there was then no archbishop; ergo. Tertia ratio.[4]

THE ANSWER[5].

First, this maxim[9] is not proved. For it may well be doubted whether the Ejus solutio.[4]

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[1] This paper is reprinted from Whitgift's "Answere," in which it first appeared. It is also in his "Defense," and is also printed by Strype, who introduces it as "The judgment of that reverend father Jewel, sometime bishop of Sarum, on this assertion of Cartwright's (styled by him in the margin of his paper *Novitiorum assertio*), &c."]

[2] World, Strype.]

[3] Perfect, Def. and Strype.]

[4] These marginal notes are not in Strype.]

[5] Def. and Strype add to the first answer *of the bishop of Sarisbury*, to the rest *of the bishop*.]

[6] Anaclet. Epistt. ii. iii. in Crabb. Concil. Col. Agrip. 1551. Tom. I. pp. 61, 3.]

[7] You, Def. and Strype.]

[8] Perfect, Strype.]

[9] Maxime, Strype; maxima, Whitg.]

most perfite[1] substance have[2] evermore most perfite[1] accidents. And again, the substance of religion is the same now that[3] it was then. The difference, if there be any, standeth in accidents, and[4] not in substance. Therefore this allegation of substance and accidents[5] was not needful. In the primitive church God raised up apostles and prophets, and gave them power extraordinary; as the gift of tongues, the gift of healing, the gift of government, &c.: in place whereof he hath now given[6] universities, schools, bishops, archbishops, &c. But you say there was then no archbishop. So may you say that before king Saul there was no king in Israel; so may you say that before of late times there was neither duke nor earl in England. So may you say that in the primitive church there was neither dean, nor parson, nor prebendary. And yet now, both in ecclesiastical and civil government, all these are thought necessary. Last of all, where you say there was no archbishop in the primitive church; it is written by many that St Paul made Titus archbishop of Creta. Erasmus saith, *Paulus Titum archiepiscopum*[7] *Cretæ consecravit*[8]. And Lyra likewise saith, *Paulus instituit Titum archiepiscopum Cretensium*[9]. If these authorities like you not, Chrysostom saith, *Paulus Tito multorum episcoporum judicium commisit*[10]. Now, having the government of many bishops, what may we call him but an archbishop?

Erasm. in arg. Epist. ad Tit.

Chrys. i. cap. Tit.

THE FOURTH REASON.

Quarta ratio.[11]

The ecclesiastical and civil government may not be confounded, or be together in one person. But to be a chief or a ruler is a civil power; ergo, it cannot be exercised by any ecclesiastical person.

THE ANSWER[12].

Ejus solutio.[11]

Both these governments were confounded in Moses. Therefore they may be confounded. And the priests of Israel had the judgment and government of the people. And St Augustine was troubled[13] with hearing and determining of causes, as it appeareth by Possidonius[14]. And where you say, to be a chief or a ruler is a civil government; nay, in ecclesiastical causes it is ecclesiastical[15] government, and not civil. And these differences of government may not so unadvisedly be confounded. This is the key of ecclesiastical correction, and belongeth only to the ecclesiastical officer, and to none other. Hereof St Paul saith, *Seniorem ne corripueris, nisi sub, &c. Tradidi illum Satanæ, &c.* This jurisdiction is not civil, but ecclesiastical; and therefore may be exercised by an[16] ecclesiastical person.

[17]I beseech you to take these sudden answers in good part. As for these reasons, in my judgment, they are not made to build up, and they are too weak to pull down.

Stultitia nata est in corde pueri, et virga disciplinæ fugabit illam: Prov. xxii. It is but wantonness; correction will help it.

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[1] Perfect, Def. and Strype.]
[2] Hath, Def. and Strype.]
[3] As, Strype.]
[4] Strype omits *and.*]
[5] Accident, Strype.]
[6] Given now, Strype.]
[7] Strype omits *archiepiscopum.*]
[8] Titum...Cretæ præfecerat apostolus, et illinc abiens archiepiscopum consecrarat.—Erasm. Op. Lugd. Bat. 1703-6. In Epist. ad Tit. Arg. Tom. VII. cols. 1067, 8.]
[9] *Reliqui te Cretæ,* instituens te ibi archiepiscopum.—Bibl. cum Gloss. Ord. et Expos. N. de Lyra, Basil. 1502. Ad Tit. cap. i. Pars VI. fol. 128.]
[10] Chrysost. Op. Par. 1718-38. In Epist. ad Tit. cap. i. Hom. ii. Tom. XI. p. 737.]
[11] These marginal references are not in Strype.]
[12] Def. and Strype add *of the bishop.*]
[13] Wearied, Strype.]
[14] August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. August. Vit. auct. Possid. cap. xix. Tom. X. Post-Append. cols. 270, 1.]
[15] Is an ecclesiastical, Strype.]
[16] Any, Def. and Strype.]
[17] Strype introduces this sentence with, *The bishop of Sarum concludes.*]

APPENDIX.

I. EXHORTATIO AD OXONIENSES[1].

SCIRE se nec ingenii esse nec ætatis suæ, sententiam tantis de rebus pro concione dicere; se enim sibi conscium esse, quam longe absit, non solum a maturitate, verum etiam a mediocritate literarum. Verum cum alii, quos audiri ex eo loco par fuit, vel verecundia nimia vel socordia dicendi laborem fugerent, onus quod volenti nolenti est impositum omnino ferre decrevisse; laturum autem facilius, si auditores eos nunc esse qui semper fuerunt intellexerit. Eam enim sperat causam oblatam esse, in qua oratio ne muto quidem deesse possit. Quid enim est facilius, quam de literarum studio apud homines literatissimos, apud religiosissimos de religione dicere? Et de literis quidem in hoc ingeniorum atque artium præsidio, ubi Plato, Cicero, Demosthenes, luculentissimi scriptores atque optimi audiuntur, cur multa dicat haud se videre. Non enim dubitat, eorum esse neminem ita prorsus oblitum sui, ut non meminerit se Oxonii vivere; qua voce una semper majores nostri satis officii sui admonebantur, et divinum illud lumen ingeniorum, non voluptatum sed disciplinarum causa in nobis, a Deo Optimo Maximo accensum esse: neminem esse ex hoc numero, quin id secum assidue cogitet, in academia se florentissima, in luce reipublicæ, in ore, in sermone, in oculis omnium versari: dignitatem et splendorem academiæ non in substructionum et ædificiorum magnitudine, sed in hominum studiosorum multitudine situm esse, nos postremo collegia, nos scholas, nos gymnasium totum esse. Quapropter cum ista secum quisque meditetur, quid opus est oratione, cum res ipsa potius moneat? Ipsosmet videre, studiorum suorum cursum summo Dei Optimi Maximi beneficio concitari, videre insignem commeatum Londino usque ad se advectum esse, et bonos viros de ipsis dormientibus solicitos atque anxios cogitare. Nam de his duobus cœlesti spiritu afflatis viris[2], etsi non satis verecunde multa in os dici possunt, tamen hoc facile omnes intelligere, quam difficile sit his iniquissimis temporibus pecunias disciplinarum causa comparare; hos tamen duos non tantum laborem cupidissime suscepisse, sed etiam hyeme durissima et difficillimo anni tempore tam procul huc profectos esse, ut ipsis domi manere et otiosos esse liceat, et, ne quid ipsis curæ sit, illos se solicitudine et curis enecuisse. Non illos mollities, non remissio animi, non convivia, non ludi revocare ab instituto, non labor, non cura, non rerum ipsarum difficultas et magnitudo frangere ac deterrere potuit. Hæc tanta erga ipsos Dei Opt. Max. beneficia, et hominum bonorum benignitatem si diligenter et attente, ut par est, considerabunt, et ad pietatem vehementer excitabuntur, et alacrius atque ardentius ad studia literarum ingredientur.

Jam vero de religione nec quid dicat, nec quid taceat, satis compertum habuit; ita ea partim ab apertis hostibus, partim a perniciosis fautoribus misere laceratur. Alii enim hominum levissimas nugas et meras ineptias admirantur, æterni Numinis stabile certumque judicium et veritatem contemnunt; et, quasi falli homines non possent, ita id tuentur unum quod a proavis et majoribus didicerunt. Ita errorem pro religione, consuetudinem pro veritate, opinionem pro pietate colunt. Eorum autem, a quibus in viam revocantur, aditum congressumque fugiunt: illis, qui salutem et vitam afferunt, pestem et perniciem machinantur: eos, qui omnia bona precantur, diris et execrationibus defigunt; quosque parentum loco venerari, et quorum innocentiam tueri et tegere debebant, in eos omnia crudelitatis exempla excogitant. At sunt alii longe his infestiores hostes evangelii, qui veritatem ore quidem profitentur, factis autem negant, et perditis moribus et flagitiosa vita alios

[1] The substance of this *Exhortatio* is preserved by Humfrey, Juell. Vit. pp. 35, &c.; who introduces it with these words: Solebat autem Chamberus non solum pecuniam, sed et doctrinam dispergere et dispensare, adhibito concionatore, qui populum instituret, quique studiosos, quibus aliquid datum est, officii sui admoneret. Quam provinciam licet sæpius Petrus Martyr, pro sua in Deum pietate et in nos amore, libentissime subiverit; semel tamen, illo absente, Juello demandata est, qui tum hoc fere modo auditores affatur.]

[2] Humfrey mentions Sampson and Horton, but says he is uncertain whether these were the two meant. Chambers employed several as dispensers of his bounty.]

a religione deterrent. Ex hoc numero multi sæpe sunt, quod sine gravi suspirio et gemitu dici non potest, qui Christi nomen, et evangelium, et pietatem prædicant, et aliorum cæcitatem atque ignorationem exagitant; sed nimis otiose, nimis solute, nimis secure vivitur. Religio, quam Deus Opt. Max. commendavit, quæque in omnem æternitatem fixa et constituta videbatur, heu! licentia, impunitate, omni flagitiorum genere et vitæ turpitudine labefactatur. Itane, inquit imperita multitudo, pietas ab impiis, religio a ganeonibus, æterna vita ab hominibus deploratis et mortuis, Deus a diaboli mancipiis denuntiatur? Ita pietas despicitur, religio contemnitur, ecclesia Dei laceratur, Deus ipse gravissima contumelia afficitur, Dei immortalis nomen et religio nostra causa ridetur et exponitur ludibrio. Hæc diligenter animadvertenda et serio curanda, in hanc curam omni ope incumbendum, et vocem omni contentione ceu tubam excitandam, ut hostes evangelii aliquando perfidiæ et contumaciæ suæ pudeat. Huc nos parare, huc omni impetu ferri, huc studia, conatus, industrias referre oportere. O quanta messis et quam matura ubique est! messores quam pauci! quot oves, quam misere in rupibus vagæ ac dissipatæ! pastores quam pauci! quam læta et fœcunda vinea, quam pauci vinitores! Ne pudeat evangelii, ne pudeat Servatoris Jesu Christi. Hæc nostra est religio, hoc nostrum est munus, hoc suscipimus et profitemur: hac via diaboli vires minuentur, hac via Christi gloria in orbem terrarum universum propagabitur. Quod si cessatur et ad tantam scelerum licentiam connivetur, Dei omnipotentis vindicta et manus gravissima sentietur. Hac in causa nisi fidem et industriam præstiterimus, Deum ipsum immortalem infestum et vindicem experiemur. At quid experiemur inquit? jamdudum experimur, jamdudum esse Numen, esse Deum immortalem, et nos ignavos esse ac desides experimur. Nam quæ major calamitas nostris rebus accidere unquam potest, quam ut nobis bonarum artium cognitio et doctrina ex hominum frequentia tolleretur? Fuit, fuit olim Oxonium doctrinarum omnium domicilium, ubi se colere juventus et erudire posset. Hæ olim sedes erant, hæc sacraria literarum: a nobis cultus Numinis purissimus, a nobis pietas, a nobis religio petebatur. Sed olim ista, olim ista viguere. Nunc enim nostro vitio et ignavia ornamenta illa et lumina in tenebras et solitudinem reciderunt: nostro hæc omnia vitio et ignavia ceciderunt.

Quæ quamvis nobis videri debeant, ut sunt, acerbissima, toto tamen corpore atque animo cohorrescere se dicebat, cum cogitaret, quanto academiæ et omnium fortunis impendere videantur acerbiora: videre se quodammodo naufragium et funus literarum, cum omnium bonarum artium genera et studia destituentur, cum omnis hæc spes melioris auræ quæcunque est, cum hoc decus Britanniæ ac lumen extinguetur, cum hæc disciplinarum omnium penetralia, plena inscitiæ, plena squaloris, plena barbariei, horrida, inculta, muta, deserta, collabentur et ruent. Sed quid hæc futura dicuntur? Nunc ea plaga accipitur, nunc illud vulnus infligitur, nunc barbaries studiorum omnium nostrorum spatia populatur. Nam quid verbis opus est, cum ipsa id res aperte clamet?

At nunc, O Deus bone, quæ nobis spes, quæ lux, quam repente affulsit! Videmus pietatem et literas et Deo immortali et hominibus esse curæ, Deum Opt. Max. ad miserias nostras oculos postremo adjecisse; homines inopes ac tenues, qui ante ne vivere quidem satis commode posse videbantur, ingenti salario in academia retineri. Quæ cum tantum singulis profuerint, facile videre est, quantum profuerint universis.

Ita conversa ad nos oratione, vehementer et graviter hortatus est, ut agamus Deo Opt. Max. gratias, quod nostri misertus sit, et inopiam nostram tot beneficiis cumularit, ut exardescamus ad studia literarum, et veram pietatem, quantum in nobis est, promoveamus, religioni quam profitemur summa vitæ integritate atque innocentia respondeamus. Monere pudorem, monere religionis orbitatem, monere vindictam Dei. Hortatus est ut meminerimus nos non deliciis, non otio, non conviviis, non licentiæ, non impunitati, sed studiis, literis, vigiliis, laudi, severitati natos esse: postremo, ut mores et vitam omnem sic instituamus, ut videant homines bona nostra opera, et laudent Patrem nostrum cœlestem, &c.

II. EXHORTATIO IN COLLEGIO CORPORIS CHRISTI: *IN MEMORIA ÆTERNA ERIT JUSTUS,* SEU CONCIO IN FUNDATORIS FOXI COMMEMORATIONEM[1].

In primo orationis suæ introitu proponit, omnes gloriæ studio duci; omnes etiam senio et ætate confectos velle et vitam suam propagare, et nominis sui memoriam perpetuare; ac inde philosophos immortalitatis nostræ argumentum colligere; omnes hoc unum spectare, sed non uno omnes modo expetere; alios maria ponte constravisse, et Neptunum quasi captivum suæ potestati subjecisse; alios editissimos montes solo æquasse, alios ingentes pyramides, arcus triumphales, obeliscos, colossos, arces, castra extruxisse, alia atque alia æternæ gloriæ monumenta ac trophæa sibi erexisse: non defuisse qui malis id artibus affectarunt, ut Pausanias, ut etiam Erostratus, qui celeberrimum Dianæ templum incendit, quo nominis claritatem aucuparetur; ceterum hoc nomen in oblivionem venire, hanc famam extingui: justi autem memoriam æternitati consecratam semper durare, nulla seculorum diuturnitate interire, fructum ejus nunquam excidere: justum non in arena, sed in Petra, non in seipso, sed in Christo ædificare, fundamentum non in terra, sed in cœlo jacere.

Ex omnibus unum Richardum Foxum præclarissimum fundatorem, cujus eo die commemoratio agitabatur, exemplum optimum esse posse, tempori consentaneum, loco convenientissimum, ipsis auditoribus aptissimum. De Foxi beneficiis non esse opus quicquam apud eos dicere, qui beneficiis jam fruerentur, qui illa in dies, in horas, viderent, sentirent, agnoscerent: illud tantum dicturum, ejus honorem, nomen, memoriam, laudesque, quamdiu universitas, collegium, literæ florebunt, semper mansura: non se amplificaturum, quod nullo modo extenuari deberet, non commemoraturum, quod nulla oblivione deleri oporteret; de officio autem ipsorum, cujus non semper erant memores, de studio literarum et diligentia duo aut tria verba facturum. Pertinax imperator Romanos, otio jam et pigritia languescentes, hoc symbolo excitare voluit, Laboremus: ita illis sic agendum et peragendum, sic conspirandum et simili signo utendum, *Studeamus:* quod qui non intelligeret, non usurparet, non præ se gereret, tanquam inutilis miles, imo tanquam proditor, aut explorator, aut exul haberetur. Musæ, ut Platoni visum est, ἀπὸ τοῦ μῶσθαι, a scrutando et studendo nomen obtinent. Musarum princeps Melete, a studio, cura, et diligentia; universitas gymnasium dicitur, non desidiæ locus, sed exercitii palæstra. Prisci illi Romani Stimulam et Hortam tantum non divinis honoribus cumularunt; Otium autem seu Quietem inter divas quidem recensuerunt, tamen in civitatem non receperunt, sed extra Collinam portam illi ignavo numini templum dedicarunt, ne quis Romæ natus et liberaliter educatus quietem et otium ullo honore dignaretur. Nihil agendo, inquit Cato ille, homines discunt male agere; ideoque quotquot literati fuerunt, et literarum gloria claruerunt, non otio, non somno, sed labore, sed studio ad illud literarum culmen pervenerunt. Puta Cicero, qui in dies singulos lineas aliquot duxit, Græce vel Latine aliquid demum commentatus: puta Aristoteles, qui pilam ferream cubiturus manu tenebat, quæ, profundo somno opprimente, et nervis solutis, delapsa in pelvim aqua plenam, sonitum ederet, et somnum discuteret; qui etiam interrogatus ubinam musæ habitarent, respondit, ἐν ψυχαῖς τῶν φιλοπόνων, in animis studiosorum. Demosthenes

[1 Parts of this address, as given above, are printed by Humfrey, Juell. Vit. pp. 45, &c., with the following notice: Privatim habita est ab eo jussu præsidis exhortatio Anglice, anno 1552, Decembris vicesimo tertio, themate ex Psalmo cxii. sumpto, quo dicitur, memoriam justi æternam fore et duraturam. Tractationem vero totam, quia perpolire non possum, saltem membra ejus aliquot potiora, et quasi puncta quædam insigniora, brevissime percurram.—Fox, the founder of Corpus, was bishop of Winchester.]

deformavit se capitis et barbæ capillitio abraso, ut pudore prohibitus in publicum non prodiret, sed domi se continens libris operam daret; et interrogatus quomodo tantam eloquentiæ laudem adeptus fuisset, Vigilando, inquit, et elucubrando, plus olei quam vini insumendo. Plinius sive domi, sive foris, sive in balneo sedens, sive inambulans, sive cœnans, aliquid semper lectitabat, omne tempus perire dictitans, quod studiis non impartiretur. Exemplum quoque Apellis diligentissimi pictoris sequendum, ut non somnolentiæ sed studiis se dederent: cogitandum quorsum illud collegium conditum, quorsum ille cœtus celebratus, quorsum illi tot sumptus facti sint; quocunque se verterent, quocunque oculos versarent, omnes reip. partes, omnes collegii anguli, ipsa aula, ipsa bibliotheca, parietes domus, ipsa cubicula, ipsæ columnæ et lapides clamant, loquuntur, officium inculcant.

Olim eam domum, ait, nutricem literatorum et ornamentum Oxoniæ: olim illud Corporis Christi collegium præstans membrum academiæ fuisse: laudem eam, hæreditatem, jus non amittendum, fundatoris nomen non obscurandum, non in eum finem eos ab illo ibi collocatos, non illum sic de illis male meritum esse; maculam, quæ ipsorum nomini ipsorum culpa inusta erat, ipsorum solo studio, industria, sedulitate posse elui.

Excutiendum ergo veternum et soporem, antiquam dignitatem recuperandam; commune illud symbolum, quo se mutuo norunt milites et vigiles in excubiis, recipiendum, *Studeamus.*

III.[2]

Jam video peragenda mihi quinquatria festa,
  Esse cupressiferis tristia festa malis.
Zoilus insanæ vocat ad quinquatria pugnæ,
  Morsicat et quina carmina fixa nota.
Scripsit Porphirius voces quas quinque vocavit,
  Quæ peripateticæ sunt elementa scholæ.
Tu non quinque doces, sed quinque vocabula mordes:
  Scilicet ista tuæ sunt elementa scholæ.

[2 These lines are given by Humfrey, Juell. Vit. p. 67, as being most probably written by Jewel. Humfrey says: Hinc quædam inter protestantes et pontificios...exorta est poetica digladiatio: ibi inter alios noster, quantum memoria teneo, et conjectura assequi possum, aut illius certe auditor quispiam, adversus quinque vocum cavillatorem, qui in carminibus quibusdam quinque vocum quantitatem reprehenderat, sic lusit.]

IV. TO THE MOST HIGH AND MIGHTY PRINCE, JAMES,

BY THE GRACE OF GOD, KING OF GREAT BRITAIN, FRANCE, AND IRELAND, DEFENDER OF THE FAITH, &c.[1]

UNTO whom should the Apology of the Church of England, and defence of the doctrine, religion, and government thereof against the errors, superstition, and usurpation of the church and pope of Rome, more justly present itself for patronage, than to your royal majesty, most gracious and sovereign lord, the right defender of the true catholic faith therein professed and maintained? For, as your majesty is most powerful to defend and propagate the same, so are you best able to judge of the verity thereof; as by divers most learned and memorable books, published by your majesty to the world, very evidently appeareth. And the principal end of these treatises, the one of Reply, detecting the weak grounds of the Roman religion, and the other in defence of the Apology of the Church of England (written both of them above forty years since, by bishop Jewel, of worthy memory, and now reviewed by a diligent student, who hath conferred the testimonies cited herein with the authors from whence they were taken, and published again with the rest of his works) is, to shew to the equal and christian-minded reader, that this is and hath been the open profession of the church of England, to defend and maintain no other church, faith, and religion, than that which is truly catholic and apostolic, and for such warranted, not only by the written word of God, but also by the testimony and consent of the ancient and godly fathers.

For further proof whereof, the church of England in a synod, Ann. 1571 (soon after the second impression of the Defence of this Apology) did set out, together with the Articles of Religion repeated and confirmed[2] again by subscription, this canon amongst others, for the direction of those which were preachers and pastors, viz. "That they should never teach any thing, as matter of faith religiously to be observed, but that which is agreeable to the doctrine of the old and new testament, and collected out of the same doctrine by the ancient fathers and catholic bishops of the church[3]." Whereby the public profession of our church for consent with antiquity, in the articles of faith and grounds of religion, doth plainly appear; howsoever particular men may have otherwise their private opinions, and take some liberty of dissenting from the ancient fathers, in matters not belonging to the substance of faith and religion, and in divers expositions of some places of scripture, so long as they keep themselves within the compass of the apostle's rule of the proportion of faith and platform of sound doctrine.

In Lib. can. Dis. Eccles. Ang. cap. vi. p. 19.

Rom. xii. 6. 2 Tim. i. 13.

And this liberty the writers of the church of Rome do daily put in practice, when often and openly they depart from the opinions and expositions of the ancient doctors; insomuch as sometimes they are carried against the very stream of the fathers, following other expositions and judgments of their own, and are not only content to approve it with us for a true rule, that those assertions alone of the fathers be of authority for ecclesiastical judgment, which they, in setting down sound and catholic doctrine unto the church, do teach *dogmatice* with consent (not through heat of contention), in such matters as either do appertain to the common faith, or are otherwise necessary to be believed; but likewise to yield, as we do with St Augustine, some place of difference and dissenting in other things, *salva fidei compage*, which may be held without the loosing or disjointing of the frame of christian faith[4].

Staplet. Lib. vii. De Princ. Doct. c. xii.

Aug. cont. Jul. Pelag. Lib. i.

[1] This is the dedication to the collected works of Jewel in the folios of 1609, 1611. It was written by bishop Overal.]

[2] Confirm, 1611.]

[3] Lib. Quorund. Can. Anno 1571. in Sparrow, Collection of Articles, &c. Lond. 1675. p. 238.]

[4] Thom. Stapleton. Op. Lut. Par. 1620. De Princ. Fid. Doctr. Lib. VII. cap. xii. Tom. I. p. 254. Conf. August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. Contr. Julian. Pelag. Lib. I. cap. vi. 22. Tom. X. col. 510.]

So as furthermore hereby is plainly convinced that vain and lying cavil of the popish priests and Jesuits, which they cast forth as a common bait, most plausible to the simple, but palpable to the intelligent, to catch and deceive therewith their credulous and blindfolded followers: viz. that our faith, church, and religion, is new, and lately upstart from Luther's time, and not ancient, catholic, and apostolic. Whereas in very truth, we hold, profess, and maintain so entire and full consent with the ancient and catholic fathers, in all things necessary to the being or well-being of the church, to the rule of faith, and substance of religion, to the right service of God, and salvation of man, as whatsoever herein they teach and deliver with consent, *assertive*, by way of averring of doctrine, and avouching of truth, *tanquam ex fide*, as a matter of faith, grounded in their judgment upon God's word, we willingly receive, embrace, and observe.

Neither have we, in the public reformation of our church, doctrine, and service, changed or purged out any thing thus taught and approved by the fathers, but only such errors, superstitions, and abuses, as beside and contrary to this rule have since crept into the church, by adding of things that formerly were not, or detracting of them that were; or otherwise altering and perverting them from the right sense, meaning, and use, wherein they were instituted, taken, and used by the said godly fathers; as also through the foolish imitation of Jews or Gentiles, wanton curiosity of man's invention, blindness of devotion, emulation for the continuance and increase of such vanities once begun; but chiefly through the malice and envy of that wicked one, who, whiles the husbandmen slept, continually sowed tares in the Lord's field, to the corrupting and choking of the good corn sown by our Saviour Christ's holy apostles.

Which lawful reformation of our church, and necessary repurgation of such enormities, is so far from taking from us the name or nature of true catholics and Christians, or depriving us of the communion and fellowship of the apostolic church, or from overthrowing, endangering, or any whit impairing the right faith, religion, sacraments, priesthood, and government of the catholic church, that it hath cleared and better settled them unto us, and made us a readier and surer way to the true knowledge, right use, and happy fruit of them, being the approved holy means of grace, if we be not wanting unto ourselves, and to the mercy of God herein provided for us.

For, as the natural body of man, being surcharged in the veins and pores thereof with ill and rotten humours, gathered within it through tract of time, by surfeiting, misdiet, ill airs, and other means, is made thereby, though more swelling in bigness, yet decayed in health, and nigher unto destruction; but, when by a good evacuation of sovereign physic it is rid of that unwholesome and dangerous burden, it becometh thereby thinner and lighter, and fitter to all good functions and exercises, and so, for being and substance, remaining the same it was before, is now, for well-being and healthful operations, made much better; so the ecclesiastical body of our church, being in the vital powers and parts thereof, faith, religion, and the power of the keys, greatly diseased and swollen with many unwholesome humours of unsound and erroneous doctrines, and of superstitious worships and ceremonies, and much troubled with violent shakings, and as it were windy[5] passions and pinchings of that aspiring and domineering spirit of the pope of Rome, though hereby it appeared perchance more glorious without, yet inwardly it was full of corruption and sick unto death; but, now being by due reformation and repurgation through the heavenly physic of God's grace purged from those ill humours and troublesome swellings, it is made thereby more light, apt, and fit, for spiritual operations; and for all substantial parts and points remaineth the same it was before, one true catholic church from the beginning; but, for easier means of spiritual health, and holy qualities and actions of true knowledge, right faith, sound religion, pure worship, and invocation, and due government of our church (sufficient here at home, without slavery to a foreign usurped power and dominion), it is now more sound, entire and perfect, both for a body of a particular church within itself, and a true member of the universal catholic church, than it was before.

[5] Winding, 1611.]

Wherefore they cannot justly and truly take from us the name of catholics, having and holding firm all substantial and necessary points of catholics' faith and religion in far better and purer sort than themselves, being freed by God's grace from those corruptions and banes of right faith, or, at the least, unnecessary burdens and unprofitable accidents, nothing appertaining to the substance and life of true religion, wherewith they are still encumbered. Neither may they appropriate the same name of catholics unto themselves, unless it be with epithet and addition, as to be called false catholics, or corrupt and crazy catholics, or double catholics, in regard of their doubled creed, or (as they like best) Roman catholics; which yet is either *contradictio in adjecto*, using catholic for the universal church (as it signifieth properly), or at least *terminus diminuens*, taking catholic (as it is commonly used) for orthodoxal: in which diversity of appellation or participation of the name and nature of catholic, the different parts and states of the church, according to particular times and places more or less corrupted, and the divers condition of things requisite and necessary to the being or remaining true and lively members of the catholic church, are to be considered.

For some things are hereunto always and simply necessary; *necessitate causæ, medii, aut conditionis requisitæ, sine qua non;* either as necessary means and causes, by which we must be saved (as faith in the blessed Trinity, God the Father, God the Son, our only Mediator and Redeemer, and God the Holy Ghost, according to the christian belief), or as requisite conditions, without which (as
Heb. xii. 14. the apostle speaketh) "it is impossible to see God;" as conversion by true repentance from dead works and sinful desires of the flesh, the world, and the devil, according to the vow of baptism, with a holy mind and purpose of obeying God and keeping his commandments. Other things be necessary, but in a lower degree, and are so termed only *necessitate præcepti;* in that they are either commanded by God, or may be deduced from his word; and therefore are to be done and obeyed according to that knowledge which a man hath or may have of them; in which not only witting and willing disobedience, but also wilful and affected ignorance doth condemn, whereas invincible or compelled ignorance herein may excuse.

By reason of which invincible ignorance, those that live in a corrupted state and time of the church (as our forefathers in this land a long while did, and many more yet beyond the seas do), so long as they hold fast the true faith of Christ, according to the articles of the apostolic and christian belief, without opposition to any ground of religion, or maintenance of any of those heresies or false opinions, which were condemned by the ancient general councils, as being repugnant to the very foundations of it; and have furthermore a mind and purpose to obey God and keep his commandments, according to the measure of that knowledge and grace which they have received, and live for outward things in the unity of the church where they dwell, and whereof they be by order of the church parishioners; they may well be thought true members of the catholic church, and to stand in state of grace and salvation.

For, although these men, whiles they were or are kept in this great ignorance, did and still do build much hay and stubble of divers superstitious and vain worships upon the foundation laid by our Saviour Christ and his blessed apostles; as their praying to God in a tongue unknown, and before crucifixes and other images, their blind devotions, orisons, and other will-worships done to saints and images, with many other their superstitions, in pilgrimages, pardons, purgatory, private masses, half communions, adoration, and circumgestation of the sacrament, necessity of auricular confession, by enumeration of their sins to popish priests, and of their obedience to a foreign prelate, the pope of Rome, above and against their lawful governors at home, both temporal and spiritual, and divers other such like abuses, which were and are necessarily to be avoided *ratione præcepti;* and therefore, being committed, were transgressions to God's word and commandments, if they had been truly and rightly understood; yet, the same being done by them ignorantly, in that mist of darkness wherewith they were overwhelmed, we are to believe that, upon their true repentance of all their sins, known and unknown, and final relying upon the only mercy of God in Jesus Christ, they were all pardoned and forgiven unto them.

Whereas on the other side, if they which now live in this clear light of the gospel, when they have opportunity and means offered unto them, yea, urged upon them by lawful authority, to learn and know that all the said erroneous and vain worships and superstitions of men's invention (how glorious soever they appear) are notwithstanding against the true meaning of the word of God, and therefore sins to be eschewed and forsaken, shall nevertheless shut up their eyes, harden their hearts, and wilfully and stubbornly hold and maintain them; and so despising and repelling the means of knowledge (whereby their judgments might be reformed, and their souls truly comforted) do still continue and persevere in their obstinate disobedience against the law of God, and the just commandment of their lawful governors, and will needs abide in schism and refusal of unity and communion with the particular true church, where they are parishioners, and whereof by reason of their birth, baptism, dwelling, or abode, according to law and order of the church, they are members; these men (all of them) do stand and live in a state most fearful and damnable.

And this is the case of our recusant papists at this day, when, either for the commandment of the pope and their superiors under him, or for imaginary fancies of heresy in our faith and religion (which they shall never be able to shew), they refuse the unity and fellowship of our church, and due obedience to the christian magistrate and the state, and do not only maintain the said superstitious errors and blind devotions, but also do hold divers doctrines, that do impugn and thwart the very foundation of christian belief, and are against both scriptures and fathers.

Touching many of which superstitious errors, even the chiefest of them (the same being controverted betwixt us and the church of Rome), they are discussed in the books ensuing; and our doctrine is therein justified against the papists by the certain testimonies of the fathers and constant judgment of antiquity. Against which books, notwithstanding that M. Harding and divers of his fellows did with all the strength they had oppose themselves, yet nothing of any weight or moment is said by them, which is not fully answered, either by the bishop himself, or by some other grave and learned persons, but especially by the bishop; insomuch as of late the master caviller and patron of equivocation, taking upon him to write a book in defence of that new art, and knowing in his conscience how thoroughly and soundly the godly bishop had maintained the truth, hath, for lack of better matter, thought it (as it seemeth) very expedient and available for the church of Rome, to try if he could discredit the said worthy bishop, by making him to be a man of his own lying occupation and trade[1].

First, therefore, against his person, he objecteth hypocrisy and dissembling in general, and would fain persuade his popish disciples, that those assertions, which the bishop defendeth by the fathers' testimonies against the papists, he holdeth and writeth (forsooth) against his own knowledge and judgment; which the impostor goeth about to shew by these six reasons:

First, because he had[2] heard many testimonies cited out of the fathers, for the popish opinions, in a disputation held at Oxford in queen Mary's time against the bishops, Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer, and had afterward, in the general subscription of the university, himself also subscribed. P. R. his Treatise of Mitigation, cap. xii.

Secondly, for that he could not be ignorant (as he imagineth) that the ancient fathers had not only many sentences, but whole discourses also and treatises (as he conceiveth), for the popish part in the points in controversy; as by the main multitude of large authorities, alleged by their writers in our days, he would have it to appear.

Thirdly, because he could not but know that our protestant writers (his elders) made small account of the fathers; and (as he saith in the fourth place) rejected them, even in sundry of the articles by him named; and fifthly, other English protestant writers succeeding him did the like; saying (as he citeth), they did not repose such confidence in the fathers' writings, as to take certain proof of religion from them, because we place all our faith (say they) not in human, but in divine authority[3]. Whit. ad Sand. dem. p. 21.

[1] A Treatise tending to Mitigation towards catholick subjects in England, By P[arsons]. R[obert]. 1607. cap. xii. pp. 490, &c.]

[2] Hath, 1611.]

[3] Gul. Whitak. Op. Theolog. Genev. 1610. Ad Sander. Demonst. Resp. Tom. II. p. 749.]

Sixthly, and lastly, because the books made in answer unto his Challenge, though earnestly called for by him, yet, when they came forth, were here publicly prohibited, and that (as he would have it thought) by the bishop's procurement.

These reasons he thinks sufficient to argue that the bishop, whatsoever he said and wrote, had some equivocating reservation in his mind, and could not but think in his conscience that the fathers were against him and his assertions: which is a very fond, or rather malicious conceit.

For first, there were many others, besides Master Jewel, which heard the disputation at Oxford, and also afterward subscribed in the general subscription there, who notwithstanding were not persuaded in their judgments that the fathers then alleged were of the papists' mind, or proved the cause for which they were cited. And there were many also, which then, for want of reading and judgment, took the fathers, as they were brought, to be of that opinion, which afterward upon better reading and riper judgment they found to be far otherwise. And therefore this is no argument of any likelihood, that now, when he wrote, he should write against his conscience. That which concerneth his subscription is more fully answered and declared in his life ensuing, and cannot so much any way prejudice him, as this doth blemish his adversary Master Harding, for that in the days of king Edward he publicly and frequently preached in defence of our religion, and so earnestly in opposition against popery, and particularly the paper-walls and painted fires of purgatory, that he wished his voice had been equal to the great bell of Osney, that he might ring in the dull ears of the deaf papists.

And to the second; for the main multitude of large authorities, brought in by the popish writers out of the fathers for proof of their Romish faith and opinion; setting aside those which be counterfeit, the rest prove not that for which they are alleged. For either they are wrested to another sense and meaning than the fathers spake them in, or else they are brought as assertions of an infallible, common, and divine faith, which they held and delivered only as human and probable or private opinions; or that which they wrote, either in heat of contention, or by way of entreaty, commendation or rhetorical persuasion, is alleged as their resolute and dogmatical doctrine of faith and religion.

Also touching the third, fourth, and fifth imputations, for the elder protestants' small account or refusal of the fathers, whether generally or some particulars, or the later protestant writers following them therein; it was either in that wrong sense and manner, wherein they are brought by the papists, or in such things as, belonging not to faith and salvation, the fathers spake with less heed or regard, as of lighter matters, which yet by these are drawn to necessary belief (a thing never dreamed of by the fathers, that such their speeches should afterward have been so wrested and perverted); or (as he citeth himself out of our writers) when such confidence is put in the fathers' writings, as to ground our faith and religion in their authority, and when their single, private, and naked testimonies, not built upon the scriptures, nor warranted from the word of God, be alleged for catholic grounds of christian belief. Whereas indeed those grounds of faith are to be deduced from the scriptures and ancient creed of the apostles, declared in the first general councils of the primitive church (beyond which scriptures and creed nothing is to be sought touching faith and salvation, as the ancient father Tertullian well prescribed against the heretics of his time), and not from the newfound creed of the church of Rome, which being coined out of the council of Trent is added to the Nicene Creed, and prescribed by pope Pius the fourth to be received with oath, as the true catholic faith, to be believed by as many as shall be saved.

In Bulla Jurament. de Profess. fidei.

This new creed doth contain 12 articles, that so it might in some thing, were it but in number, resemble the Apostles' Creed; which are set down in an apostolical form, as followeth: "1. I admit and embrace the apostolical and ecclesiastical traditions, and the other observations and constitutions of the church. 2. I admit the holy scriptures according to that sense which the holy mother church hath and doth hold [meaning in both these articles the church of Rome]. 3. I profess that there are truly and properly seven sacraments of the new law instituted by Christ; and the rites received in the solemn administration of them all

I do embrace. 4. I admit and receive all those points touching original sin and justification, which are defined and declared by the council of Trent. 5. I profess that there is a true, proper, and propitiatory sacrifice offered to God in the mass, both for the quick and the dead; and that in the eucharist the bread and the wine are transubstantiated into the body and blood of Christ. 6. I acknowledge that under one kind whole and perfect Christ and the true sacrament is received. 7. I do constantly hold that there is a purgatory, and that the souls there detained are helped by the prayers of the faithful. 8. I hold that the saints are to be worshipped and called upon, and that they offer prayers for us unto God, and that their reliques are to be worshipped. 9. I do resolutely affirm that the images of Christ, and of the virgin Mary, and also of other saints, are to be had and retained, and that due honour and veneration is to be yielded to them. 10. I do hold that the power of indulgences was left by Christ in the church, and that the use of them is most wholesome to christian people. 11. I acknowledge the holy catholic and apostolic Roman church to be the mother and mistress of all churches, and I promise and swear true obedience to the bishop of Rome, the successor of St Peter, the prince of the apostles, and the vicar of Jesus Christ. 12. I undoubtedly receive and profess all other things delivered, defined and declared, by the holy canons and œcumenical councils, and especially by the holy synod of Trent[1]."

And thus the late pope Pius the fourth hath forty and five years since, viz. 1564, patched these twelve new rags to the ancient catholic faith; which being no true parts of that apostolic faith, that St Jude saith is to be striven for, as "the faith once delivered to the saints;" nor which Tertullian with other ancient fathers recommended to the church, as always one, unchangeable, and unreformable; and by which therefore the said godly fathers, as well as we, would have their own and all other men's doctrines, in things necessary for salvation, to be squared—bishop Jewel in these his very notable works (amongst many other worthy persons, who have taken great pains to the same purpose) hath so disclosed them for stained clouts and rotten patches, far unfit to be sewed to any thing that is apostolical, as none of any sound capacity, that will carefully peruse his labours therein, can choose (if he have any grace) but for ever after to loathe and detest them, as Romish rags, and superstitious inventions, repugnant to the ancient, catholic, and apostolical faith, and to the judgments of the old and learned fathers, touching matters of salvation, which are always to be deduced out of those apostolic grounds, the only certain and infallible rules of truth, and not out of the sink and puddle of men's corrupt brains and sinful imaginations.

Unto which divine and heavenly rules (notwithstanding any calumniations devised by our malicious adversaries to the contrary) whatsoever is positively set down by consent of fathers to be consonant and agreeable is by our godly bishop here, and by the rest of our church, with due observation and commendation of the fathers acknowledged, received, and maintained; and nothing thus by them delivered and held is refused by us.

Now for the sixth and last objection, touching the prohibiting of popish books with us, for avoiding of infection; it cannot argue a conscience of a false cause here defended, inasmuch as we suffer their books, which carry with them no matter of sedition, to be too ordinarily read (as appeareth by their schoolmen, tractators, and expositors, yea, the works of Baronius, Bellarmine, and many other Jesuits, too commonly without restraint in the booksellers' shops to be bought): whereas the prohibiting of our books with them, and that almost generally, even to some of their own priests, and to their people, with little less than the danger of their lives, must needs convince them in this point more deeply in the very sight of the sun. And therefore let this objection of hypocrisy, dissimulation, and equivocation, return now back into the bosom of the objector and his fellows, to whom it doth most properly and peculiarly appertain.

[1 Bulla Pii IV. sup. Form. Juram. Profess. Fid. ad calc. Concil. Trident. in Concil. Stud. Labb. et Cossart. Lut. Par. 1671-2. Tom. XIV. cols. 944, &c.]

And concerning his other proportionable examples (as he calls them) of lying, and wilful falsehood in particular testimonies and allegations; 1. of Eupsychius, named a bishop of Cæsarea; 2. of Augustine the Roman monk, blamed as cruel, &c.; 3. of John de Magistris, put for Martin; 4. of the councilof Carthage, appointing canonical scriptures only to be read in the church; 5. of Leo, for saying in the church one mass in one day; 6. of Celestin, named as a Nestorian; and of Christ's saying (Mark xiii.) *Quod uni dico, omnibus dico,* applied in the first edition to his speech to Peter, Matt. xvi.—they be the very self-same cavils which Harding objected against him forty years ago, and were by our bishop then answered to the full, and justified in the second edition of the said Defence of the Apology, anno 1570.

And yet all this is now dissembled and clean passed over by our calumnious equivocator, as though hitherto no answer had or could be made unto them; that so he might shew in himself a notable practice of his lying and dissembling equivocation, which he falsely objecteth unto our bishop, who so long since most clearly and plainly hath justified himself from these lying calumniations; as may be seen, partly in the Preface to the Reader, partly in the several answers to the points objected in the 181, 455, 437, 339, 462, 466, 136, 97, pages of the Defence of the Apology, and in the bishop's Reply ensuing[1].

Which books, being then dedicated by the author to our late most virtuous and gracious queen of famous memory, the true defender of the right catholic faith therein maintained, come now for like patronage and protection to your most excellent majesty, the most right heir and just successor unto her highness, both in her royal crown and kingdom, in her heavenly grace and virtues, and in the most right and happy defence of the ancient true catholic faith and religion; which is now by God's grace and your majesty's godly providence, by divers new and wholesome laws, more surely in this land and church established and confirmed. For the defence and maintenance whereof these books of our worthy bishop and treatises now published together were first written, and do most humbly pray your majesty that, now going forth under your royal safeguard, as they have long and frequently, upon all occasions, had a most singular testimony and approbation of your majesty, for the most rare and admirable works that have been written in this last age of the world, so they may have free passage and quiet entertainment throughout all your dominions; to the clearing of the truth and right belief, to the shutting out of errors and falsehood, to the dispersing of the mist of ignorance and superstition, and to the increasing of saving knowledge and living faith, with pure worship and invocation, and finally to the peace of this church, and safety of the state, to the honour of your majesty, and (which is the chiefest of all) to the glory of God Almighty, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost; who bless, preserve, and keep your majesty, with your royal house, and all your realms, in all heavenly and eternal graces, and temporal prosperity for evermore.

Amen.

[1 See Vol. III. pages 409, &c., before, pages 805, 778, &c., 635, 815, 820, 1; Vol. III. pages 344, 289, &c.]

V.

THE Editor has obtained access to the copy of Seven Godly and learned Sermons, contained in Vol. II., pages 1046, &c. The following is the title:

SEVEN GODLY AND LEARned Sermons, preached by

the Reuerend Father in God

IOHN IVEL, late Bishop

of Salisburie.

Neuer before imprinted.

Newly published to the glorie of God, and benefit of his Church.

LACTANT.

Nostræ voces licèt auræ misceantur atque euanescant, tamen plærunque permanent literis comprehensæ.

LONDON

Impensis G. Bishop.

1607.

The following is the Dedication:

To the most reverend father in God, my Lord of Canterbury [Bancroft] his grace, primate of England, and of his majesty's most honourable privy council.

I offer here unto your grace a kind of present; which, if it be valued by the greatness, is but small; if by the goodness either of itself or of my dutiful affection towards your grace, is surely great. Certain sermons are they of that reverend learned father of so worthy memory, B. Jewel; which having received of a friend and reserved by me some good time in written hand (howbeit faithfully written, as I trust shall after appear), I could no longer, no longer, I say, could I be either so injurious or so envious to the public good, as not to publish them to the glory of God, and benefit of his church. And, if the renowned orator Tully could not endure to have the least and meanest of his painful travails perish or be lost, were it but some familiar epistle or letter, as is apparent by that he wrote to his friend Varro in the like case: *Etsi ἔωλος erat illa epistola,* "albeit the letter which Caninius caused me to write (he as I take it had forgotten to call for) were stale and out of season, yet have I sithence delivered it unto him for thee:" *Quia nolui perire luculbrationem meam,* saith he; (nor blame him pardy; for why should so sweet a vein of wit and eloquence flow out in vain?) then what reason were it that these so many, so learned, so godly, so eloquent sermons of this reverend father and great divine, especially treating, not, as Tully doth, of matters earthly, but heavenly, not of things temporal, but eternal, not of the common-wealth of the Romans, but the saving health of all Christians—I say, what pity were it that these his so sundry and worthy labours should either be smothered up in hugger-mugger, or buried in oblivion, or μονοπώλιον wise always impropried, engrossed, and restrained unto any one, and not rather imparted, divulged, and made common unto many one, for the general behoof of the present age, and so of future posterity! They are in philosophy (as your grace well knoweth) rules both ancient and authentic: *Bonum quo communius, quo diuturnius, eo melius,* "Good things, the more they stretch themselves to the benefit of many, and the more durable they are, the better they are." For as Lactantius saith, and saith very well, *Nostræ voces &c.* "Our words once uttered dissolve and vanish into air; but, let them be put in writing" or print, "and for the most part they remain unto all succeeding ages." Wherefore, not long to hold your grace (being holden sufficiently with your public travails for the good both of church and common-weal, for which to Almighty God, to his excellent majesty, and to your grace, we are and I trust shall be still more and more beholden), it may please your grace to accept this small μνημόσυνον or τεκμήριον of my thankful duty and dutiful thankfulness: of whom I am bold to say truly, which I add without flattery, that next after God the mean livelihood I have, whatsoever I have, by your grace's mean I have; and therefore do pray, and ought to pray, and will not cease to pray, that, like as the Almighty hath in special favour placed you in so high room of honour, and above others graced you, so he will continue forth his loving-kindness and gracious favour towards you, so he will multiply his spiritual gifts and heavenly blessings upon you, to the glory of his name, the good of his church, and your grace's incessant comfort both here and for ever.

Your grace's most bounden at command,

I. K.

The following are the various readings in this edition:

PAGE	LINE	
1047	27	run in.
1048	32	and dispenser.
1050	10 from bottom,	I spake.
	9	....., later days.
1051	2	....., that one man should.
1052	2	this communion.
	34	*oves meos.*
	10 from bottom,	and ministers.
1053	26, 27	taketh away his word.
1055	7 from bottom,	Matt. iii. in the margin.
1056	14	misliving of of.
1058	33, 34	This is the word of God; and this is the misery that we ourselves have seen.
	18 from bottom,	light of the sun.
1059	6	have we our prayers.
	7	the old fathers.
	8 from bottom,	therefore said.
	4	....., doth all this.
1060	21	his prophet.
	18 from bottom,	the stones in the streets.
1061	last	live holy.
1062	3	let your bodies.
1063	23, 24	that to delivered.
1064	20	it appeareth.
	27	some there hath been.
1065	4	you lay.
1066	2	and merits.
	5	and stacke up.
1067	9 from bottom,	*quis habitabit.*
1068	7	the later day.
	16	linketh in another.
	8 from bottom,	lusts leadeth us.
1069	9	and so likewise.
	12	an hundred.
	16	this word.
	17	*qui lugeant.*
	24 from bottom,	and said.
	21	....., and trouble.
	12	....., that it maketh.
1070	9, 10	be as brass.
	25	man would here.
	27	is not he.
	21 from bottom,	but is able.
1072	7	gospel peace.
	7 from bottom,	lust lead.
1074	8	....., thou are a limb.
1076	24	....., *crederetis credere-retis et.*
	23	....., said Christ.
1078	4	....., divers other.
1079	11	....., many a good.
1080	13	....., to stir it.
1081	3	amongst them.
	15 from bottom,	said he.
	4	....., towards night.
1082	15	....., let not us deceive.
1083	2	used and sung in.
	20	such perfit knowledge.
	17 from bottom,	not to say.
1084	30	....., these things were.
	12, 8	....., unto vice.
1085	18	are sent messengers.
1086	28 from bottom,	they received this word of God in vain, they received this grace of God in vain.
	4	....., willed the.
1087	28	....., four hundred years.
	14	....., why doest thou.
	6	....., unto the east.
1088	24	as our words.
	31	give no man.
1089	12 from bottom,	whole word.
1090	19	my hands.
	18 from bottom,	one to another.
1091	16	thanks therefore to him.
	7 from bottom,	with all all men.
1092	22	other sides.
	21 from bottom,	Most Highest.
	6	....., perfit than.
1093	2, 11, 24	himself egall.
	4	more perfit.
	20 from bottom,	avaunt myself.
	14	....., of haut courage.
1094	2	much reck not.
	31	so haught courage.
	32	his egall.
1096	5	perfit knowledge.
1097	4, 5	sometime.
	11	you hearts.
	8, 9 from bottom,	let us not be high minded but let.

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Athanasius, explanation of his appealing to Rome, 391, &c.; condemned in the council of Tyrus, fled to the emperor Constantine, 392; says that Julius, by the counsel of all the bishops of Italy, sent unto the bishops of the east, 394; calls Rome the chief or mother city of the Roman jurisdiction, 403; iii. 307; iv. 707; restored unto his communion and dignity by Maximus, 416; shews how Christ instructed the Capernaites, 464; says, the invention of images came not of good, but of ill, 646, 56; a fable ascribed to him of the image of Christ, 651; says, it is the part of Christians to be persecuted; but to persecute the Christians, it is the very office of Pilate and Caiaphas, 890; iv. 1075; called by Socrates the great star of Egypt, iii. 125; says, we must learn of the holy scriptures; wherein are proofs sufficient, iii. 228; says, these things have we learned of our masters, inspired from heaven, which have read and perused the holy scriptures, iii. 238; remark of on the Arian heretics, iii. 258; iv. 918; says, nature, substance, kind, and form, be all one thing, iii. 261, 513; written to by Basil about his case, iii. 301, 3; writes an epistle to Eupsychius, of Cæsarea, iii. 410; says, notwithstanding these words (*persona, ingenitus, homousios*) be not found expressed in the scripture, yet they have the same sense and meaning that the scripture wills, iii. 440; says our Lord is in the words of the scriptures, iii. 467, 541; observes that Christ's body could not have sufficed many: he made mention of his ascension to withdraw them from corporal and fleshly understanding, iii. 539; says that the image of a king is called the king, and yet the image is no parcel of the king, iii. 545, 6; says, the Arians carried forth and burnt the seats, &c., iii. 602; refused to attend councils, iv. 951, &c.; extols Hosius, iv. 999, 1003; as to summoning councils says, writs were sent out from the emperor (not from the pope) and his lieutenants, iv. 1005; called *Orbis oculus*, iv. 1045.
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Augustine shews that an infant cannot be baptized in its mother's womb, 6; in his time infants received the communion, *ib.*; cautions in prayers against chirping like birds, 8; speaks of worshipping Christ's body, 11; calls what is seen upon the table bread, *ib.*; his testimony that the people used to communicate daily, 17, 169, 74; says that by our remembrance of his death Christ made a sacrifice to us every day, 23; declares that Christ left it to his church to order how the sacraments should be used, 39, 74; says that custom must give place to truth, 49; wrongly alleged by Gardiner, 53; altered by Pighius, 53, 4; says in his sermons that he would speak Latin that all might understand, 56; speaks of priests using sound of voice that they might be heard of men, 57; says we must not use the words "Thus say I," but, "Thus saith the Lord," 79, 1060; iv. 750; his advice to Jerome, 80; his exclamation that lies have a covert to lurk in, 84; reprehends the setting up altar against altar, 90; says that no Donatist was bishop of Rome, 94; iv. 886; calls it the nature of error to think that others mislike what a man himself mislikes, 100; describes the penalty of a false suggestion, 101, 2; referred to (the passage also attributed to Gregory) as naming private mass, 106; reports some apocryphal stories put forth by the Manichees, 113; argues that certain writings are apocryphal because they are not received by the church, *ib.*; exhorts catechumens to dispose their minds against the time of baptism, 119; speaks of the words "Lift up your hearts," as commonly used in the holy mysteries, *ib.*; calls Christ's supper a sermon, 121; says, put the words of God unto the element, and it is made a sacrament, &c., 123; testifies against any ancient practice of private mass, 125; shews that in the primitive church both the priest and people sometimes communicated after supper, 136; complains that, owing to traditions, the church of Christ was in worse case in his time than ever was the synagogue of the Jews, 138, 992; says that baptism avails, that men, being baptized, may be incorporate into Christ, and made his members, 141; declares that we ourselves must be the body of Christ, and afterward we must receive the sacrament of Christ's body, 141; says, touching sacraments, we must consider, not what they be indeed, but what they signify, 150, 467, 545; in reference to the sacrament says, the thing that ye see is bread, as your eyes bear you witness, 150; testifies that the sacrament was given into the hands of the communicants, 154; censures the excesses that were committed in honouring dead saints, 158; shews how Christ is daily offered, 167; ill used by Harding, who would make him say, that the sacrament of Christ's body, to them of the east, was their daily bread, although they daily received it not, 168; says, the daily bread may be taken for the sacrament of Christ's body, which we receive every day, 169; says, in the Greek church the custom of communicating only once a year was not universal among all the people, but among certain of them

only, *ib.*; speaking of Christ as our daily bread, says, Not the bread that passes into our body, but the bread of everlasting life, which sustains the substance of the soul, *ib.*; says, the sacrament of the thing is prepared, or consecrate in the church, and received of the Lord's table, in some places every day, in some places upon certain days, *ib.*; says, the Donatists subscribed their articles with the names of certain that were dead, and oftentimes such as were not Donatists, 184; speaking of the Messalians, says, they prayed so much, or so fast, that a man that knew it not would not think it possible. They thought it unlawful for a monk to labour for his living, and therefore became monks, that they might be free from labour, 193; makes a difference between the body of Christ and the sacrament of the same, *ib.*; says, signs, when they be applied to godly things, be called sacraments, 219; writing of the difference between the sacraments of the old law and of the new, says, the signs being diverse, the faith is one, 219; his exposition of the word "sign," 219; his observations on the ceremony of washing the feet, 225; says, ecclesiastical judges, for that they be men, are oftentimes deceived, 228; asserts that the breaking of bread at Emmaus was hospitality, and entertaining of strangers, 232; would not receive any other tale after the scripture, 262; his remark respecting singing, 283; iv. 812; says, *eucharistia* in the Punic tongue was called *life*, and *baptismus*, in the same tongue, *health*, 294; would often speak words that were not Latin, and why, 295; says, in his time in Africa altars were made of timber, 311; wishes the people to say Amen to that they plainly and perfectly understand, 317; says, whoso loves the law of God honours in it even that thing which he understands not, 327; gives not such power [i. e. chasing away devils] unto a psalm pronounced only with the lips, in a strange unknown tongue, but unto a psalm understanded, and believed, and pronounced from the heart, 327; says, the word of God works in our hearts, not because it is spoken, but because it is believed, 328; acknowledges his ignorance of Hebrew, 329; says, the religion of Christ was first brought into Africa out of Græcia, and not from Rome, 353; decreed, among other bishops, that it should not be lawful to appeal to the bishop of Rome, 370; says, Peter was an eye in the head, not the head, *ib.*; yielded great reverence to the see of Rome, and why, *ib.*; misreported or falsified by Harding, 371, 436, 7; speaking of discourse of reason in the understanding of scriptures, says, the safer way is to walk by the scriptures, 377; forbids to allege natural reason against the authority of the holy scriptures, 378; asks, if St Paul could not be the head of the church, how may we then think that the bishop of Rome may be the head of the church? 379; says, he that neither regards to rule himself, nor hath washed off his own sins, nor corrected the faults of his children, may rather be called a filthy dog than a bishop, 399; iii. 309; his exposition of the words, "sitting in the chair," 402; condemned by Boniface, as accursed and set on by the devil, 418; the greatest discloser of the forgery and pride of the bishop of Rome, 418; calls St Peter the first and chief of the apostles, 430; says, Paul himself could not be the head of them that he had planted, and why, 432, 440; remarks of, on the rock in the wilderness, 447; asserts that Christ at his supper gave a figure of his body, 447, 592, 775; says, it is a miserable bondage of the soul to take the signs in the stead of the things signified, 448, 456; iii. 472; asks, How shall I hold Christ, being absent? send up thy faith, and thou holdest him, 448, 1121; iii. 469; says, we eat Christ's body, not only in the sacrament, but also otherwise, 450; shews that every faithful man is then made partaker of the body and blood of Christ, when in baptism he is made a member of Christ, *ib.*; asserts that Christ's words must be spiritually understood. The body that was seen was not to be eaten with bodily mouth, *ib.*, 451, 1111; says, faith hath eyes of her own to see withal, 451; speaks of the saying of Christ touching the eating of his flesh as a figure or manner of speech, 452; says, the sacrament is received from the Lord's table, of some unto life, of some unto destruction; but the thing itself whereof it is a sacrament (that is, the body of Christ) is received of every man unto life, and of no man unto destruction, whosoever be partaker of it, 453, 759, 1122; iv. 895; touching Christ's ascension, says, he shewed by speaking of it what he meant in saying he would give his body, 454; says, Paul baptized as a servant; the Lord baptized as the power itself. The Lord continues baptizing still; not by the ministry of his body, but by the invisible work of his majesty, 455; says, when Christ is eaten, life is eaten; and, when we eat him, we make no parts of him; and explains a sacrament and a sign, 458; says, unless sacraments had some likeness of the things whereof they be sacraments, then were they no sacraments at all. Sacraments be visible signs of heavenly things, 458, 503, 718, 1113; iii. 446; declares that the body of our Lord, according to that heavenly habitation, hath received an heavenly change; and we ourselves are commanded at the last day to hope for the same, 461; shews how the body of our Lord in respect of the substance of it, yea, after it is risen again, is called flesh, 461; remark of, concerning the Arians, 465; tells the faithful communicants, You are upon the table, you are in the cup, 468, 522, 539; says, Believing in Christ is the eating of the bread of life, 468; teaches the use of baptism, that they that be baptized may be incorporate into Christ, 473; declares that we are not only made christian men, but also made Christ, in baptism, 474; asks, of the sacrament, What preparest thou thy tooth and thy belly? Believe, and thou hast eaten, 475; his exposition of the word *corporaliter*, 476; says, after that Christ is risen from the dead, he is in us by the Spirit, 477; imagines Christ to say unto the people, He that cometh unto me is incorporate into me, 477; speaking of the sacrament, says, these things because they are known unto men, and by men are wrought, may have honour, as things appointed to religion; but wonder as things marvellous they cannot have, 481; cautions against so maintaining the divine nature of Christ being man, as to take away the truth of his body, &c., 482; says, the body wherein Christ rose again must be in one place, 486; calls the sacrament of Christ's body, after a certain manner, the body of Christ, 489, 503, 504; says, in those fleshly sacrifices (of the Jews) there was a figure of the flesh that Christ afterward would offer, but in this sacrifice of the church there is a remembrance of that flesh which Christ hath already offered for us, 491; says, the Wisdom of God, the Word of God, our Lord Jesus Christ, is everywhere present, 493; shews that Christ according to the presence of his body could

not be both in the sun, and in the moon, and upon the cross at one time, 495; iii. 257; says, Christ gave immortality to his body, but he took not from it the former nature of a body, 502; remarks of, how Christ was borne in his own hands, *ib.*; how he uses the words *secundum literam*, 504; says, Christ by his Godhead is ever with us; but, unless he had departed away bodily from us, we should evermore carnally see his body, 505; avers that we cannot touch Christ with our hand, sitting now in heaven, but may touch him notwithstanding with our faith, 506, 548; says, we worship the baptism of Christ wheresoever it be, 514, 547; calls a sacrament a visible sign of grace invisible, 515, 1099; says, Jacob did not erect the anointed stone to adore it, 551; observes, our Lord doubted not to say, This is my body, when he gave a token of his body, 592, 1112; says, continual reading clears and purges all things; whoso will ever be with God must evermore pray and read, 681; enumerates eighty-eight heresies, 687, note 9; says, the unlearned and simple arise up, and catch heaven away from us, 693; remarks the difference between the sacraments of the old law and the sacraments of the new, 710; iii. 448; says, unto the Jews the rock was Christ, 726, 731; observes that Christ is slain to every man, when he believes that Christ was slain, 726, 733; says, the sacrifice of our Lord is in a manner offered for each man, when in baptism he is marked with the name of Christ, 727; on Melchisedech, 731; what he meant by the word "sacrifice," 737; says, have faith, and he whom thou seest not is present with thee, 741; declares, there were some in his time that taught that if a man had been baptized and had once received the communion, though he lived wickedly, &c. yet he could not be condemned, 750; speaks of the innocents and blessed martyrs who lie underneath the altar of God in heaven, 755; says, Christ says not, Ye are clean for the baptism's sake wherewith ye are washed, but for the word's sake that I have spoken to you, 757; observes that the holy men that be in the church receive Christ in their hand and in their forehead, 760; iii. 545; says, the holiness of baptism cannot be defiled. The heavenly power is assistant unto the sacrament, 763; observes that children are carried unto Christ to receive baptism, the sacrament of everlasting salvation, 764; says, the godly in manna understood Christ, 765; quotes Christ as saying he that eateth me shall live through me, 766; calls God the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, bread, 766, 7; says, Christ hath called us unto his gospel, and he himself is our meat, 768; says, baptism is a great thing because it is a sacrament of God, 771; what he meant by the word *species*, 794; of the word *operta*, 797; says, the Manichees read hidden scriptures, written by fabulars under the name of the apostles, 894; iii. 442; shews that such as be of good disposition seek not after words, but after the truth, 983; will not have the councils of Nice or Ariminum urged, but rather the authority of scriptures, 996; iii. 247, 228; says, in the scriptures we have learned Christ, in the scriptures we have learned the church: these scriptures we have indifferently betweem us; why do we not after one sort hold Christ and the church by them? 1000; his account of himself, before he became christened, 1018, 9; says, a bishop's office is a name of labour, not a name of honour; that he which covets the place of preeminence, and hath not a desire to do good, may know he is not a bishop, 1020; iv. 1103; says, a drunken man is altogether sin, 1040; how he became a perfect Christian, 1062; notes the rule to be kept in every allegory, 1112; terms the Lord's supper, *sacramentum panis et vini*, 1114; calls Christ the bread of our heart, 1117; says, believe in Christ, and thou hast eaten Christ, 1119; says, whosoever they be that feed the sheep, to the end to make them theirs, they love themselves, and not Christ, for desire either of glory, or of rule, or of gain, iii. 175; shews how the disputations or writings of any men are to be received, iii. 176; remarks on the vaunt of the heathens, iii. 180; censures the Donatists as worse than the Jews. For those persecuted the flesh of Christ walking in the earth: these persecute the gospel of Christ sitting in heaven, iii. 183; says to Faustus, ye work no miracles; and yet, if ye wrought any, at your hands we would take heed of them, iii. 197; remark on the Donatists, iii. 209; enforces the authority of scripture above all writers and fathers, iii. 223, 7, 31, 3, 9; says, it is possible that a man may pronounce the whole words of the creed, and yet not have the right faith, iii. 255; asserts that he knows not the difference between "thrones," "dominions," "principates," and "powers," iii. 278; says, whatsoever things are not contrary to the catholic faith or to good manners must be taken as things indifferent, iii. 285; makes Peter equal with the other apostles, iii. 288; says, Christ gave the same authority to Paul to minister among the heathens, that he gave to Peter to minister among the Jews, *ib.*; says, the holy scripture shews forth the church without doubtfulness, iii. 326; iv. 750, 864; speaks of the agreement between Peter and Paul as to preaching, iii. 327; applauds the provision that open penance should be done only once in the church, iii. 354; of confession, asks, what have I to do with men, that they should hear my confessions, as if they were able to heal all my griefs? iii. 359; exhorts to open penance, iii. 360; says, the will of the priest can neither further nor hinder, but the merit of him that desires absolution, iii. 381; asserts that Peter, when he received the keys, signified the holy church, iii. 384; by his judgment, marriage not an evil or unlawful thing, but only a burdensome and a grievous thing, iii. 389; remark on some who have made vows, iii. 400; on marriages, iii. 402, 3, 4, 5, 16; says, reading without meditation or study is dry and barren, meditation or study without reading is erroneous, and prayer without cogitation or study is half cold and unfruitful, iii. 435; mentions that in the Lent season all men for the most part abstain not only from flesh, but also from certain fruits, more or less, iii. 438; says, the baptism of the church may be without the church; but the gift of blessed life is not found but within the church, iii. 444; speaks of the water of baptism giving us outwardly the sacrament of grace, iii. 463; calls baptism a great thing, because it is a sacrament of God, iii. 482; but that it is available to some unto the kingdom of God, to some unto judgment, iv. 893, 4; says, the sacraments of the new testament give salvation, iii. 447; asserts that he that receives not the flesh of Christ hath not life, iii. 449; says, the concupiscence of the flesh, against which the good Spirit lusts, is both sin, and the pain of sin, and the cause of sin, iii. 464; declares that by faith we are incorporate in Christ, iii. 494; says, the fathers expressed the sacraments of so great a thing none

otherwise than by the name of the same thing, iii. 499; his remarks on signs, iii. 500, 545; says, our Lord by the sacrament of wine commends unto us his blood, iii. 521; narrates how he sought a way to get strength, that he might be able to enjoy God, but found it not before he embraced Jesus Christ, iii. 537; says, he was stirred up to come to Christ by reading Cicero's Hortensius, iii. 558; speaks of Origen's belief that the devil and his angels after great torments shall be delivered, and be placed with the holy angels of God, iii. 560; says, him shall the day of the Lord find unprovided, whom the last day of this life finds unprovided, iii. 563; his doubts of purgatory, iii. 565, 566; grieves that the holy scriptures are not regarded; and so many presumptions of men are enforced, iii. 569, 70; says, Mary was more blessed in that she received the faith of Christ than in that she conceived the flesh of Christ, &c. iii. 578; on the perfection required of men, iii. 581; says, he that hath faith without hope and charity believes that there is Christ; but he believes not in Christ, iii. 584; asserts that good life can never be divided from faith which worketh by love, *ib.*; explains the meaning of, O Lord, enter not into judgment, iii. 586, 7; his remark on apparel, iii. 615; says, the Jews help us with their books; but they are our enemies in their hearts, iv. 763; speaks of every thing that is either done or spoken in a figure shewing forth the same thing that it signifies, iv. 764; says, the Manichees bear a countenance of continent life and notable chastity, iv. 767; would not have heretics put to death, but killed with the two-edged sword (that is with the holy word), killed unto themselves, that they may live unto God, iv. 770, 771; says, the holy scripture hath laid a rule unto our doctrine, that we dare not understand more than is meet for us, iv. 772; denies that antiquity and old custom can prevail against the truth, iv. 777; disapproves of seeking Christ and his apostles in painted walls, iv. 792; says, the servants of God must work in the name of our Lord, iv. 800; his remarks on monks, *ib.*; on marriage, iv. 804; says, the bread in the sacrament is blessed, and sanctified, and broken in pieces, to the end it may be delivered, iv. 819; would not believe the gospel, unless the authority of the catholic church moved him, iv. 865; fled from what was proved to be error, iv. 876; asserts that the faith was sent from Greece into all places, iv. 883; says, Christ received Judas unto his banquet, iv. 893; speaks of the scriptures being published in various tongues, iv. 896; shews that the scriptures may be understood by the unlearned, iv. 897; says, Christ said unto Peter, not, Feed thy sheep, but, Feed mine. Peter belongs unto the church; but the church belongs not unto Peter, iv. 918; asserts that Peter takes his name from the rock, not the rock from St Peter, iv. 1119; calls Rome the second Babylon, iv. 1063; says, there is no difference before God, whether a man hold another man's goods by open violence, or by guile, iv. 1078; his conversion, iv. 1169; acknowledges his mistakes in his book of Retractations, iv. 1173.

Augustinus, Steuchus, 774; calls the pope king of kings, iii. 153; speaks of hallowing water with salt, and prayers for the forgiveness of sins, iii. 178, 9; speaks of Charlemagne's book, iv. 1054.

Augustus, his warning to Tiberius, 292.

Aurelius, bishop of Carthage, condemned, iii. 296.

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Auxentius, heretic, would not allow St Hilary to be a bishop, iv. 1052.

Auxerre, council of, prohibits the Lord's supper being given to the dead, 7. See *Antisiodorum.*

Avant: set forth in a boasting way, vaunt, 7, note 13.

Aventinus, says, Lucius, St Paul's companion, went into Germany, 280; records Adrian IV.'s arrogance towards the emperor Frederic, iv. 677, 82; reports two verses written upon the emperor Lotharius, iv. 692; speaks of the fruits of Hildebrand's popedom, iv. 699, 700.

Avignon, or Avenion, pope Clement V. removes to, from Rome, iv. 933.

Axiothea, a woman who went in man's apparel to hear Plato, iv. 651.

Aylmer, John, appointed to attend a disputation in 1559, iv. 1199, 1200.

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Babiæ: bauble, the fool's ensign, iii. 133, note 5.

Babylon, overthrow of, remark on, iv. 1181.

Bacon, lady Anne, mother of lord Bacon, Parker's dedicatory letter to, iii. 51.

Bacon, Roger, remarks on the woeful state of his time, iii. 81; iv. 735, 6.

Balaam, though a false prophet, blessed the people of God, 399.

Balduin, professor of civil law, attacked by Calvin, iv. 1254, note 3.

Baldus, of Perusium, says, the pope is doctor of both laws, by authority, but not by knowledge, 381; iv. 768; cited on the question whether courtezans can make a testament, iv. 647; calls the fulness of the pope's power a fulness of tempest, iv. 832; says no simony can touch the pope, iv. 868; distinguishes between belief with the church and with the pope, iv. 928.

Balsamon, Theodore, referred to for the right reading of a sentence in the African council, iii. 295; his character, iii. 306; says, the patriarch is bound to make his answer before the emperor, iv. 967; his testimonies to the authority of the emperor over bishops, iv. 1030, 6.

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